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# NOTE.

THIS Volume contains the various Pamphlets and Leaflets which were issued by the IRISH UNIONIST ALLIANCE during the first four months of 1893—the period, practically speaking, of the initial campaign against the principle of the Home Rule Bill of that year, both in and out of Parliament.

The series of issues which appeared during the Committee Stage of the Bill, along with those published immediately after its rejection by the House of Lords, will be included in the next volume, which is now in course of preparation.

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# WHAT HOME RULE MEANS NOW

[*REPRINTED FROM* "THE TIMES" *BY SPECIAL PERMISSION*]

With Appendices

CONTAINING

## THE HOME RULE BILLS OF 1886 AND 1893

AND

## SECTIONS 25 TO 28 OF THE LAND PURCHASE BILL OF 1886

DUBLIN

1893



66

## NOTE.

The Irish Unionist Alliance are enabled to include the following Pamphlet in their Series of Publications, through the courtesy of the Executive Committee of the Liberal Union of Ireland.

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# WHAT HOME RULE MEANS NOW.

## I.—THE BILL OF 1886.

Present starting point.

JUST seven years ago, soon after the general election of 1885, when Mr. Gladstone's secession from the Unionist cause was rumoured, though not yet acknowledged, some articles were published in these columns under the title "What Home Rule Means."* The country was then ignorant of the significance of the policy to which the leader of the Liberal party was on the point of committing himself, and many politicians who have since posed as ardent advocates of Home Rule scouted the idea that there could be a compromise, to quote Sir William Harcourt's language at Lowestoft, "with men who openly avowed their object was the dismemberment of Ireland from England."† It was easy to indicate the main lines of objection to any of the various schemes of Home Rule that were vaguely discussed. It was impossible to conjecture how far Mr. Gladstone would go to meet Mr. Parnell. We are now in a different position. The Bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone in 1886 must be the starting-point of any examination of his present policy. It is true Mr. Gladstone has made a number of concessions, some of which go to the very root of the question, and all of which tend to aggravate the mischief of his original plan.

* *Times*, Dec. 22, 24, and 26, 1885. † *Daily News*, Dec. 8, 1885.

But he has never ceased to maintain that his scheme "holds the field." In his reply to Mr. Parnell's ultimatum during the debates in Committee Room No. 15 he wrote:—"For me to propose any measure except such as Ireland could approve *on the lines already laid down* would be fatuity as regards myself and treachery to the Irish nation."*

Home Rule and Land Purchase.

The Home Rule Bill of 1886 was linked, it must be remembered, with the Land Purchase Bill, which, by a gigantic financial operation, was to secure the Irish landlords against the risk, or rather the certainty, of being plundered by a Home Rule Government. But this latter measure, introduced as a solemn "obligation of honour and policy,"† and as safeguarding the concession of legislative powers to a Parliament in Dublin, was abandoned by Mr. Gladstone the moment he discovered that he could not bribe the Irish Loyalists to surrender their connexion with Great Britain. Immediately after his defeat at the polls he hastened to announce that he had ascertained it to be his duty "explicitly to acknowledge that the sentence which has gone forth for the severance of the two measures was irresistible, and that the twinship, which has been for the time disastrous to the hopes of Ireland, existed no longer."‡ The plan embodied in the Home Rule Bill, "on the lines already laid down," must be considered, therefore, apart from the main condition for making its policy equitable and safe, subject to which it was presented to the House of Commons and to the constituencies in 1886.

"Statutory Parliament."

The object of the Home Rule Bill was to establish in Ireland a "statutory Parliament," with an Executive Government resting upon it. The Executive authority

* *Times*, December 1, 1890.

† *Hansard*, vol. 304, p. 1780.

‡ Gladstone, *Special Aspects of the Irish Question*, 1892, p. 43.

was to be vested in the Lord Lieutenant with the aid of Ministers formally nominated by the Crown, but really appointed in accordance with the wishes of an Irish Parliamentary majority. The powers of vetoing Bills and of summoning, proroguing, and dissolving the Legislature devolved upon the Viceroy, who was to be a permanent officer, chosen by the Imperial Government and paid out of Imperial funds, freed from any condition as to religious belief, and exempted from interference by statute on the part of the Irish Parliament. That the Viceroy's authority was to be exercised according to the accepted principles of British constitutionalism was implied, but was not expressly stated, nor, indeed, is there express statutory provision under our present system imposing on the Crown the necessity of acting only upon Ministerial advice. Under our unwritten Constitution no difficulty arises. Political precedents have practically settled the matter. But the application of these precedents to the language of the Bill of 1886—language selected, no doubt, in order to give colour both to the minimizing theories of English public men and to the extreme claims of Irish agitators—has led, as we shall see, on this and on other points of the highest importance, to a strange divergence of interpretation between Mr. Gladstone and some of his most influential followers.

The veto.

The legislative body, which was practically to nominate the advisers of the Viceroy, was framed neither on the bi-cameral nor on the uni-cameral system. Two "orders" were to sit and deliberate together. The first order was to consist of 28 Irish peers—the same number as that of the existing representative peers of Ireland—during 30 years after the passing of the Act; and 75 elective members (to be increased at the end of 30 years to 103), with a property qualification of £200 a-year or £4000 capital, sitting for a ten years' term, but one-half retiring every

The two "orders."

five years, and chosen by electors rated at above £25 annually. On all questions of legislation or procedure it was provided that "each order shall, if a majority of the members present of either order demand a separate vote, give their votes in like manner as if they were separate legislative bodies; and if the result of the voting of the two orders does not agree, the question shall be resolved in the negative." In the case of a disagreement of the two orders, after a dissolution or the lapse of three years, the measure that had fallen through, if again rejected by the first order and adopted by the second, might be submitted to both orders voting together, and might be determined by a simple majority. The term fixed for the life of the Legislature was five years.

Procedure.

In case of disagreement.

Restrictions.

The restrictions imposed upon this Legislature were manifold. It was prohibited from passing laws affecting the *status* or dignity of the Crown, the succession, or the regency; the making of peace and war; the Army, Navy, and public defence; treaties and foreign and colonial relations; dignities or titles; prize or booty of war and international questions and controversies; treason, alienage, and naturalization; trade, navigation, or quarantine; the postal or telegraph services (except as regards internal intercourse); beacons, lighthouses, or seamarks; coinage, currency, or weights and measures; copyright, patents, and the like. Laws made in violation of these provisions were declared to be void, but it may be noted that no such declaration was made with respect to the prohibition to legislate for the establishment or endowment of, or interference with, religion, the imposition of religious disability, or the conferring of religious privilege, the interference with denominational schools or charities, or with the conscience clause, the abrogation or alteration of the rights of existing corporations, the imposition of Customs and Excise duties, and any modification of the Act itself,

except so far as power was granted to regulate the franchise and method of election, in regard to the "second order." It will be observed that the land question was not withdrawn from the consideration of the Irish Legislature, the rights of the Irish landowners being supposed to be adequately safeguarded by the Purchase Bill.

Finance.

The reservation of the Customs and Excise duties to be levied exclusively by the Imperial Parliament brings us to the question of finance. The Irish Legislature was to be empowered to impose taxes, other than duties of Excise and Customs, the produce of which was to be paid into an Irish Consolidated Fund. With respect to the financial relations between the Imperial and the Irish Governments, the contributions of Ireland to the Imperial Consolidated Fund were fixed as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| For the Irish share of the management and interest of the National Debt, . . . . . (One-fifteenth of the whole). | £1,466,000 |
| On account of Imperial expenditure on the Army and Navy, . . . . . (One-fifteenth, excluding war charges and volunteers.) | 1,666,000 |
| On account of Imperial Civil Expenditure, . . | 110,000 |
| On account of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police, . . . | 1,000,000 |
| There was also to be paid to the National Debt Commissioners towards the reduction of debt (in respect of the Irish share, estimated at £48,000,000), an annual sum of . . . | 360,000 |

The aggregate of these contributions was over £4,600,000, but provision was made for reducing certain of the items (*e. g.*, the debt charge on the capital, and the charge for the police in case of the disbanding of the force), in accordance with varying circumstances. In his speech on the introduction of the Bill, Mr. Gladstone estimated the whole of the Exchequer receipts of Ireland at £8,350,000, of which over £6,000,000 was contributed

by Excise and Customs.* Both the Customs and Excise account and the Irish Consolidated Fund were placed under the control of a Comptroller and Auditor-General for Ireland, who was to see that they were duly appropriated. The Customs and Excise account was charged in the following order:—(1) with the expenses of collection and management; (2) with the annual contributions above-mentioned to the Imperial Consolidated Fund; (3) with the contribution to the National Debt Commissioners; (4) with payments such as for possible deficits on the Irish Church Fund or the Public Loans Commission; (5) with payments to meet possible deficiencies upon the land purchase advances. The Irish Consolidated Fund was charged in similar order:—(1) with any deficiency upon the Customs and Excise account appropriated as aforesaid; (2) with the payment of any debt contracted by the Irish Government; (3) with the Irish Civil Service expenditure, excepting the Viceroy's salary; (4) with the salaries and pensions of Judges hereafter appointed; (5) with payments to meet deficits on the Church Fund and Public Loans Commission, in case the Customs and Excise account should be exhausted. The unapplied balance in each case was to be handed over to the Irish Government for its general purposes.

Customs and Excise Account.

Irish Consolidated Fund.

Lord Thring's summary of Financial results.

The effect of the complicated provisions for securing these financial results, partly embodied in the Home Rule Bill, and partly in the Land Purchase Bill, is thus summed up by Lord Thring, the draughtsman of both measures. He says:—

It was provided that neither the Imperial taxes of Excise nor any local taxes that might be imposed by the Irish Legislature should be paid into the Irish Exchequer. An Imperial officer called the Receiver-General was appointed, into whose hands the produce of every tax, both Imperial and local, was required to be paid, and it

* *Hansard*, vol. 304, p. 1078.

was the duty of the Receiver-General to take care that all claims of the English Exchequer, including especially the contribution payable by Ireland for Imperial purposes, were satisfied before a farthing found its way into the Irish Exchequer for Irish purposes. The Receiver-General was provided with an Imperial Court to enforce his rights of Imperial taxation, and with adequate means for enforcing all Imperial powers by Imperial civil officers.—(*Contemporary Review*, March, 1887, p. 316.)

At variance with Mr. Morley.

On the last point, curiously enough, Lord Thring is at variance with Mr. Morley, who contends that, as shown by clauses 26 and 27 of the Purchase Bill (see Appendix B):—

It was the intention of the late Cabinet that both the instalments payable by tenants who bought their holdings under that Bill and the taxes imposed by the Irish Legislature should be collected, not by British officers, but by such collectors as the Irish Government may from time to time appoint for that purpose.—(*Nineteenth Century*, February, 1887, p. 312, note.)

In examining this question, on which Mr. Morley appears to be in the right, the financial clauses (12–20) of the Home Rule Bill must be read in connexion with clauses 25–28 of the Purchase Bill (see Appendix B).

Irish contribution in case of war.

Two supplementary provisions relating to finance must be noticed. Though Mr. Gladstone has always maintained that the Irish Legislature is not to meddle in matters of peace and war, an obscure and, at the time, a hardly noticed provision gives power to that Legislature to vote additional supplies in support of war measures, to be paid over to the Imperial Government. This implies, as the Duke of Argyll has pointed out, that, if the Irish Legislature wish to refuse such assistance, beyond the limited amount fixed as the Irish share of the army and navy peace establishment, they cannot be pressed to vote a penny, however urgent the need of the Imperial Government may be.

Sub-section 19.

A sub-section of the following clause, section 19, is still more remarkable:—

Notwithstanding that the Irish Legislature is prohibited by this

Act from making laws relating to certain subjects, that Legislature may, with the consent of Her Majesty in Council first obtained, appropriate any part of the Irish public revenue, or any tax, duty, or impost imposed by such Legislature, for the purpose of and in connexion with such subjects.

Thus it appears that money could be voted for endowing the Roman Catholic Church or supporting Jesuit schools if a pliant Ministry should be in power here in England. The withdrawal of the 24th clause, excluding the Irish members from the Imperial Parliament, would make pliancy of the kind apprehended more probable. The Irish Exchequer Division was constituted a Revenue Court under Imperial control [future Judges to be jointly appointed by the English Lord Chancellor and the Irish Viceroy], with power to enforce its decrees in revenue cases primarily through the sheriff and his officers ; and, according to Mr. Morley, it was the intention—though not expressed in the Bill—to give this tribunal the power of drawing upon the military and other forces of the Crown, independently of the Irish Executive, for the same purpose. The position of the other existing Judges, both of the High Court and of the County Courts, was secured by reserving authority over them to the Imperial Parliament, while it also provided that, if they desired to retire, they might receive full pension, though they had not technically qualified for it. This last provision was also applied to the case of the higher civil servants retiring at the end of ten years or at the desire of the Irish Government. Existing pensions were to be charged upon the Customs and Excise Fund, supplemented by the Irish Consolidated Fund, and if necessary by the Imperial Consolidated Fund. New Irish Judges were only to be removable on the address of the two orders of the Irish Legislature voting separately. The Dublin Metropolitan Police were placed under the direct control of the Lord Lieutenant for a period of two years, and the Con-

Revenue Court.

Existing Judges.

New Judges.

Police.

stabulary so long as it existed, but the Irish Legislature was empowered to create other local police forces.

The Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council was erected into something like a Supreme Court for deciding on constitutional questions. To this body, augmented for the special purpose by past or present Judges of the High Court in Ireland, the Viceroy might, before assenting to them, refer any Bills passed by the Irish Legislature as to the validity of which he was doubtful, or any similar questions arising out of any Act passed or out of any non-legislative matters; while in actual legal proceedings, where the law was challenged as unconstitutional, an appeal could be taken to the Judicial Committee, of which the decision should be final, and should exclude the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords. A provision was added, with the intent of saving the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament, but this has been condemned as unsatisfactory even by the draughtsman of the Bill.* If the point is to be seriously dealt with it must be differently handled. Supreme Court.

Finally, the Act itself could only be altered by calling into existence a body differing both from the Imperial Parliament, as constituted after the exclusion of the Irish members, which is that described in the Bill, and from the Irish Legislature. The Irish representative peers were to return for this purpose to the Upper House at Westminster, and one of the members for each Irish constituency, to be selected by the Irish Legislature, to the Lower House, which would thus be restored once more to its present number. If the Irish members should be retained in the Imperial Parliament, this arrangement, which might cause serious and incalculable complications in the balance of parties in the British Parliament, would, no doubt, be abandoned. How the Act might be altered.

* Section 7. See Lord Thring, *Contemporary Review*, March, 1887, p. 315.

## II.—OBJECTIONS AND CONCESSIONS.—RETENTION OF THE IRISH MEMBERS.

The elaborate machinery and the complicated provisions of the Home Rule Bill of 1886, which we have summarized in the preceding article, partially concealed, and were, perhaps, intended wholly to conceal, the difficulties and the ambiguities of the policy Mr. Gladstone desired to force through the House of Commons. It would not have been surprising if Parliament and the public had been unable to see the wood for the trees. Looking back upon the controversy, which was brought to close quarters on the introduction of the Bill on April 8, and was closed for the time when, three months later, the constituencies, of the United Kingdom pronounced by a great majority against the Gladstonian scheme, we must feel astonishment at the promptitude and clearness with which the mischief and the blunders were discerned and exposed both in the House of Commons and in the Unionist Press. Lord Selborne, Lord Bramwell, Sir Henry James, Sir James Stephen, and other distinguished jurists, supplemented, from the constitutional point of view, the political arguments urged by Lord Hartington, Mr. Bright, the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Goschen, Lord Derby, Lord Grey, and other Liberals of light and leading, as well as by the whole body of the Conservative party. An unparalleled consensus of opinion among men of mark not personally engaged in political strife was elicited on the side of the Union. Lord Tenmyson, Mr. Froude, Professor Huxley, Mr. Matthew Arnold, Mr. Lecky, Professor Tyndall, Mr. Goldwin Smith, Sir

Jurists who criticized the Bill.

Politicians.

Men of mark.

[18]

Frederic Leighton, and Mr. Swinburne are only a few among many eminent names that could be mentioned. After the defeat of the Separatists at the polls, Professor Dicey summed up the "Case against Home Rule"* in a closely-reasoned argument, which remains the most complete and thoroughgoing analysis of the Unionist position. Though Mr. Gladstone and his followers endeavoured vainly to throw upon Unionists the responsibility of adopting a positive policy on many of the questions raised by the Bill, it was clear that a negative attitude was quite sufficient.

Professor Dicey.

The government of Ireland on Unionist principles being at once a working hypothesis and an established fact—and this has become more distinctly the case since the administration of Mr. Balfour—it was enough to show that, upon any of the different interpretations which could be given to the ambiguous and inconsistent language of Mr. Gladstone's measure, the results must fail to secure the conditions laid down as indispensable by its author. It did not effectually safeguard either the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament or the rights and liberties of Irish minorities. It contravened, in one direction or another, the elementary principles of constitutional government. It offered no reasonable hope of a "real and final settlement" of our difficulties with Ireland.

What the Bill did not do.

The impracticable character of the Bill would have been even more apparent if Mr. Parnell and his party had spoken out what was in their minds; but for reasons afterwards given in Committee Room No. 15, they were silent as to most points of difference, though reserving the right to criticize in Committee the financial arrangements characterized by Mr. Parnell at the time as "unnecessary," "absurd," "most offensive," and a "source of irritation."†

Mr. Parnell on the financial arrangements.

* The 2nd edition is referred to throughout.

† *Hansard*, vol. 304, pp. 1853–1854; see also pp. 1131–1133.

The Gladstonians, however, swallowed greedily the effusive commonplaces with which the Irish Parliamentary party professed to welcome the Bill when they found for the time that they could get no more. But Ministers looked about for concessions by which they hoped to soothe the fears or allay the discontent of the various sections they hoped to bring together into the lobby on the second reading. Mr. Gladstone himself hastened to explain that when he used the words "vital" and "essential" of several provisions of the Bill he did not intend to convey the impression that these provisions could not be modified or even dropped. Mr. Morley, though he maintained that it was not intended to remodel the measure or to "turn it inside out," admitted that it was not a "cast-iron" Bill, and admired its "flexibility of adaptation."*

Concessions by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley.

The first concessions were made just before the Bill was brought in, when the control of the Customs and Excise was reserved at the last moment to the Imperial Government and Parliament, in order to prevent Mr. Childers and Mr. Mundella, as it was understood at the time, and possibly, Sir William Harcourt, from following the example of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan in resigning.

First concession.

Then Sir Charles Russell threw overboard the principle of the two "orders,"† against which Mr. Parnell had entered a protest, and with it one of the main safeguards provided for the rights of minorities and for the independence of the judiciary. The Purchase Bill, though founded by Mr. Gladstone on obligations of "honour and good faith," was from the first whittled down. The Irish landlords were warned that "the sands were running out in the hour-glass."‡ The amount assigned for buying out every landlord who chose to insist upon it was cut down from

Second concession.

The Purchase Bill.

* Speech at Glasgow, *Times*, May 1, 1886.

† *Hansard*, vol. 306, p. 58.

‡ Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian letter, *Times*, May 4, 1886.

about 20 millions sterling to 50 millions, with no explanation of the manner in which a quart was to be thus got into a pint pot. When one of Mr. Gladstone's supporters, Captain Verney, being troubled with a delicate conscience, appealed to his chief, the latter gave him a dispensation, declaring, in regard to the two measures he had pronounced to be 'inseparable," that "a vote for the second reading of the Irish Government Bill leaves the giver of it absolutely free as to his vote on the Land Purchase Bill."* These indications, conveyed when Mr. Gladstone was angling for the votes of the wavering Liberals, foreshadowed the "severance of twinship" that immediately followed his defeat.

Mr. Gladstone to Captain Verney.

On one question of cardinal importance the struggle was prolonged, and had the most potent effect upon the issue. By the 24th clause it was proposed to be enacted that, after a date fixed, Ireland should wholly cease to return either representative peers or members of the House of Commons to the Imperial Parliament, except for the purpose of altering the Home Rule Constitution. It was at once perceived that this provision involved the alternatives of separation or servitude. The exclusion of the Irish members placed Ireland, so far as Imperial representation was concerned, in the position of one of the great self-governing colonies, in which the connexion with the mother country is simply preserved by mutual goodwill and by the practical abandonment of interference in local affairs by the Imperial Government and Parliament. But, as Mr. Morley has admitted, the case of Ireland under Home Rule would be altogether different :—

The 24th clause.

Mr. Morley on the difference between Ireland and a colony.

> The Lord Lieutenant, the Receiver-General, the veto, the control of the military force, the resort on occasion to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, all involve relations between the Irish and

* *Times*, May 28, 1886.

English Executive, and, therefore, all imply the possibility of collision between the Irish and English Legislatures.—(*Nineteenth Century*, February, 1887, p. 308.)

The exaction from Ireland, under Mr. Gladstone's Bill, of contributions to the Imperial Treasury was assailed from the first, as we have seen, by Mr. Parnell. It was inconsistent with the position of a self-governing colony, the favourite parallel of the Gladstonians, and with the fundamental doctrine of the Constitution that there shall be no taxation without representation. When Mr. Chamberlain withdrew from the Cabinet he placed this question in the forefront, declaring the retention of the Irish representatives in their full numbers at Westminster to be "the key to the situation," and their participation in the full responsibility for Imperial affairs the only means by which Imperial supremacy over a subordinate Legislature could be secured. But while Unionists generally agreed with Mr. Chamberlain in condemning the absurdity of the proposed exclusion of the Irish Members from the Imperial Parliament, which might involve Ireland in the risks and losses of a war condemned by the Irish Legislature, and which could dispose of millions of money levied upon Ireland without any representative control, they saw equal or greater difficulties in every plan that was suggested for retaining the Irish representation, entirely or partially. The dilemma was not to be escaped, and the successive phases of Mr. Gladstone's dealings with it must be carefully noted with a view to the proposals of the new Bill.

Mr. Chamberlain's "Key to the situation."

The foundation stone of the original Home Rule speech was the exclusion of the Irish members, as the main object was to deliver the British Parliament from Irish obstruction. Mr. Morley forcibly urged this argument in his speech at Chelmsford not long before he took office,* and it was fully developed by Mr. Gladstone on the introduction of

Exclusion of the Irish members.

* *Times*, January 8, 1886.

the Bill. Assuming that Ireland was to have a Legislature of her own for dealing with local affairs, were her representatives, Mr. Gladstone asked, to come to Westminster to meddle in English and Scotch affairs? It was "perfectly clear," it was "universally admitted" that they could not be allowed to do so. But, if not, "is it practicable for Irish representatives to come here for the settlement, not of English and Scotch, but of Imperial affairs?"* Mr. Gladstone was then decidedly of opinion that to distinguish between Imperial and other affairs in the British Parliament was utterly impracticable. He said:—"I have thought much, reasoned much, and inquired much with regard to that distinction. I had hoped it might be possible to draw a distinction, but I have arrived at the conclusion that it cannot be drawn. I believe it passes the wit of man. At any rate it passes, not my wit alone, but the wit of many with whom I have communicated."† Mr. Morley contended in the same sense, in addressing his constituents at Newcastle, that no plan of the kind would work: the Irish members would use their votes on Imperial questions with a view to influencing decisions on Irish matters: "You would have the present block of our business; you would have all the present irritation and exasperation. English work would not be done; Irish feelings would not be conciliated, but would be exasperated."‡ But Mr. Gladstone had to confront the growing dissatisfaction of his own followers with the effect of the clause both on Irish constitutional rights and on the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. At the meeting of his party at the Foreign Office, while the debate on the second reading was pending,§ he announced

Mr. Gladstone's position.

Mr. Morley's position.

Gladstonian dissatisfaction.

* *Hansard*, vol. 304, pp. 1055, 1057.

† *Hansard*, vol. 304, pp. 1055, 1057.

‡ Speech at Newcastle, *Times*, April 22, 1886.

§ *Times*, May 28, 1886.

Mr. Gladstone changing his mind.

that he was prepared to attempt to draw the distinction that "passed the wit of man." "The Government," he said, "were quite willing to undertake the responsibility of framing and submitting a plan which would entitle Irish representatives to be invited to Parliament when any proposal for taxation was made which affected the condition of Ireland." And just before the final division on the Bill, he intimated that Parliament, if it so desired, was free to get rid of clause 24 altogether. In Opposition Mr. Gladstone's progress was more rapid. Instead of being merely willing to recall the Irish members to Westminster when financial questions affecting Ireland were brought forward, he had advanced in June, 1887, to the statement in his speech at Singleton Abbey,* that he and his colleagues "were perfectly open to consider the inclusion, if it should be found expedient, of the Irish members in the Westminster Parliament;"† and in July, 1888, in a speech at Sir Wilfrid Lawson's, he affirmed that he "had never had the slightest intention or disposition to interpose an objection" as to retaining the Irish members, adding that "as to the practicability of making a plan, there was no question at all about it."‡ During the North Bucks election of 1889 he treated the point as settled unconditionally. "I long ago declared," he wrote, "that the public sense appeared to be in favour of the retention of the Irish members, and, this being so, I was perfectly prepared to accede to the alteration."§ It is, no doubt, in view of these declarations that Mr. Redmond has considered himself justified in stating *sans phrase*, in the *Nineteenth Century* for October last, p. 409, that "it is

His position in June, 1887.

In July, 1888.

In October, 1889.

* [The residence of Sir Hussey Vivian, M.P., who had voted against the Bill of 1886 and retained his seat unchallenged as a Liberal Unionist, but "found salvation" afterwards.]

† *Times*, June 6, 1887.

‡ *Times*, July 19, 1888.

§ *Star*, October 1, 1889.

now admitted officially that the Irish members are to be retained at Westminster."

Public opinion on the retention of the Irish Members.

Mr. Gladstone, however, has again reckoned without public opinion. Discussion has damaged his scheme of retaining the Irish members as fatally as it damaged his scheme for excluding them. Lord Hartington, Lord Derby, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Balfour, and other acute critics have pointed out the impossibility of retaining the Irish members at Westminster, either in their present numbers or in any diminished proportion, whether for some Parliamentary purposes or for all, without gross injustice to England and unparalleled confusion in the House of Commons. If the Irish members are empowered to vote only on Imperial questions, supposing the distinction passing the wit of man to be actually drawn, what is to be the effect on the existing constitutional method of bringing in and putting out Ministries? Is a Ministry at Westminster, supported on all domestic questions by a strong working majority, to be ejected from office when the Irish members, either in their full strength of 103 or cut down illogically to one-third of that number, are called in to vote on the Army Estimates or the tea duty? If Ministers resign on the hostile vote of such a temporary majority, how is the opposite party to come in, when it can only command *ex hypothesi* the support of a minority on all English and Scotch questions? Obviously the only solution is to have two Governments, each with a different law of existence and probably of a different political complexion. The absurdity of an arrangement by which the fate of the Home Secretary, the President of the Local Government Board, the Minister of education, and so forth would be decided by different majorities and different votes from those on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Foreign Secretary, and the like would depend, requires no demonstration. It

The effect.

The federal basis.

could only be evaded by a complete reconstruction of the United Kingdom on a federal basis, with one supreme Parliament strictly limited to the Imperial sphere, and with four, if not more, subordinate Legislatures controlling local affairs in England, Wales, and Scotland, as well as in Ireland. This policy of "Home Rule all round" has been disavowed, however, by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley, who have both protested that they did not contemplate the rebuilding of the whole political edifice, but only the repairing of one leaking part of the fabric. Lord Derby's trenchant criticism of such a policy is not more telling than the protest recorded against it by the late Professor Freeman, one of the very few eminent men disconnected with "practical politics" who supported Mr. Gladstone in 1886. It was impossible, Mr. Freeman urged,* to make a federation of the United Kingdom on fair and workable conditions without breaking up England itself, "restoring the Heptarchy," and reducing "the Parliament of England which had done great things and made its name in the world for 600 years" to the position of a subordinate body.

Professor Freeman on federation.

Lord Derby on federation.

Lord Derby in 1888 said† :—

> If anybody believes that in these two little islands there is room for four separate national Governments, with one Imperial Government over them all—five Cabinets and five Parliaments—and that all these Cabinets and Parliaments can continue to work together, he must be of an exceptionally sanguine disposition, or must possess the happy faculty which some politicians have of being able to shut their eyes very hard.

If, then, the separation of Imperial from local affairs is not made logical and workable by a federal system which no responsible statesman has yet advocated or thought out, how are the Irish members to be retained at

* Speech at Wells, *Times*, October 5, 1889.

† Speech at Liverpool, *Times*, December 18, 1888.

Westminster without injustice to Englishmen and Scotchmen? The proposal to retain them *simpliciter* is iniquitous on the face of it. As Lord Hartington has said*:—

Lord Hartington on Irish supremacy.

> Ireland has a right, I admit, to equality of political treatment; but Ireland has no right, and I do not know who has ever claimed for Ireland the right, of political supremacy. And political supremacy it would be if, having conceded to Irishmen the right to be masters in their own house, and the right to tell us that we had no title any longer to interfere in the settlement of the most important of their own internal questions, then they were to retain the right of coming over here and settling for us, perhaps contrary to the will and the wish of the majority of our representatives, the way in which we were to conduct our own internal affairs.

This is, in truth, as Lord Derby has said, "a proposition too ridiculous for discussion."

Gladstonian protests.

But it is not among the Unionists only that the proposal to keep the Irish members at Westminster is condemned as unfair and impracticable. Mr. Labouchere and Mr. Conybeare have severally entered an emphatic protest against it, and it forms the basis of Sir Edward Reed's recent demonstration of independence. Mr. Morley has never disguised his repugnance to parting with the logical foundation of the Home Rule Policy as laid down in the Chelmsford speech.† These views receive sufficient support among the Gladstonians to make a reversion to the "exclusion" scheme, in spite of its flagrant defects, by no means improbable. Mr. Gladstone will then have boxed the compass of policy to no purpose. He has passed from the "out scheme," of the Bill of 1886 to the "in and out scheme" and thence to the "in scheme," and may have to go back to his original position. A faithful follower of his, Mr. Reid, Q.C., has summed up neatly enough in the *Contemporary Review* for April

Mr. Reid, Q.C., on the "out scheme."

* Speech at Stirling, *Times*, October 5, 1889.

† See his speech at Newcastle, *Times*, April 22, 1886.

last* the difficulties of these three schemes. The "out scheme" is "a vast innovation, either not just or not final," involving "an alteration in the *status* of Ireland which must either be followed by her release from all contributions to Imperial expenditure or provoke an unanswerable complaint of inferiority to every other self-governing part of the Empire." The "in and out scheme" involves "such instability that the mere necessity of avoiding constant changes of Government would weaken the authority of the House of Commons, and thereby enhance that of the Crown and the House of Lords"—a thought calculated, indeed, to shake the nerves of the most robust of Radicals! The "in scheme," at which Mr. Gladstone was recently supposed to have halted, is dismissed as subjecting England and Scotland, in their internal affairs, including the choice of their Ministers, to a body of Irish politicians holding the balance of power at Westminster while practically independent in Dublin—an arrangement, Mr. Reid justly observes, "unjust to Great Britain, inconvenient as breeding a legitimate resentment, simple enough if it can be maintained, and of a novelty quite startling, because, though Great Britain may have inflicted, she has never hitherto submitted to inequality." Another Gladstonian lawyer, Mr. Asquith, marked out for higher destinies than Mr. Reid, did not recoil from this last arrangement. Mr. Asquith, who is now a member of the Cabinet which is hatching the new Home Rule Bill, was prepared as he told his constituents at Ladybank,† to keep the Irish members at Westminster in their full numbers and for all purposes, stipulating, however, that the present excessive representation of Ireland should be reduced on the principle of "one vote one value," and maintaining that

The "in and out scheme."

The "in scheme."

Mr. Asquith in favour of "one vote one value."

* *Contemporary Review*, April, 1892; pp. 485, 486.

† *Scotsman*, January 11, 1892.

the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament would be thus effectively preserved, since it could not be said of any law passed by that body, even if it applied to the local affairs of Ireland, that it was passed by a body in which they (the Irish) were not represented, and by whose decision they were not to be constitutionally bound.

Indifference of Irish Party explained.

On this last point it is enough to say that it is irreconcilable with the attitude taken up both before and after the Parnellite split by both sections of the Irish Separatists. Neither before nor after the schism did Mr. Parnell, his successors, and his rivals take any keen interest in the question of the retention of the Irish members at Westminster. Their tone has been one of indifference, sometimes cynical and sometimes ironical. They are evidently of opinion that while the original plan implies practical separation and supplies the ground from which to demand the recognition of "Ireland's nationhood," the retention scheme in either of its forms would give a leverage for compelling English parties to make fresh concessions. Mr. Parnell's account of the Hawarden negotiations has been contested by Mr. Gladstone, but it has not been denied that the question of the retention of the Irish members was discussed. It was stated by Mr. Parnell, in the manifesto* he issued after his excommunication by the Gladstonian leaders, and the attempt to depose him in Committee Room No. 15, that while he was indifferent on grounds of principle to the number of the Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament, he thought it "would be the height of madness for any Irish leader to imitate Grattan's example, and consent to disband the army which had cleared the way to victory," so long as matters of great importance were withdrawn from the Irish Legislature. Mr. Redmond has recently declared that if Mr. Gladstone can solve the difficulty his

Mr. Parnell.

Mr. Redmond.

* *Times*, November 29, 1890.

solution "will be received without any very close scrutiny into its strict logic on our part."* This is quite natural, for it is Englishmen and Scotchmen, not Irishmen, who would have to complain of Mr. Gladstone's deficiency in "strict logic," while Mr. Redmond's tolerant offer is linked with proposals that would reduce Imperial supremacy over the Irish Legislature, and over Irish affairs, to the most impalpable shadow. It is worth while, at the same time, to take note of a pregnant criticism of Mr. Redmond's on the working of the retention scheme in the limited form. "What," he says,* "is the most completely Imperial of all affairs? Surely the existence of the Imperial Government. The Imperial Government will depend for its existence, and all Imperial policy depends for its continuance, upon the support of Parliament. The fate of a Ministry may depend upon the decision of Parliament upon some purely English or Scotch question, as, for example, the question of Disestablishment. Does not this purely British question become an Imperial one, upon which Ireland would be entitled to vote the moment the existence of the Imperial Government depends upon its decision?" It is impossible to give a more striking instance of the bewildering subtleties of distinction which Mr. Gladstone once regarded as "passing the wit of man."

* *Nineteenth Century*, October, 1892, p. 522.

## III.—IMPERIAL SUPREMACY—THE VETO.

THE controversy respecting the retention of the Irish members at Westminster has thrown much light upon the questions, discussed in a somewhat academic spirit in 1886, whether under the Bill of that year the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament was maintained notwithstanding the concession of a subordinate Legislature, and whether the Act of Union was in fact repealed. Mr. Gladstone, whose faith in the potency of words and phrases has always transcended his power of discerning realities, seems to have assumed that he could place these points beyond the region of debate by large and emphatic declarations on his own part. He repeatedly reaffirmed his adhesion on the first point to the language he had used in Mid-Lothian some years before, when he said*:—

Mr. Gladstone in 1879.

"Nothing can be done by any wise statesman or right-minded Briton to weaken or compromise the authority of the Imperial Parliament. The Imperial Parliament must be supreme in the three Kingdoms, and nothing that creates a doubt on that supremacy can be tolerated by any intelligent or patriotic mind." On the second point he wrote (Nov., 1890)†:—"The essence of the Union lies in this, that the right of supreme government resides at Westminster." Professor Dicey, supported by the opinion of the most eminent lawyers in both Houses of Parliament, maintains‡ that the Bill of 1886 amounts to a repeal of the Union, not only in substance, but in law, inasmuch

Prof. Dicey on the Bill of 1886.

* *Times*, November 27, 1879.

† *Special Aspects of the Irish Question*, p. 371.

‡ Dicey's *Case against Home Rule*, p. 227; see as to the general constitutional effect of the scheme, pp. 233–249.

as the representation of all parts of the United Kingdom "in one and the same Parliament" would cease to exist; but, of course, if the Irish members were retained, this argument would *pro tanto* fall to the ground. What is material to note is, that Mr. Gladstone treats the maintenance of the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament, whether the Irish members are excluded or included, as constituting "the essence of the Union."

Lord Thring on the 37th clause.

What, then, is this supremacy? Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley point to the reserved power of Parliament to withdraw or modify by legislation any concessions that may have been granted in the same way. Mr. Bryce and Lord Thring have laid stress on the constitutional doctrine, that Parliament can in strict law repeal any of its former Acts, and that in truth the only limitation upon its powers is that it cannot bind its successors. The question, however, is less simple than the mere statement of these propositions would make it out to be. This, indeed, was admitted by the authors of the Bill when they inserted the 37th clause.

> It seemed well (writes Lord Thring, who drafted the Bill himself) that Ireland by her representatives should accept as a satisfactory charter of Irish liberty a document which contained an express submission to Imperial power and a direct acknowledgment of Imperial unity. Similarly with respect to the supremacy of the British Parliament. In the Colonial Constitutions all reference to this supremacy is omitted as being too clear to require notice. In the case of the Irish Home Rule Bill instructions were given to preserve, in express words, the supremacy of the British Parliament, in order to pledge Ireland to an express admission of that supremacy by the same vote which accepted local powers.—(*Contemporary Review*, March, 1887, pp. 314-315.)

Lord Thring has admitted that the 37th clause, as it originally stood, was "doubtful and inaccurate," but has argued that it could, and would, have been amended in committee. Professor Dicey, in the appendix to his "Case against Home Rule," p. 309, thus prints the

Prof. Dicey gives the clause as amended.

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amended clause, "as I am informed it ought to have been originally printed," but the difference is scarcely perceptible:—"Save as therein expressly provided, all matters in relation to which it is not competent for the Irish Legislative Body to make or repeal laws shall remain, and be within, the exclusive authority of the Imperial Parliament, whose power and authority in relation thereto, save as aforesaid, shall in nowise be diminished or restrained by anything herein contained." The clause, whether as it originally stood, or as it was to be amended, according to Mr. Dicey, wholly fails to carry out the object avowed by Lord Thring. For, evidently, the saving affects the very point in dispute.

How the clause fails.

The Imperial Parliament expressly renounces the right in any case to use its "supreme authority" for legislating on any questions except those which the Irish Legislature is not competent to deal with. But what of the subjects which the Irish Legislature is competent to deal with? Over these, as the Unionists have all along contended, the reservation in words or by inference of the Imperial supremacy gives no practical means of control, yet when it is objected that those powers may be abused, it is thought by the Gladstonians a sufficient answer to say that the Imperial Parliament is able to intervene. When Sir William Harcourt says* that his party have contended for "the right of the Irish people to manage their own affairs, subject—always subject—to the control of the Imperial Parliament," he is offering what the Irish Separatists of both factions have neither asked for nor accepted, and what, therefore, is, on the principles laid down by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley, quite worthless. It is no wonder that, when Mr. Redmond challenged him in the House of Commons† to state whether or not

Sir William Harcourt's Home Rule.

Mr. Redmond's challenge.

* *Times*, April 18, 1892.

† *Hansard*, 4th Series, vol. 1, pp. 506–508.

"Mr. Parnell's Fenian Home Rule" was implied in the declaration adopted by Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites alike that the Irish Legislature "must be supreme with regard to Irish questions," Mr. Gladstone's lieutenant thought it prudent to leave the House without attempting to define his position. He had before him Mr. Parnell's recent definition of the Irish demand:—"There can be no mistake about it, we want a Parliament with full power to manage the affairs of Ireland, and with no English veto, whether on the appointment of your leader or on the laws you shall make." This statement was what Sir William Harcourt had denounced, a few weeks after it had been made by Mr. Parnell, as "Fenian Home Rule," as a policy "which the Liberal party had never countenanced, and one which they would never support."* Yet, when it was recited and reasserted in the House of Commons by Mr. Redmond, in the debate on the Address in August last, the declaration that it represented "the position of all Irish Nationalists" was not disputed by the Anti-Parnellites. Mr. Justin M'Carthy, in his recent observations on Sir Edward Reed's protest, has stated that there was nothing unreasonable or unfair in Mr. Redmond's demands, and that they were adopted by the Clerical section.

Mr. Parnell's definition of the Irish demand.

Though it has been contended that the Imperial Parliament cannot finally divest itself of legislative power, which it always held in reserve, the renunciation, as Mr. Bryce acknowledged in his speech,† on the second reading of the Bill of 1886, is morally, even if not legally, binding. So, as Mr. Dicey has shown,‡ the Declaratory Act of 1778, renouncing the right to tax the colonies, might be repealed expressly or implicitly by the Imperial Parliament, but its moral obligation is recognized as

Mr. Bryce on Imperial control.

The Declaratory Act of 1778.

* *Times*, April 18, 1892.

† *Hansard*, vol. 305, pp. 1218, 1219.

‡ *Case against Home Rule*, p. 245.

absolute, and to this extent Imperial supremacy has practically ceased to exist. In the clause above quoted the inherent right of the Imperial Parliament to legislate is asserted only with respect to the subjects as to which the Irish Legislature is declared to be not competent to act. This is Mr. Morley's view. It was, he says,* the "plain and undisguised intention" of the framers of the Bill that, with the exceptions enumerated as withdrawn from the Irish Legislature, "the British Parliament should, for the future, not legislate on such Irish affairs as should be delegated to the subordinate Parliament at Dublin." There is nothing in the Bill to show that a reserved power so to legislate was to be exercised "on possible, but very extreme occasions." But whether the legal authority remains or not—and on this point lawyers of high repute, such as Sir Henry James, Lord Selborne, and Professor Dicey, differ from the opinion expressed by Lord Thring and Mr. Bryce—the moral difficulty could not be got over unless the Imperial Parliament were prepared to sacrifice even the semblance of an amicable settlement. Mr. Parnell, it is true, took a different line in the debate on the second reading, acknowledging, as Mr. Morley says,† "with his usual clearness"—and, as we are now in a position to add, with his usual want of candour—the reserved right of Imperial interference in Irish affairs. But the proceedings in Committee Room No. 15 have shown what amount of reliance is to be placed on such assurances.

Mr. Morley's view.

Legal authorities differ.

It is only just to say that neither Mr. Parnell nor his Clericalist rivals have pretended at any time to be content with a subordinate Legislature in Sir William Harcourt's sense. "We assert to-day," said Mr. Parnell,‡ in almost

Irish opinions on a subordinate Legislature.

Mr. Parnell.

* *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1887, p. 303.

† *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1887, p. 305.

‡ *Freeman's Journal*, September 14, 1891.

the latest speech he delivered, "what we asserted in 1885 and the years before it, that no man has a right to fix the boundary of a nation." "We claim," said Mr. Redmond, in August last,* "that Ireland is a nation and has the rights of a nation." Mr. O'Brien, after Mr. Parnell's death, declared† that his party "would never accept any national settlement, any Home Rule settlement, that would not draw the last fangs of landlordism and that would not leave this old Irish race of ours the masters and the landowners within the four seas of holy Ireland." Mr. Dillon, who indignantly denies that he "ever in the course of his life lowered the flag of national independence," has solemnly pledged his word‡ that, if the new Bill "is not satisfactory to the national sentiment of the Irish people, he will be the first man to declare against the Gladstonian party." Mr. T. P. O'Connor has recorded his opinion§ that "any English Liberal who is not ready to say Amen to the demand of Mr. Redmond and his colleagues does not know the realities and the consequences of his own policy." Archbishop Croke, Mr. Dillon's patron, who believes that priests and people have arrived "within strictly measurable distance of what we ultimately aim at, the legislative independence of our country," protests‖ that "a country which is tied to the chariot wheels of another is held of no account, and is not improperly called a province or dependency, and not a self-regulating and independent State."

Mr. Redmond.

Mr. O'Brien.

Mr. Dillon.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor.

Archbishop Croke.

All these declarations, which might be indefinitely multiplied, justify Mr. Redmond in asking, as he has done, both in Parliament and elsewhere, how they are to be reconciled with the views of Sir William Harcourt on

* *Hansard*, 4th Series; vol. 7, p. 164.
† *Freeman's Journal*, December 7, 1891.
‡ *Freeman's Journal*, December 7, 1891.
§ *Freeman's Journal*, April 6, 1892.
‖ *National Press*, May 25, 1891.

Imperial supremacy, or with Mr. Asquith's avowed determination to insist* upon "an Imperial Parliament *whose unquestioned and unquestionable sovereignty over all persons and in all matters, local or Imperial, will remain intact and unimpaired.*" Like Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and all the rest, Mr. Redmond is willing to make a verbal acknowledgment of Imperial supremacy, but this admission, which Lord Thring, as we have seen, considers it so important to extort from the Irish representatives by the clause he sought to have inserted in the Bill, is qualified by stipulations that reduce it to a nullity. Mr. Redmond, in fact, has bettered Lord Thring's instruction. "The rights (he says) of the Imperial Parliament would remain intact," but they "would remain dormant so far as Irish affairs are concerned." How is this to be effected?

Mr. Asquith's determination.

Mr. Redmond's stipulations.

A Parliamentary compact would be entered into, binding the Imperial Parliament to leave their rights dormant. Such a contract, of course, cannot, in strict theory, bind successive Parliaments, but in practice it must have this effect by imposing, as Mr. Bryce said, "a moral obligation upon Parliament not to act contrary to the statute." We would expect a clause in the Home Rule Bill to specifically provide an undertaking that, *while the Irish Parliament continued in existence, the powers of the Imperial Parliament to legislate for Ireland would never be used.* So that in point of actual fact it comes to this, that, while we do not deny that the Imperial Parliament, which has now the power to create an Irish Legislature, would retain the power in strict constitutional theory to take it away again, we would require a formal compact to the effect that, while that Legislature lasted, it should be permitted to exercise free and unfettered control over the affairs committed to its charge.—(*Nineteenth Century*, October, 1892, pp. 515-516.)

This position, it will be seen, is precisely that which has been taken up also by the Anti-Parnellite leaders, and Mr. Redmond's definition of it has never been challenged, contradicted, or even criticized, in or out of Parliament, by the Gladstonian-Clerical Nationalists. It must be observed that Mr. Redmond has accepted Mr. Bryce's

Mr. Gladstone's exaggerated language.

* Letter to his constituents, *Scotsman*, July 10, 1889.

argument for Imperial supremacy for his present purpose, but it can be turned to other purposes. Mr. Gladstone, unfortunately, by the exaggerated language he has employed about Irish nationality and independence before the Act of Union, has placed it in the power of the Nationalists to say that the Irish Parliament also possessed a supremacy within its own sphere which it could not extinguish by any compact binding upon future generations. Thus, whatever stipulations were now accepted on either side could be repudiated, on Mr. Gladstone's principles, by the Irish Legislature as well as by the Imperial Parliament, on the ground of inherent and inalienable right.

The veto as explained by Mr. Gladstone.

Beside the general argument from the reserved power of the Imperial supremacy, Mr. Gladstone and his followers rely on the specific safeguard of the veto to be vested in the Lord Lieutenant. The Gladstonians appeal to the colonial analogy, though they propose to place Ireland in a position which none of the self-governing colonies would have consented to occupy for half-a-year. Mr. Gladstone has laid it down* that, under the Home Rule Constitution, "the Crown would appoint the Lord Lieutenant, and the appointment of the Lord Lieutenant, who must be the head of the Irish Executive, would effectually reserve to the British Crown, and through the British Crown to the British Ministers, and through the British Ministers to the British Parliament, the power of interfering." Mr. Redmond's answer to language of this sort is straightforward enough. He says† :—

Mr. Redmond's answer.

> A power which in the case of the colonies is harmless, because a dead letter, would in the case of Ireland be a reality and a perpetual source of humiliation, of heartburning, and of danger. We therefore say a formal compact must be entered into that, while the Irish

* Speech at Nottingham, *Times*, October 19, 1887.

† *Nineteenth Century*, October, 1892, p. 517.

Parliament lasts, it will be permitted sole and unfettered authority in all purely Irish affairs, free from interference by the Imperial Parliament, and subject only to the constitutional veto of the Crown.

He censures Mr. Oscar Browning, who during the last general election repeated, "with deliberation and confidence," the statements of his chiefs, including Mr. Gladstone himself and Mr. Morley, that the veto of the Crown exercised by the Lord Lieutenant would be "in accordance with the advice of the Sovereign's British Ministers." If this were the case, Home Rule, Mr. Redmond asserts,* "would be reduced to a humiliating farce; it would be the re-enactment of Poyning's law in a more objectionable and offensive form than it existed in before the settlement of 1782. . . . Irish Ministers would be powerless, the Irish Executive would be beneath contempt, without power, authority, or respect." In local affairs and in dealing with all subjects except those expressly reserved for the Imperial Parliament, the Irish Legislature, according to Mr. Redmond, must be subject only to the veto of the Viceroy acting on the advice of his Irish Ministers, themselves the creatures of that Legislature. He appeals on this point to the testimony of Sir Charles Russell, Mr. Gladstone's Attorney-General, and of Lord Thring, the draftsman of the Home Rule Bill. The former, in the debate on the second reading, said:— "With regard to the veto to be exercised by the Lord Lieutenant, it is true that it is to be exercised constitutionally by the Lord Lieutenant on the advice of his Irish Ministers."† Lord Thring is equally decided on this point, though he is careful to draw the proper distinction between local and Imperial matters. He says:—

Sir C. Russell on the veto.

Lord Thring.

The Governor is an Imperial officer, and will be bound to watch over Imperial interests with a jealous scrutiny, and to veto any Bill

* *Nineteenth Century*, October, 1892, p. 517.

† *Hansard*, vol. 306, p. 59.

which may be injurious to those interests. On the other hand, *as respects all local matters, he will act on and be guided by the advice of the Irish Executive Council.* The system is self-acting. The Governor, for local purposes, must have a Council which is in harmony with the Legislative body. If the Governor and a Council, supported by the Legislative body, do not agree, the Governor must give way, unless he can, by dismissing his Council and dissolving the Legislative body, obtain both a Council and a Legislative body which will support his views.—(*Contemporary Review*, August, 1887, p. 163.)

Mr. Gladstone. But this, as we have seen, is not the reading of the Bill adopted—at least, on all occasions—by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley. The plan of 1886, according to Mr. Gladstone, "gave to the Crown the veto on all Bills passed by the statutory Parliament of Ireland. It did not contain any provision that this veto should be exercised under the advice of the Irish Executive. It was, we have to remember, a veto upon Bills within the statutory powers, Bills exclusively Irish (*Nineteenth Century*, February, 1887, p. 170).*

Mr. Morley. Mr. Morley was not less explicit. "There is, however (he says), the veto of the Lord Lieutenant, and this, as anyone may see, really means, in the ultimate resort, an indirect faculty of veto residing in the British House of Commons."† This extraordinary discrepancy has never yet been explained. It is necessary to sift and collate Mr. Gladstone's *ambiguas voces* to arrive even at a conjectural estimate of his meaning. Probably the governing factor is the admission in his speech on bringing in the Home Rule Bill‡ that "the principle of responsible government will work itself out in every necessary detail." That principle the Gladstonians profess to concede fully to Ireland. What will it leave standing of the pretentious theory of Imperial supremacy over Irish affairs, or of the veto of

* [On May 26, 1892, he wrote that Mr. Oscar Browning's interpretation was right and that "the opposite contention was absurd."]

† *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1887, p. 306.

‡ *Hansard*, vol. 304, p. 1069.

the Crown which Mr. Gladstone parades as a security against abuses and oppression?

How responsible government would work itself out.

The supremacy of the Imperial Parliament and the veto of the Crown are equally reduced, on Mr. Redmond's principles, to a nullity. The former is never to be applied to control Irish handling of "local affairs," though under that head a Legislature in Dublin may alter the Civil and Criminal law and procedure of the country from top to bottom, may confiscate the property of individuals, and may render life intolerable to those classes against whom the dominant majority or its spokesmen have threatened vengeance. The Imperial Parliament is only to retain power to insist on the surrender of the Home Rule Constitution—a "war measure" which would be practically at the disposal of Great Britain, even if actual separation were granted. The Lord Lieutenant's right to reject measures passed by the Legislature, if to be exercised only on the advice of his Ministers in Dublin, would necessarily fall into abeyance, as the veto of the Crown has fallen into abeyance in this country since the days of Queen Anne. Responsible government working itself out, as Mr. Gladstone contemplates, through an Irish Legislature supporting an Irish Executive, would realize Mr. Parnell's ideal of an Irish Constitution, "free from all outside interference, free from any English or Imperial veto, free from the control of any Englishman or English Minister."

## IV.—FINALITY.

Negotiations between Mr. Gladstone and Mr Parnell.

When Mr. Parnell's downfall in the Divorce Court produced the revolt of the Nonconformist conscience, and, by a curious coincidence, the establishment of clerical ascendancy in Ireland, the questions we have been considering dropped for the time out of sight. It was not denied that Mr. Parnell had been carrying on negotiations with Mr. Gladstone in regard to the remodelling of the Bill of 1886, and, though the account given by the former of what passed between him and the Gladstonian leader was disputed by the latter, the fact remained that on neither side was the compact entered into on the introduction of the original measure regarded as binding. Not only Mr. Parnell, but Mr. Healy and the whole body of the Anti-Parnellites, rejected emphatically the modified Bill which was described as Mr. Gladstone's latest offer, though it is difficult to see how it differed materially, except in one or two points of secondary importance, from the plan that had been ostensibly accepted in 1886. With regard to

Retention of Irish Members.

the retention of the Irish members at Westminster, Mr. Parnell's demand was that their numbers should not be reduced so long as any temporary and provisional restrictions of the powers of the Irish Legislature were maintained. The suggestion that, for a time, the appointments

The Judiciary.

to the judiciary and the magistracy should be made by the Imperial Government was a slight extension of the provision securing to the existing Judges who were to continue in office an Imperial guarantee, while the control of the constabulary was already reserved to the Lord Lieutenant. In the Bill of 1886 the Irish Legislature

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was not prohibited from dealing with the land question; but Mr. Gladstone had proposed to remove the principal difficulties—especially the danger strongly insisted upon by Mr. Morley and Lord Spencer, that the landlords would be expropriated and despoiled if they were left to the mercy of an Assembly elected by the masses—by his measure of land purchase. That, however, was abandoned, or if any scheme of the kind was to be reintroduced it was understood that the Gladstonians would not be put under any party pressure to vote for it. Mr. Parnell's forecast of the new Gladstonian plan of Home Rule may have been incorrect in some particulars, but it was only brought forward as an excuse for a general repudiation of responsibility for the compact of 1886; and it is significant to observe that Mr. Parnell's opponents were as eager as their deserted leader to declare that they had never assented to that compact except in a Pickwickian sense. Both Mr. Parnell and Mr. Healy told the story of the acceptance of the Bill of 1886 in Committee Room No. 15.* When the terms of that measure were disclosed to the Nationalist leaders there was a disposition to reject them, and especially to insist on demanding control of the Customs. Mr. Parnell pointed out that, in such an event, there would be another Cabinet crisis (Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan had just resigned), and that Mr. Gladstone's Government would collapse. The Bill, Mr. Parnell said, is "a Parliament hit and nothing more." . . . "Will you take or will you leave it?" On this the representatives of the Irish party consented "to accept it *pro tanto*," in order, as Mr. Healy has frankly stated, "to conciliate English opinion."

The Land Question.

The Irish Members and the Bill of 1886.

But if "English opinion" had allowed the Bill to pass the second reading on any minimizing pretences, would the Irish party have considered themselves bound by their

The questions sent to Mr. Gladstone from Committee Room No. 15.

* *Times*, December 5, 1890.

acceptance? Mr. Parnell was prepared to oppose the financial clauses of the Bill in Committee with the support of all his followers. The delegates appointed by Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites in Committee Room No. 15 presented an *ultimatum* to Mr. Gladstone demanding a material change in the clause regulating the future of the constabulary, and insisting that at the end of two years that force should be handed over absolutely to the Irish Executive. There is no reason to believe that any other part of the scheme of 1886 would have been treated as anything more than a provisional arrangement to be repudiated by the Irish whenever they pleased, though it was to be binding for all time on the Imperial Parliament.

Never answered.

Mr. Gladstone has never yet given an explicit answer to the questions put by the delegates of the Irish Parliamentary party, which he evaded in 1890 on the excuse that he would not mix them up with the controversy about the leadership. Yet the warning given to him in Committee Room No. 15, in case he was unwilling to go the whole way to meet the Irish demand, was plain enough. "You all admit," said Mr. Parnell—"and this is the misery of it—we are all agreed that you will not have this Bill. . . . There has not been a man to say a word in favour of this Bill."* These statements were loudly cheered. Neither at the time nor afterwards were they contested by Mr. Parnell's opponents. Mr. Healy declared on the same occasion that "the Home Rule Bill outlined in Mr. Parnell's manifesto is not one the Irish people could accept," and, accordingly, he "pledged himself to accept no such measure. Twelve months later he said†: "One tittle less than was accepted in 1886 from Mr. Gladstone we will not accept, and we

Mr. Healy would "accept no such measure."

* *Times*, December 5, 1890.

† *Freeman's Journal*, December 29, 1891.

will take as much more as we can get." Such was the measure of the "acceptance *pro tanto*" of Mr. Gladstone's Bill. The Irish party was to be allowed to insist on altering the essential conditions of the pact, while if the Gladstonians ventured to suggest any amendments they were to be branded with bad faith. Yet Mr. Gladstone continues to persuade himself that this form of provisional acquiescence satisfies the conditions of reality, permanence, and finality, which he has himself repeatedly laid down. By a very curious coincidence, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell both spoke on this subject on St. Patrick's Day, 1891. Mr. Gladstone repeated his confident statement that "when the policy (of the Home Rule Bill) was announced by the Government of 1886, it was frankly and unanimously and patriotically adopted by the Irish Nationalist party."* But at the very same time Mr. Parnell was telling a very different story to his constituents in Cork. "Although," he said, "I praised him (Mr. Gladstone), I never entirely trusted him. I hoped undoubtedly, that he would have been able, *by degrees*, to have given us a solution of the national question which we could have accepted, under which our people would have had full powers over their own destinies, and which would have enabled us to be a prosperous and free and happy Irish nation. That was the point to which I was encouraging him."† Again, some three months later, he said: "They could not prevent the Irish people from obtaining self-government. It was merely a question of time and degree. His opinion was, and it had been his opinion for the last ten years, that it would come soon, but that *it would not be a complete measure of freedom.* That would come by degrees."‡ Nevertheless, in his

Mr. Gladstone's opinion of the attitude of the Irish Members.

Mr. Parnell told a different story.

* *Times*, March 18, 1891.

† *Freeman's Journal*, March 18, 1891.

‡ Speech at Balbriggan, June 21, 1891.

Mr. Gladstone reiterates his opinion.

recent article in the *North American Review*, Mr. Gladstone reiterates his expressions of confidence:—

> It appears to be thought that Irish Nationalists go a-roaring after power like lions after their prey. But Mr. Parnell himself proposed that the British Parliament should retain in its own hands exclusively for a certain time the power of legislating on the critical question of land; and all the Nationalists in 1886 with readiness concurred in a proposal which absolutely debarred the local Parliament of Ireland from constructing a Church establishment. For these instances of moderation they never receive a word of credit.—(*North American Review*, October, 1892, p. 391.)

And again:—

> Ireland generously agrees to undergo every restraint which is imposed upon the autonomous colonies, and many other restraints. The colonies retain legislation upon trade; they deal with the question of their own defence; they contribute nothing to our charges. Ireland willingly abandons all these powers and consents to bear her equal share of Imperial burdens.—(*North American Review*, October, 1892, p. 393.)

Mr. Morley is less sanguine.

Can wilful blindness go further? Mr. Morley, indeed, is less sanguine. He appreciates the force of Mr. Davitt's remark, that the Bill of 1886 was no more to be accepted as a final settlement of the Irish demand than the fact of a man's having eaten his breakfast is to be taken as a reason for his having no dinner. "The talk about finality," Mr. Morley wrote,* not long after the defeat of the Home Rule party, "rests on an illusion of perfection and immutability"; "all government is an affair of second-best." If it is possible to get rid of the presence of the Irish members at Westminster, it is not possible to get rid of the pressure of the Irish difficulty. Whatever concessions we make we may have to go further and still further by-and-by. "It is enough (in Mr. Morley's opinion) if the statesman can see his way clear to the next step." Whether it is, or ought to be, enough for the people whom the statesman

* *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1887, p. 314.

is leading by the nose with positive assurances that he has an infallible "pill to cure the earthquake," is not quite so obvious to persons less philosophic than Mr. Morley.

Mr. Dicey's explanation of Mr. Gladstone's scheme.

Be that as it may, Mr. Gladstone might have discovered by this time, if not earlier, the meaning of that pregnant "*pro tanto.*" No one has done more than he during the past seven years to puff up the Separatist part of Ireland with vain ideas of nationality. If "Ireland" can claim the position he concedes to her, if she was and is a "nation" with a Parliament independent and coequal, of which she was wrongfully deprived, she would have reason to complain of being placed in the position either of a State of the American Union or of a self-governing British colony. But, as Professor Dicey has conclusively shown, Ireland's position under the Home Rule Constitution would be radically different from, and immeasurably inferior to, that of the Colony of Victoria or to that of the State of Massachusetts. Mr. Gladstone's plan, says Professor Dicey,* is "an artificial combination of Federalism and Colonialism. Its aim is to secure the advantages of two opposite systems; its result is to combine and intensify the disadvantages of both systems. It inevitably tends towards the dissolution of the United Kingdom into a Federation; it immediately disturbs the bases of the Constitution by creating an artificial bond of something like a Federal Legislature between England and Ireland; it introduces into the relations between each of the different divisions of the United Kingdom elements of conflict which are all but inherent in Federalism; it requires that absolute deference for the judicial decisions of a Federal Court which, if it exist anywhere, can exist only among a people, like the Americans, imbued with legal

* *Case against Home Rule*, pp. 276, 277.

notions, and, as it were, born with innate respect for law. That this sentiment cannot exist in Ireland is certain; whether it exist in the required intensity even in England is problematical. The Gladstonian Constitution, again, because it contains some institutions borrowed from the colonial system without the conditions requisite for them, so to speak, falsifies them. The Imperial supremacy of Great Britain, the Imperial control over the Army, the occasional interference with the Irish Executive, and the veto of the Crown on Irish legislation are, each and all of them, under the Gladstonian Constitution, certain to be the source of justifiable dissatisfaction." Professor Dicey's criticism was written before the controversies to which we have referred on the questions of the retention of the Irish members, of the Imperial supremacy, and of the veto, as well as before the fall of Mr. Parnell and the debates in Committee Room No. 15. All that has happened in the last six years goes to strengthen his argument.

Mr. Parnell protested against the financial arrangements.

Take the question, for example, of the "tribute," as it has been called. Mr. Parnell had protested on the introduction of the Bill against the excessive contribution demanded from Ireland, and against the machinery for capturing all Irish taxation in the office of the Receiver-General in order to realize the first charge upon it for the Imperial Government. Neither his adherents nor his opponents have ever expressed a different view. Mr. Redmond, writing not long ago in a strain of studied moderation, said*:—"It is an opinion generally entertained in Ireland that that country was weighted under the Bill of 1886 with a greater financial burden than she ought to be asked, or was able, to bear." In the debate on the Address, in August, 1892, he stated in the House of Commons that "the financial portion of the scheme was never accepted by Mr. Parnell, who always made a reser-

Mr. Redmond protests still.

* *Nineteenth Century*, October, 1892, p. 521.

vation to the effect that he would endeavour in Committee to deal with and amend it"; and he added a strong expression of his own view that these arrangements "would probably, if passed into law, have resulted in the bankruptcy of the country before many years had elapsed."* On this point there has been no dissent on the part of the Anti-Parnellites from the statements of Mr. Redmond, which Mr. Justin M'Carthy has recently adopted *en bloc* as reasonable and just. "We are all united (wrote Mr. William O'Brien† a few months ago) in demanding that the Irish Parliament shall be as free from outside meddling as the Parliaments of Australia and Canada—that is to say, practically as free as air," and the Irish, taking the measure of Mr. Gladstone's assurance that the rightful position of Ireland is analogous to that of the great self-governing colonies, are not slow to remember that this Colonial Constitutionalism implies that the colonists are "free as air" from any obligation to contribute to the Imperial Exchequer.

Mr. M'Carthy agrees with Mr. Redmond.

Mr. William O'Brien's demand to be "as free as air."

These objections have been reinforced by the admissions of some English statesmen. Mr. Morley has given his opinion‡ that "the amount of the Irish contribution was probably an over-estimate and needs revision"—a damaging acknowledgment of the carelessness with which, both in form and in substance, this vaunted message of peace was vamped up. What Mr. Morley thinks an "over-estimate," Mr. Gladstone paraded, when he brought in his Bill, "as an equitable and even a generous arrangement," though, as Sir George Trevelyan at the time pointed out, there is no example in Europe of a nation with a separate Parliament and a separate Executive which paid over a predominant part of its revenue to another nation.

Mr. Morley thought Irish contribution "an over estimate."

Mr. Gladstone thought it "generous."

* *Hansard*, 4th Series, vol. 7, pp. 174, 175.

† *Freeman's Journal*, January 30, 1892.

‡ *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1887, p. 312.

We cannot be surprised at Mr. Davitt's complaint that the Irish Nationalists had surrendered too easily to Mr. Gladstone. We have no right to assume that Mr. Davitt and Mr. Dillon, any more than Mr. Parnell, would or could bind the rest of the "Irish people" to accept an "instalment" as payment in full. It is the grossest delusion to suppose that since the introduction of the Bill of 1886 the Irish Nationalist demands have been in any degree lowered, though they were abated for the time being, as Mr. Healy has told us, "to conciliate English opinion." Mr. Justin M'Carthy, the mildest of men, says, valiantly: "We stand for Ireland a nation; that is our purpose in public and political life."* Mr. Dillon says: "I have never hesitated to express my admiration for the men of '67" (the Fenians), "and I declare that our movement is, in all its main principles and the great issues upon which it aims, the legitimate successor of that movement."† In Archbishop Croke's view, Home Rule must not be regarded as a mere domestic or provincial system: "Besides being comfortable at home, we should have ambition to be respected abroad."‡ Mr. O'Brien has boasted that "the Irish party will never barter their independence as the ambassadors of an Irish nation." Mr. Davitt avowed before the Special Commission§ that his agrarian policy was intended to be "a stepping stone to complete national independence," adding, as he stood in the witness-box, "I wish to God I could get it to-morrow!" All these declarations have been publicly made since the alliance with the Gladstonians and the introduction of the Home Rule Bill. Is it necessary for Sir William Harcourt to look for "Fenian Home Rule" exclusively in the Parnellite camp?

Mr. Justin M'Carthy for "Ireland a nation."

Archbishop Croke's view.

Mr. O'Brien's boast.

Mr. Davitt before the Special Commission.

* *Freeman's Journal*, March 18, 1891.

† *Freeman's Journal*, December 9, 1888.

‡ *National Press*, May 25, 1891.

§ *Report of the Special Commission*, p. 30.

From the Irish Nationalist point of view there is much to be said for Mr. Redmond's protest against a repetition of what took place in 1886. The Irish Nationalist members, according to Mr. Redmond,* recoil from the danger of "being forced either to accept this cut and dried scheme, in all its main features, as it is proposed, or else to take the enormous responsibility of rejecting it and driving the Government of the day from power." It was this sort of pressure, as we know from Mr. Parnell's and Mr. Healy's testimony, which brought about the acceptance *pro tanto* of the Bill of 1886. It may be applied as effectually again. But no intelligent Englishman or Scotchman will believe that an adhesion thus extorted will be held to be binding for an hour longer than is convenient to the weaker party and agreeable to those on whose support they rely.

Mr. Patrick Ford on "finalities."

A year and a-half after the defeat of the Home Rule Bill Mr. Patrick Ford, of the *Irish World*, Mr. Davitt's "Christian and philanthropist," the apostle of the dynamite gospel, through whose hands so much American money flowed into the coffers of the League for various purposes, Parliamentary and other, placed on record his estimate of the Gladstonian policy:—

> This talk about finalities (the *Irish World* wrote, on November 12, 1887) is the more foolish as the past history of the Irish question shows it to be futile. . . . There is no finality except justice, and Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule plan is but a small instalment of Justice to Ireland. . . . It is a proposal to give them (the Irish) a Parliament which shall have not a tithe of the power of that which they were robbed of, and to keep this Parliament permanently under the step-motherly oversight of England.

After denouncing the limitations of the original Bill, this candid critic went on to say that the rumoured retention of the Irish members would "retard, obscure,

* *Hansard*, 4th Series, vol. 7. p. 170.

and complicate the struggle for Ireland's rights as a nation." But, he concluded:—

> Neither Ireland nor her representatives have passed (*sic*) upon the plan of Home Rule which Mr. Gladstone and the Liberals offer now. If they accept it, it will show how little they expect from English justice, even as represented by Mr. Gladstone. If they accept it, we may all derive comfort from the fact that it is not a finality, and cannot be so.*

Mr. Cecil Rhodes on the Bill of 1886.

A sympathizer with Home Rule of a very different type, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, is said to have explained to Mr. Gladstone the grounds of his disapproval of the Bill of 1886, which he maintained must inevitably lead to separation by placing Ireland in the position of a "taxed Republic," having no control over the appropriation of the tribute she was bound to pay. The argument is irresistible, but how many British Home Rulers are prepared to escape from it by placing Ireland in the position of an "untaxed Republic"?

* These remarks appear in Mr. Ford's editorial columns, but are signed by one of his contributors. They are in complete accord, however, with his own comments on the Bill of 1886 and the Gladstonian alliance. See the *Irish World*, May 8, 1886.

## V.—THE UNIONIST POSITION.

Is there anything in the present position of the Home Rule question which ought to make Unionists more willing to listen to Mr. Gladstone's proposals, not to speak of compromising with them or surrendering to them, than they were in 1886? So far from this being the case, every argument that was used on the Unionist side half-a-dozen years ago has been fortified by the examination of Mr. Gladstone's modifications and concessions, by the revelation of the character of Irish agitation and Irish agitators, and by the utter destruction of any hope of attaining finality even through the most humiliating surrender. The dangers of setting up in Ireland a separate Legislature and a separate Executive have certainly not been lessened by the changes in the policy of 1886 which Mr. Gladstone has either expressly announced or broadly hinted at. Whether the Irish members are retained at Westminster or not, Home Rule involves constitutional difficulties that can only be evaded by conceding to Ireland complete and unqualified independence, or by recasting on federal principles the whole of the political institutions of the Empire, *periculosæ plenum opus aleæ*. For neither alternative is Mr. Gladstone prepared, and the mass of his followers have no compass to guide them when their leader is himself at fault. The inherent supremacy vested in the Imperial Parliament and the right of veto reserved to the Lord Lieutenant, on which so much stress was laid when the Bill of 1886 was brought in, are nominally accepted by the Irish representatives,

Home Rule involves independence or federation.

but are practically reduced to the merest shadow of what Mr. Gladstone originally explained them to be.

The safeguards.

Furthermore, in 1886, Mr. Gladstone deemed it necessary to introduce a number of safeguards, some of them flagrantly at variance with constitutional and economical principles, which, as the Unionists contended, amounted to an admission on his part that, in the development of a policy ostentatiously founded on unqualified confidence in the Irish people, he could trust neither an Irish Legislature nor Irish Ministers. That admission remains on record, in spite of Mr. Gladstone's willingness to give up now the securities he regarded as indispensable six years ago. But why should Unionists, who looked upon the original safeguards as illusory, be more contented because they are to be abolished or watered down? Mr. Morley, who considered that a condition precedent of any form of Home Rule was some treatment of the Irish land question that would prevent the tenants from robbing their landlords,* must acquiesce in his chief's severance of the "twinship" between the two Bills of 1886, between the "message of peace" and the "obligation of honour and good faith."

Mr. Morley on the Land Purchase Bill.

This change has certainly not improved Mr. Gladstone's scheme from the point of view of simple justice, for it may be safely assumed that, if Mr. Gladstone did not consider it scandalously and perilously unjust not to rescue the landlords from the confiscation his statutory Parliament had in store for them, he would never have committed himself to the Land Purchase Bill. Though some of the other safeguards, such as the "two orders" in the Legislature, with a high property qualification for the first and arrangements for securing the representation of minorities, have not been as cynically thrown overboard as the Land Purchase Bill, the Gladstonians generally have been chary

The "two orders."

* Speech at Chelmsford *Times*, January 8, 1886.

of mentioning them, and some have openly spoken of them with disparagement as opposed to democratic ideas. It is probable that Mr. Gladstone will be compelled to abrogate wholly or in part the restrictions he placed originally on the power of the Irish Legislature over the judiciary, the magistracy, and the police, for he and Sir William Harcourt (who abhors "Fenian Home Rule") have declared * that it would be useless to attempt to carry any measure which has not the "cordial concurrence and support" of the Irish representatives. Both Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites, agreeing in this, however they may differ on other questions, demand the Bill of 1886 as their "irreducible *minimum*," with such further concessions as they have been already able, or hope hereafter, to screw out of Mr. Gladstone.

The other restrictions.

From the Unionist standpoint, it is hardly conceivable that any measure should be presented to Parliament in the coming Session which, after all Mr. Gladstone has said and done since his former defeat, would not be worse than the policy emphatically rejected by the nation six years ago. At the last general election there was a majority against Home Rule in Great Britain, but many of Mr. Gladstone's English and Scotch followers were sent to Parliament on the idle assumption that Home Rule was mainly, as Mr. Maden put it in the Rossendale Division, the control of gas, water, and electricity. Mr. Gladstone must lose some support—he can hardly, in his most sanguine mood, expect to gain any—by drawing his policy, as he must do when he meets Parliament, out of the convenient half-light in which it has been studiously kept since 1886. In addition to this, we have had a great deal of light thrown during the past six years on the parallel cases that were appealed to in 1886 as proving the magical healing virtues of Home Rule. We need not

Parallel cases appealed to in 1886.

* *Times* December 8, 1890.

dwell upon this point, but we may state briefly that in almost every one, if not every one, of the countries which were alleged to have secured abiding peace and contentment by the adoption of the Home Rule principle there have been ominous conflicts and apprehensions of conflict. The relations between Austria and Hungary as coequal members of the Dual Monarchy, between Austria and Bohemia, between Hungary and Croatia, between Russia and Finland, between Denmark and Iceland, between Sweden and Norway, are far from exhibiting the tranquillity and finality which the Gladstonians imagine that they can produce in Ireland by conceding "a small instalment of justice," as Mr. Ford calls it, to a community saturated with lawless doctrines, taught by agitators to hate England, and accustomed to repudiate obligations and promises. Norway, for instance, sharing the desire of Archbishop Croke for international as well as national recognition, regards her complete local independence as nothing unless she is allowed to have her separate dealings with foreign nations. As for the United States, the Duke of Argyll has proved that the idea of "Ireland a nation," which Mr. Gladstone has done his best to inflate and inflame, is precisely that which, when asserted on behalf of the seceding States of the South, brought about the greatest war of modern times. It was upon the overthrow of the States which claimed the rights of nations by those which fought to maintain the Union that the claim was finally abandoned.

The Duke of Argyll's parallel.

In 1886 Mr. Gladstone confidently asserted that the adoption of the Home Rule policy by a great English party had changed the character of Irish agitation and had reduced the Irish demands to the limits of reason. But it has already been shown that the language of the Irish leaders was precisely the same after the introduction of the Home Rule Bill that it had been before; that

The Irish demand the same since 1886 as before.

[56]

"national independence" was still proclaimed as the end in view; that the pretension of setting bounds by any Parliamentary compact to the national aspirations of Ireland was again and again disavowed; and that Mr. Gladstone's Irish allies by no means confined themselves, as he had promised on their behalf, to the employment of lawful and constitutional methods. Meanwhile, it had become equally plain that the Gladstonians were prepared to place a very indulgent construction upon the acts and the speeches of their confederates. The Plan of Campaign, which was set on foot as part of the avowed scheme for making the Government of Ireland by the Unionists impossible, was condemned by Judges of unquestioned impartiality and authority, like Chief Baron Palles, as an illegal and criminal conspiracy to defraud the landlords; it was gravely censured in the Pope's circular to the bishops as dishonest and sinful; it was, at the outset, repudiated by Gladstonian politicians and journalists in England, one of Mr. Gladstone's organs* declaring it to be "vitiated with dishonesty," and affirming that "to withhold just rents because exorbitant demands are made is to take trouble to be in the wrong."

The Plan of Campaign

Yet Mr. Morley patronized the iniquitous attempt to defraud Mr. Smith-Barry of his admittedly just rents in Tipperary; and, since his party have returned to power, has been endeavouring to concoct some means by which the persons evicted for taking part in these measures vitiated with dishonesty may be restored, by favour of the State, to their holdings. While the Plan of Campaign was in progress, Mr. Gladstone took the opportunity of praising the Irish agitators for their "conspicuous moderation" and of expressing his belief that "all ground of suspicion for a desire to destroy the landed property of Ireland has disappeared."† Unionists, contrasting this

patronised by Mr. Morley.

* *Daily News*, December 6, 1886. † *Times*, October 21, 1887.

blind faith with the language and conduct of Mr. Dillon, Mr. Davitt, and the rest, were not able to attach the slightest importance to the soothing assurances that had accompanied the Bill of 1886, and have since been repeated by rote. They saw that the Irish Separatists were simply pursuing the policy of reconquering Ireland for the Celtic race through an agrarian agitation that had been sketched out forty years before by Fintan Lalor. Mr. Dillon, the apostle of the plan, denounced "the hated garrison that England has set in this country" as "the real barrier between Ireland and her liberty,"* and prophesied that, at the same hour with the disappearance of the landlords the power of foreign government would disappear also, and then "their old nation and race would become free and independent again." Mr. O'Brien called upon his countrymen to "March on, shoulder to shoulder, until we shall have liberated this land from the twin curses of landlordism and English rule."† Mr. Davitt, who boasted that he had registered a vow "to bear towards England and England's Government all the accumulated hatred of his Irish nation," pledged himself to "carry on this fight at any cost until landlord tyranny and English Government are destroyed in Ireland."‡ These speeches, and hundreds more in the same strain, were delivered long after that alliance which the Gladstonians call the "Union of Hearts," and also long after the close of that chapter of Irish history which formed the subject of the "charges and allegations" inquired into by the Special Commission.

Fintan Lalor's policy.

Mr. Dillon's goal.

Mr. O'Brien's,

Mr. Davitt's,

and the "Union of Hearts."

The results of that inquiry were of great importance to Unionists. It had been possible before the Commission was appointed to dismiss the charges of disloyalty and lawlessness against the League and its Parliamentary

Results of the Special Commission.

* *Freeman's Journal*, October 18, 1886.

† *Freeman's Journal*, December 6, 1886.

‡ *Freeman's Journal*, June 3, 1887.

spokesmen as inventions of the enemy, though, as Mr. Bright once said, "the facts were their own facts." But this evasion was no longer possible when Sir James Hannen and his colleagues, after the most careful investigation, found* that Mr. Dillon, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Davitt, and others "established and joined in the Land League organization with the intention by its means to bring about the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation"; that Mr. Parnell and more than three-fourths of the Parliamentary party, including the above-mentioned, as well as Mr. Sexton, Mr. Redmond, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and, in fact, every well-known name, entered into a "criminal conspiracy," having for one of its objects "by a system of coercion and intimidation to promote an agrarian agitation against the payment of agricultural rents for the purpose of impoverishing and expelling from the country the Irish landlords, who were styled the English garrison";† that they "did not denounce the system of intimidation which led to crime and outrage, but persisted in it with knowledge of its effect"; and that they "invited and obtained the assistance and co-operation of the physical force party in America, including the Clan-na-Gael, and, in order to obtain that assistance, abstained from repudiating or condemning the action of that party."‡ The politicians against whom the Special Commission found these charges to be proved would now be in control of the Irish Executive Government and dominant in the Irish Legislature, if the Unionists had not successfully resisted Mr. Gladstone's policy in 1886.

What use would they have made of their power? Mr. Dillon has given us some information on this subject from time to time. "When we come out of the struggle," Mr. Dillon's threat.

* *Report of the Special Commission*, pp. 31, 32.

† *Report of the Special Commission*, pp. 53, 54.

‡ *Report of the Special Commission*, p. 120.

he said,* about six months after the rejection of Mr. Gladstone's Bill, "we will remember who were the people's friends and who were the people's enemies, and will deal out our reward to one and our punishment to the other."

The so-called political prisoners.

Again, only a year ago, he said†:—"I am perfectly convinced that when the Home Rule Bill is brought forward no Irishman will be detained in an English gaol for political offences"—much less, of course, in an Irish gaol; and it must be remembered that both sections of the Irish Separatists now regard both dynamiters, and conspirators such as those concerned in the Phœnix Park, Barbavilla, and Crossmaglen murder plots, as merely "political offenders." Mr. Ford, of the *Irish World*, reminds his friends in Ireland that the "dynamiters," who used to be disparagingly referred to by Irish politicians desirous of getting a character for respectability, "include those who would have Ireland a self-governing and prosperous nation—which means all honest Irishmen—and who would justify the employment to that end of means such as the American colonies used in wresting their independence from England."‡ But the most striking indication of the

Objects of the Clan-na-Gael.

practical outcome of Home Rule was given in the Clan-na-Gael circular, which was presented in evidence before the Special Commission, and reprinted in the report. "While our objects," this interesting document runs,§ "lie far beyond what may be obtained by agitation, a National Parliament is an object which we are bound to attain by any means offered. The achievement of a National Parliament gives us a footing on Irish soil. It gives us the agencies and instrumentalities of a government *de facto* at the very commencement of the Irish

* *Freeman's Journal*, December 6, 1886.

† *National Press*, October 7, 1891.

‡ *Irish World*, April 17, 1886.

§ *Report of the Special Commission*, p. 116.

struggle. It places the Government in the hands of our friends and brothers. It removes the Castle ring, and gives us what we may well express as the plant of an armed revolution. From this standpoint the restoration of Parliament is part of our programme." If these revelations had been accessible to the public in 1886 it is doubtful whether Mr. Gladstone would have been able to bring forward his Bill at all. They ought not to be of less weight now, when a repetition of the offer of surrender to "an influence akin to fear"—Mr. Gladstone's own phrase—is contemplated.

The lesson of the Divorce Court.

From another quarter much light was thrown on the character of the men to whom Mr. Gladstone's policy proposed to surrender the government of Ireland. Mr. Parnell's collapse in the Divorce Court, where it was shown that he had carried on for years an adulterous intrigue in circumstances of peculiar baseness and duplicity, shattered the illusions that the Gladstonians had cherished for years. It was no longer possible to put faith in the honour and integrity of "the leader of the Irish people"; and the crew of time-servers that began to struggle for the power which had slipped from Mr. Parnell's grasp were evidently not a whit more trustworthy. In the worst period of the French Revolution the *Dictionnaire des Girouettes* recorded no more scandalous example of treachery and tergiversation than the abandonment of Mr. Parnell by the men who had beslavered him with fulsome flattery in the Leinster Hall after the verdict in the Divorce Court. The prolonged conflict in Committee Room No. 15 and the rivalry between Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites more than confirmed all that the Unionists had ever said or suspected about the unfitness of the Irish agitators to be entrusted with practically uncontrolled power over the rights and liberties of their fellow-citizens. Each faction hurled at the other accusations

of fraud and violence, of mendacity and theft, of suborning evidence and inciting to outrage, of terrorism, intolerance, and moral assassination. The one side arrayed itself under the banners of the Roman Catholic priesthood, which has always claimed, and has repeatedly exercised, in Ireland the right to dictate the duty of the people in politics. The other side allied itself openly with the "hill-side men," the remains of the old Fenian conspiracy, the police of the League, the agents and mercenaries of the Clan-na-Gael and of the kindred societies beyond the Atlantic.

The Unionists were fully justified in contending that these revelations of character had destroyed one of the main assumptions on which Mr. Gladstone's policy was based. The Separatists themselves, in their internecine fury, made admissions that went nearly as far. On the one hand, Archbishop Croke said*—"I am afraid the cause is lost. Are we really fit for Home Rule and do we deserve it?" He quoted the opinion expressed by "staunch and intelligent" Irishmen that the Irish "had given both friends and foes reason to believe that they were at present utterly unfit for freedom." On the other hand, the Parnellites were loud in their outcries against clerical tyranny, which, they argued, must make Protestant England reluctant to concede Home Rule to Ireland. Their charges and contentions on this point were brought to the test of an elaborate judicial inquiry on the recent trial of the election petitions in South and North Meath, where the Judges found that spiritual terrorism in the grossest form had been employed by Bishop Nulty and his priests, some of the latter even descending to scandalous acts of personal violence. This system of intimidation on which the Judges so severely animadverted became a still more serious factor in the

The Meath Election petitions.

* *National Press*, May 28, 1891.

situation when it appeared that it was not a passing ebullition of temper, but a settled scheme of policy. Several years earlier Archbishop Walsh had claimed for the Irish priesthood the "inalienable and indisputable right to guide their people" in politics as well as in faith and morals.

Mr. Healy, who appeared as counsel for the clerical party in the Meath cases, asserted* that Dr. Nulty's pastoral and the personal interference of his clergy were a legitimate exercise of this right, which the Church, in spite of any judicial decisions to the contrary, did not intend for one moment to abandon or to abate. "The right of private judgment," he added, "was the right of private stupidity."

Mr. Healy on "private judgment."

The indignation with which Protestant Ulster protested against the Bill of 1886 has been naturally intensified by the gradual disclosure of the real meaning of the policy of that measure, of the flimsiness of its pretended safeguards, of the intolerant pretensions of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and their power of giving effect to them, and of the danger with which every form of property in Ireland was threatened. It was noted that the prohibition of interference with religious endowments was evaded by the sub-section of clause 19, and that, while Mr. Gladstone professed to put Ireland under Home Rule in the position of a State of the American Union, he introduced no provision like that in the Constitution of the United States forbidding the abrogation of existing contracts by State legislation. Protestant Ulster refused more emphatically than ever to be associated in unequal partnership either with priests like Dr. Nulty or with Fenians and Land Leaguers. The striking and all but unanimous declaration in favour of the Union by nearly a thousand non-Episcopalian Protestant ministers in Ireland, herein

The protest of Ulster.

Declaration of Dissenting ministers.

* Speech for the respondent on the trial of the South Meath Petition.

associated with the disestablished Church, from whom many of their leaders had long been separated in politics, was followed up by the Belfast Convention—the most remarkable proof yet given of the success of Mr. Gladstone's disruptionist schemes in fusing together all the progressive elements in the North of Ireland, of whatever class, race, or creed, in opposition to the surrender to Separatism. In the face of these facts, Unionists in England and Scotland have been confirmed in the attitude they took up seven years ago. Then Mr. Spurgeon wrote*:—"Especially I feel the wrong done to our Ulster brethren. What have they done to be thus cast off? The whole scheme is as full of dangers and absurdities as that of a madman." And Mr. Bright, denouncing this "stupendous injustice and blunder,"† and predicting its failure, declared that he, at least, "would be no party to a measure which would thrust them (the Irish loyalists) from the generosity of the United and Imperial Parliament." These warnings and protests from men who cannot be branded as Tories, have lost none of their force when it is seen that the imposition of Home Rule on Ireland will involve the risk, or rather the certainty, of what Mr. Morley has styled‡ "a reduced and squalid version of the Thirty Years' War."

Belfast Convention.

Mr. Spurgeon on Ulster.

Mr. Bright.

Indications of how Home Rule would work.

Notwithstanding the inducements operating upon the Nationalist leaders which have subdued their utterances and minimized their claims in order, as Mr. Healy says, to "conciliate English opinion," there have been indications enough of the way in which Home Rule would be worked. The Plan of Campaign and the speeches delivered by its organizers show how the right to tamper with con-

* Letter to a Cardiff Liberal, May, 1886 (quoted in the *British Weekly*, February 4, 1892).

† Speech at Birmingham, *Times*, July 2, 1886. See, also, his Election Address, issued June 24, 1886.

‡ *Nineteenth Century*, November, 1882, p. 655.

tracts, with which Mr. Gladstone proposes to invest the Home Rule Parliament, would be enforced. Mr. Dillon has openly and repeatedly asserted,* that, when Home Rule comes, the police and all who have not sided with "the people" will find that their conduct has not been forgotten. Mr. Davitt has denounced† the Ulstermen quite in the style of his friend Mr. Ford, and jauntily says:—"Leave them alone to us, and we will make short work of these gentry." Their promises are even more significant than their threats. When we are told that the Parnellites are solely responsible for the encouragement of wild hopes about the deliverance of the dynamiters, let it be borne in mind that in October, 1891, Mr. Dillon said at Thurles‡:—"We all want amnesty, and believe me the best way to win amnesty is to hurl the Tory Government from office; and I am perfectly convinced that when the Home Rule Bill is brought forward no Irishman will be detained in an English gaol for political offences." Mr. Davitt's pledges on behalf of the evicted tenants and other "wounded soldiers" in the anti-English war are quite as unqualified. "The first duty," he said in June, 1888,§ "which should devolve upon the first Home Rule Parliament ought to be the reinstatement of every family in its holding that has been evicted since the land agitation began ten years ago." And he added that "every man and woman who had been imprisoned during the same period for resisting eviction or for refusing to become informers in Star Chamber Courts, or for rendering soldierly service in this movement, ought to be entitled to a pension for life at the hands of a self-governed Ireland, if such persons choose to accept such a reward."

Threats of Messrs Dillon and Davitt;

and their promises.

* See, for example, *Freeman's Journal*, December 6, 1886.

† Report of an "interview" in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 13, 1886.

‡ *National Press*, October 7, 1891.

§ *Freeman's Journal*, June 18, 1888.

The keystone of the Unionist position.

With such new light thrown upon the character, the purposes, and the dominating forces of the Irish agitation and its leaders, it is evident that all the motives which acted upon Unionists six or seven years ago are now doubly strong. Nor can we doubt that the Gladstonians have lost confidence in a policy, the defects and dangers of which are avowed by the shifts and dodges its authors have had resort to. Nevertheless they are tied hand and foot by their leader's pledges. In June last* Mr. Gladstone told the Labour deputation:—"I am so bound in honour and character to the Irish question that I should really disgrace myself to the lowest point that the most unprincipled could possibly sink to if I were to recede from the position to which I am bound by the struggle of the last few years." Since then the general election has taken place, and though Mr. Gladstone has a nominal majority—won, as his partisans admit, by the power of his name alone—there is a majority of more than 70 against him among the representatives of England. Politicians so different in hue as Lord Brassey, Sir Edward Reed, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor, have pointed out the extreme difficulty of attempting any fundamental change in the Constitution against the expressed wishes of the most important member of the national partnership known as the United Kingdom. This is the corner-stone of the Unionist position, and upon it the Union stands secure.

Mr. Gladstone bound to the Irish Question.

* *Times*, June 17, 1892.

# APPENDIX A.

# GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL.

## ARRANGEMENT OF CLAUSES.

### PART I.

*Legislative Authority.*

Clause.
1. Establishment of Irish Legislature.
2. Powers of Irish Legislature.
3. Exceptions from powers of Irish Legislature.
4. Restrictions on powers of Irish Legislature.
5. Prerogatives of Her Majesty as to Irish Legislative Body.
6. Duration of the Irish Legislative Body.

*Executive Authority.*

7. Constitution of the Executive Authority.
8. Use of Crown lands by Irish Government.

*Constitution of Legislative Body.*

9. Constitution of Irish Legislative Body.
10. First order.
11. Second order.

*Finance.*

12. Taxes and separate Consolidated Fund.
13. Annual contributions from Ireland to Consolidated Fund of United Kingdom.
14. Collection and application of customs and excise duties in Ireland.
15. Charges on Irish Consolidated Fund.
16. Irish Church Fund.
17. Public loans.
18. Additional aid in case of war.
19. Money bills and votes.
20. Exchequer divisions and revenue actions.

*Police.*

21. Police.

PART II.

SUPPLEMENTAL PROVISIONS.

*Powers of Her Majesty.*

Clause.
22. Powers over certain lands reserved to Her Majesty.

*Legislative Body.*

23. Veto by first order of Legislative Body, how over-ruled.
24. Cesser of power of Ireland to return members to Parliament.

*Decision of Constitutional Questions.*

25. Constitutional questions to be submitted to Judicial Committee.

*Lord Lieutenant.*

26. Office of Lord Lieutenant.

*Judges and Civil Servants.*

27. Judges to be removable only on address.
28. Provision as to judges and other persons having salaries charged on the Consolidated Fund.
29. As to persons holding civil service appointments.
30. Provision for existing pensions and superannuation allowances.

*Transitory Provisions.*

31. Transitory provisions in Schedule.

*Miscellaneous.*

32. Post Office and savings banks.
33. Audit.
34. Application of parliamentary law.
35. Regulations for carrying Act into effect.
36. Saving of powers of House of Lords.
37. Saving of rights of Parliament.
38. Continuance of existing laws, courts, officers, &c.
39. Mode of alteration of Act.
40. Definitions.
41. Short title of Act.

SCHEDULES.

# A BILL

TO AMEND

*The provision for the future Government of Ireland.* A.D. 1886.

[49 VICT.]

BE it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

## PART I.

*Legislative Authority.*

Establishment of Irish Legislature.

**1.** On and after the appointed day there shall be established in Ireland a Legislature consisting of Her Majesty the Queen and an Irish Legislative Body.

Powers of Irish Legislature.

**2.** With the exceptions and subject to the restrictions in this Act mentioned, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty the Queen, by and with the advice of the Irish Legislative Body, to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland, and by any such law to alter and repeal any law in Ireland.

Exceptions from powers of Irish Legislature.

**3.** The Legislature of Ireland shall not make laws relating to the following matters or any of them:—

(1.) The status or dignity of the Crown, or the succession to the Crown, or a Regency;

(2.) The making of peace or war;

(3.) The army, navy, militia, volunteers, or other military or naval forces, or the defence of the realm;

(4.) Treaties and other relations with foreign States, or the relations between the various parts of Her Majesty's dominions;

(5.) Dignities or titles of honour;

(6.) Prize or booty of war;

(7.) Offences against the law of nations; or offences committed in violation of any treaty made, or hereafter to be made, between Her Majesty and any foreign State; or offences committed on the high seas;

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(8.) Treason, alienage, or naturalization;

(9.) Trade, navigation, or quarantine;

(10.) The postal and telegraph service, except as hereafter in this Act mentioned with respect to the transmission of letters and telegrams in Ireland;

(11.) Beacons, lighthouses, or sea marks;

(12.) The coinage; the value of foreign money; legal tender; or weights and measures; or

(13.) Copyright, patent rights, or other exclusive rights to the use or profits of any works or inventions.

Any law made in contravention of this section shall be void.

Restrictions on powers of Irish Legislature.

**4.** The Irish Legislature shall not make any law—

(1.) Respecting the establishment or endowment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or

(2.) Imposing any disability, or conferring any privilege, on account of religious belief; or

(3.) Abrogating or derogating from the right to establish or maintain any place of denominational education or any denominational institution or charity; or

(4.) Prejudicially affecting the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at that school; or

(5.) Impairing, without either the leave of Her Majesty in Council first obtained on an address presented by the Legislative Body of Ireland, or the consent of the corporation interested, the rights, property, or privileges of any existing corporation incorporated by royal charter or local and general Act of Parliament; or

(6.) Imposing or relating to duties of customs and duties of excise, as defined by this Act, or either of such duties or affecting any Act relating to such duties or either of them; or

(7.) Affecting this Act, except in so far as it is declared to be alterable by the Irish Legislature.

Prerogatives of Her Majesty as to Irish Legislative Body.

**5.** Her Majesty the Queen shall have the same prerogatives with respect to summoning, proroguing, and dissolving the Irish Legislative Body as Her Majesty has with respect to summoning, proroguing, and dissolving the Imperial Parliament.

Duration of the Irish Legislative Body.

**6.** The Irish Legislative Body whenever summoned may have continuance for *five years* and no longer, to be reckoned from the day on which any such Legislative Body is appointed to meet.

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*Executive Authority.*

Constitution of the Executive Authority.

**7.**—(1.) The Executive Government of Ireland shall continue vested in Her Majesty, and shall be carried on by the Lord Lieutenant on behalf of Her Majesty with the aid of such officers and such council as to Her Majesty may from time to time seem fit.

(2.) Subject to any instructions which may from time to time be given by Her Majesty, the Lord Lieutenant shall give or withhold the assent of Her Majesty to Bills passed by the Irish Legislative Body, and shall exercise the prerogatives of Her Majesty in respect of the summoning, proroguing, and dissolving of the Irish Legislative Body, and any prerogatives the exercise of which may be delegated to him by Her Majesty.

Use of Crown lands by Irish Government.

**8.** Her Majesty may, by Order in Council, from time to time place under the control of the Irish Government, for the purposes of that Government, any such lands and buildings in Ireland as may be vested in or held in trust for Her Majesty.

*Constitution of Legislative Body.*

Constitution of Irish Legislative Body.

**9.**—(1.) The Irish Legislative Body shall consist of a first and second order.

(2.) The two orders shall deliberate together, and shall vote together, except that, if any question arises in relation to legislation or to the Standing Orders or Rules of Procedure or to any other matter in that behalf in this Act specified, and such question is to be determined by vote, each order shall, if a majority of the members present of either order demand a separate vote, give their votes in like manner as if they were separate Legislative Bodies; and if the result of the voting of the two orders does not agree the question shall be resolved in the negative.

First order.

**10.**—(1.) The first order of the Irish Legislative Body shall consist of one hundred and three members, of whom seventy-five shall be elective members and twenty-eight peerage members.

(2.) Each elective member shall at the date of his election and during his period of membership be bonâ fide possessed of property which—

(*a.*) if realty, or partly realty and partly personalty, yields two hundred pounds a year or upwards, free of all charges; or

(*b.*) if personalty yields the same income, or is of the capital value of four thousand pounds or upwards, free of all charges.

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(2.) For the purpose of electing the elective members of the first order of the Legislative Body, Ireland shall be divided into the electoral districts specified in the First Schedule to this Act, and each such district shall return the number of members in that behalf specified in that Schedule.

(3.) The elective members shall be elected by the registered electors of each electoral district, and for that purpose a register of electors shall be made annually.

(4.) An elector in each electoral district shall be qualified as follows, that is to say, he shall be of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, and shall have been during the twelve months next preceding the *twentieth day of July* in any year the owner or occupier of some land or tenement within the district of a net annual value of twenty-five pounds or upwards.

(5.) The term of office of an elective member shall be *ten years*.

(6.) In every fifth year thirty-seven or thirty-eight of the elective members, as the case requires, shall retire from office, and their places shall be filled by election; the members to retire shall be those who have been members for the longest time without re-election.

(7.) The offices of the peerage members shall be filled as follows; that is to say,—

(*a.*) Each of the Irish peers who on the appointed day is one of the twenty-eight Irish representative peers, shall, on giving his written assent to the Lord Lieutenant, become a peerage member of the first order of the Irish Legislative Body; and if at any time within *thirty years* after the appointed day any such peer vacates his office by death or resignation, the vacancy shall be filled by the election to that office by the Irish peers of one of their number in manner heretofore in use respecting the election of Irish representative peers, subject to adaptation as provided by this Act, and if the vacancy is not so filled within the proper time it shall be filled by the election of an elective member.

(*b.*) If any of the twenty-eight peers aforesaid does not within *one month* after the appointed day give such assent to be a peerage member of the first order, the vacancy so created shall be filled up as if he had assented and vacated his office by resignation.

(8.) A peerage member shall be entitled to hold office during his life, or until the expiration of *thirty years* from the appointed day, whichever period is the shortest. At the expiration of such *thirty years* the offices of all the peerage members shall be vacated as if they were dead, and their places shall be filled by elective members qualified and elected in manner provided by

this Act with respect to elective members of the first order, and such elective members may be distributed by the Irish Legislature among the electoral districts, so, however, that care shall be taken to give additional members to the most populous places. A.D. 1886.

(9.) The offices of members of the first order shall not be vacated by the dissolution of the Legislative Body.

(10.) The provisions in the Second Schedule to this Act relating to members of the first order of the Legislative Body shall be of the same force as if they were enacted in the body of this Act.

Second order.

**11.**—(1.) Subject as in this section hereafter mentioned, the second order of the Legislative Body shall consist of two hundred and four members.

(2.) The members of the second order shall be chosen by the existing constituencies of Ireland, two by each constituency, with the exception of the city of Cork, which shall be divided into two divisions in manner set forth in the Third Schedule to this Act, and two members shall be chosen by each of such divisions.

(3.) Any person who, on the appointed day, is a member representing an existing Irish constituency in the House of Commons shall, on giving his written assent to the Lord Lieutenant, become a member of the second order of the Irish Legislative Body as if he had been elected by the constituency which he was representing in the House of Commons. Each of the members for the city of Cork, on the said day, may elect for which of the divisions of that city he wishes to be deemed to have been elected.

(4.) If any member does not give such written assent within *one month* after the appointed day, his place shall be filled by election in the same manner and at the same time as if he had assented and vacated his office by death.

(5.) If the same person is elected to both orders, he shall, within *seven days* after the meeting of the Legislative Body, or if the Body is sitting at the time of the election, within *seven days* after the election, elect in which order he will serve, and his membership of the other order shall be void and be filled by a fresh election.

(6.) Notwithstanding anything in this Act, it shall be lawful for the Legislature of Ireland at any time to pass an Act enabling the Royal University of Ireland to return not more than two members to the second order of the Irish Legislative Body in addition to the number of members above mentioned.

(7.) Notwithstanding anything in this Act, it shall be lawful for the Irish Legislature, after the first dissolution of the Legislative Body which occurs, to alter the constitution or election of

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the second order of that body, due regard being had in the distribution of members to the population of the constituencies; provided that no alteration shall be made in the number of such order.

*Finance.*

Taxes and separate Consolidated Fund.

**12.**—(1.) For the purpose of providing for the public service of Ireland the Irish Legislature may impose taxes, other than duties of customs or excise as defined by this Act, which duties shall continue to be imposed and levied by and under the direction of the Imperial Parliament only.

(2.) On and after the appointed day there shall be an Irish Consolidated Fund separate from the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

(3.) All taxes imposed by the Legislature of Ireland and all other public revenues under the control of the Government of Ireland shall, subject to any provisions touching the disposal thereof contained in any Act passed in the present session respecting the sale and purchase of land in Ireland, be paid into the Irish Consolidated Fund, and be appropriated to the public service of Ireland according to law.

Annual contributions from Ireland to Consolidated Fund of United Kingdom.

**13.**—(1.) Subject to the provisions for the reduction or cesser thereof in this section mentioned, there shall be made on the part of Ireland to the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom the following annual contributions in every financial year; that is to say,—

(*a.*) The sum of *one million four hundred and sixty-six thousand pounds* on account of the interest on and management of the Irish share of the National Debt:

(*b.*) the sum of *one million six hundred and sixty-six thousand pounds* on account of the expenditure on the army and navy of the United Kingdom:

(*c.*) The sum of *one hundred and ten thousand pounds* on account of the Imperial civil expenditure of the United Kingdom:

(*d.*) The sum of *one million pounds* on account of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police.

(2.) During the period of *thirty* years from this section taking effect the said annual contributions shall not be increased, but may be reduced or cease as hereinafter mentioned. After the expiration of the said *thirty years* the said contributions shall, save as otherwise provided by this section, continue until altered in manner provided with respect to the alteration of this Act.

(3.) The Irish share of the National Debt shall be reckoned at *forty-eight million pounds* Bank annuities, and there shall be paid

in every financial year on behalf of Ireland to the Commissioners for the reduction of the National Debt an annual sum of *three hundred and sixty thousand pounds*, and the permanent annual charge for the National Debt on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom shall be reduced by that amount, and the said annual sum shall be applied by the said Commissioners as a sinking fund for the redemption of the National Debt, and the Irish share of the National Debt shall be reduced by the amount of the National Debt so redeemed, and the said annual contribution on account of the interest on and management of the Irish share of the National Debt shall from time to time be reduced by a sum equal to the interest upon the amount of the National Debt from time to time so redeemed, but that last-mentioned sum shall be paid annually to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt in addition to the above-mentioned annual sinking fund, and shall be so paid and be applied as if it were part of that sinking fund. A.D. 1886.

(4.) As soon as an amount of the National Debt equal to the said Irish share thereof has been redeemed under the provisions of this section, the said annual contribution on account of the interest on and management of the Irish share of the National Debt, and the said annual sum for a sinking fund, shall cease.

(5.) If it appears to Her Majesty that the expenditure in respect of the army and navy of the United Kingdom, or in respect of Imperial civil expenditure of the United Kingdom, for any financial year has been less than *fifteen* times the amount of the contributions above named on account of the same matter, a sum equal to *one-fifteenth* part of the diminution shall be deducted from the current annual contribution for the same matter.

(6.) The sum paid from time to time by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues to the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom on account of the hereditary revenues of the Crown in Ireland shall be credited to the Irish Government, and go in reduction of the said annual contribution payable on account of the imperial civil expenditure of the United Kingdom, but shall not be taken into account in calculating whether such diminution as above mentioned has or has not taken place in such expenditure.

(7.) If it appears to Her Majesty that the expenditure in respect of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police for any financial year has been less than the contribution above named on account of such constabulary and police, the current contribution shall be diminished by the amount of such difference.

(8.) This section shall take effect from and after the *thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven.*

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Collection and application of customs and excise duties in Ireland.

**14.**—(1.) On and after such day as the Treasury may direct all moneys from time to time collected in Ireland on account of the duties of customs or the duties of excise as defined by this Act shall, under such regulations as the Treasury from time to time make, be carried to a separate account (in this Act referred to as the customs and excise account) and applied in the payment of the following sums in priority as mentioned in this section; that is to say,—

First, of such sum as is from time to time directed by the Treasury in respect of the costs, charges, and expenses of and incident to the collection and management of the said duties in Ireland not exceeding four per cent. of the amount collected there;

Secondly, of the annual contributions required by this Act to be made to the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom;

Thirdly, of the annual sums required by this Act to be paid to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt;

Fourthly, of all sums by this Act declared to be payable out of the moneys carried to the customs and excise account;

Fifthly, of all sums due to the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom for interest or sinking fund, in respect of any loans made by the issue of bank annuities or otherwise to the Government of Ireland under any Act passed in the present session relating to the purchase and sale of land in Ireland, so far as such sums are not defrayed out of the moneys received under such Act.

(2.) So much of the moneys carried to a separate account under this section as the Treasury consider are not, and are not likely to be, required to meet the above-mentioned payments, shall from time to time be paid over and applied as part of the public revenues under the control of the Irish Government.

Charges on Irish Consolidated Fund.

**15.**—(1.) There shall be charged on the Irish Consolidated Fund in priority as mentioned in this section:—

First, such portion of the sums directed by this Act to be paid out of the moneys carried to the customs and excise account in priority to any payment for the public revenues of Ireland, as those moneys are insufficient to pay;

Secondly, all sums due in respect of any debt incurred by the Government of Ireland, whether for interest, management, or sinking fund;

Thirdly, all sums which at the passing of this Act are charged on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom in respect of Irish services other than the salary of the Lord Lieutenant;

Fourthly, the salaries of all judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature or other superior court in Ireland, or of any county or other like court, who are appointed after the passing of this Act, and the pensions of such judges;

Fifthly, any other sums charged by this Act on the Irish Consolidated Fund.

(2.) It shall be the duty of the Legislature of Ireland to impose all such taxes, duties, or imposts as will raise a sufficient revenue to meet all sums charged for the time being on the Irish Consolidated Fund.

Irish Church Fund.

**16.** Until all charges which are payable out of the Church property in Ireland, and are guaranteed by the Treasury, have been fully paid, the Irish Land Commission shall continue as heretofore to exist, with such Commissioners and officers receiving such salaries as the Treasury may from time to time appoint, and to administer the Church property and apply the income and other moneys receivable therefrom; and so much of the salaries of such Commissioners and officers and expenses of the office as is not paid out of the Church property shall be paid out of the moneys carried to the customs and excise account under this Act, and if those moneys are insufficient, out of the Consolidated Fund of Ireland, and if not so paid, shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament.

Provided as follows:—

(*a*) All charges on the Church property for which a guarantee has been given by the Treasury before the passing of this Act shall, so far as they are not paid out of such property, be paid out of the moneys carried to the Customs and Excise account under this Act, and if such moneys are insufficient, the Consolidated Fund of Ireland, without prejudice nevertheless to the guarantee of the Treasury;

(*b*.) All charges on the Church property, for which no guarantee has been given by the Treasury before the passing of this Act shall be charged on the Consolidated Fund of Ireland, but shall not be guaranteed by the Treasury nor charged on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

(2.) Subject to any existing charges on the Church property, such property shall belong to the Irish Government and any portion of the annual revenue thereof which the Treasury, on the application of the Irish Government, certify at the end of any financial year not to be required for meeting charges, shall be paid over and applied as part of the public revenues under the control of the Irish Government.

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(3.) As soon as all charges on the Church property guaranteed by the Treasury have been paid, such property may be managed and administered, and subject to existing charges thereon disposed of, and the income or proceeds thereof applied, in such manner as the Irish Legislature may from time to time direct.

(4.) "Church property" in this section means all property accruing under the Irish Church Act, 1869, and transferred to the Irish Land Commission by the Irish Church Act Amendment Act, 1881.

32 & 33 Vict. c. 42.
44 & 45 Vict. c. 71.

Public loans.

**17.**—(1.) All sums due for principal or interest to the Public Works Loan Commissioners or to the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland in respect of existing loans advanced on any security in Ireland shall on and after the appointed day be due to the Government of Ireland instead of the said Commissioners, and such body of persons as the Government of Ireland may appoint for the purpose shall have all the powers of the said Commissioners or their secretary for enforcing payment of such sums, and all securities for such sums given to such Commissioners or their secretary shall have effect as if the said body were therein substituted for those Commissioners or their secretary.

(2.) For the repayment of the said loans to the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom the Irish Government shall pay annually into that fund by half-yearly payments on the *first day of January* and the *first day of July*, or on such other days as may be agreed on, such instalments of the principal of the said loans as will discharge all the loans within *thirty years* from the appointed day, and shall also pay interest half yearly on so much of the said principal as from time to time remains unpaid at the rate of *three* per cent. per annum, and such instalments of principal and interest shall be paid out of the moneys carried to the customs and excise account under this Act, and if those are insufficient, out of the Consolidated Fund of Ireland.

Additional aid in case of war.

**18.** If Her Majesty declares that a state of war exists and is pleased to signify such declaration to the Irish Legislative Body by speech or message, it shall be lawful for the Irish Legislature to appropriate a further sum out of the Consolidated Fund of Ireland in aid of the army or navy, or other measures which Her Majesty may take for the prosecution of the war and defence of the realm, and to provide and raise money for that purpose; and all moneys so provided and raised, whether by loan, taxation, or otherwise, shall be paid into the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Money bills and votes.

**19.**—(1.) It shall not be lawful for the Irish Legislative Body to adopt or pass any vote, resolution, address, or Bill for the raising or appropriation for any purpose of any part of the public

revenue of Ireland, or of any tax, duty, or impost, except in pursuance of a recommendation from Her Majesty signified through the Lord Lieutenant in the session in which such vote, resolution, address, or Bill is proposed. A.D. 1886.

(2.) Notwithstanding that the Irish Legislature is prohibited by this Act for making laws relating to certain subjects, that Legislature may, with the assent of Her Majesty in Council first obtained, appropriate any part of the Irish public revenue, or any tax, duty, or impost imposed by such Legislature, for the purpose of, or in connexion with, such subjects.

Exchequer Division and revenue actions.

**20.**—(1.) On and after the appointed day, the Exchequer Division of the High Court of Justice shall continue to be a Court of Exchequer for revenue purposes under this Act, and whenever any vacancy occurs in the office of any judge of such Exchequer Division, his successor shall be appointed by Her Majesty on the joint recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.

(2.) The judges of such Exchequer Division appointed after the passing of this Act shall be removable only by Her Majesty on address from the two Houses of the Imperial Parliament, and shall receive the same salaries and pensions as those payable at the passing of this Act to the existing judges of such division, unless with the assent of Her Majesty in Council first obtained, the Irish Legislature alters such salaries or pensions, and such salaries and pensions shall be paid out of the moneys carried to the customs and excise account in pursuance of this Act, and if the same are insufficient shall be paid out of the Irish Consolidated Fund, and if not so paid shall be paid out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

(3.) An alteration of any rules relating to the procedure in such legal proceedings as are mentioned in this section shall not be made except with the approval of the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, and the sittings of the Exchequer division and the judges thereof shall be regulated with the like approval.

(4.) All legal proceedings instituted in Ireland by or against the Commissioners or any officers of custom or excise, or the Treasury, shall, if so required by any party to such proceedings, be heard and determined before the judges of such Exchequer division, or some or one of them, and any appeal from the decision in any such legal proceeding, if by a judge, shall lie to the said division, and if by the Exchequer division, shall lie to the House of Lords, and not to any other tribunal; and if it is made to appear to such judges, or any of them, that any decree or judgment in any such proceeding as aforesaid, has not been duly enforced by the sheriff or other officer whose duty it is to enforce the same, such judges or judge shall appoint some officer to enforce such judgment or decree; and it shall be the duty of

A.D. 1886. such officer to take proper steps to enforce the same, and for that purpose such officer and all persons employed by him shall be entitled to the same immunities, powers, and privileges as are by law conferred on a sheriff and his officers.

(5.) All sums recovered in respect of duties of Customs and Excise, or under any Act relating thereto, or by an officer of Customs or Excise, shall, notwithstanding anything in any other Act, be paid to the Treasury, and carried to the Customs and Excise account under this Act.

*Police.*

Police

**21.** The following regulations shall be made with respect to police in Ireland:

(*a.*) The Dublin Metropolitan Police shall continue and be subject as heretofore to the control of the Lord Lieutenant as representing Her Majesty for a period of *two years* from the passing of this Act, and thereafter until any alteration is made by Act of the Legislature of Ireland, but such Act shall provide for the proper saving of all then existing interests, whether as regards pay, pensions, superannuation allowances, or otherwise.

(*b.*) The Royal Irish Constabulary shall, while that force subsists, continue and be subject as heretofore to the control of the Lord Lieutenant as representing Her Majesty.

(*c.*) The Irish Legislature may provide for the establishment and maintenance of a police force in counties and boroughs in Ireland under the control of local authorities, and arrangements may be made between the Treasury and the Irish Government for the establishment and maintenance of police reserves.

## PART II.

### SUPPLEMENTAL PROVISIONS.

*Powers of Her Majesty.*

Power over certain lands reserved to Her Majesty.

**22.** On and after the appointed day there shall be reserved to Her Majesty—

(1.) The power of erecting forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other buildings for military or naval purposes;

(2.) The power of taking waste land, and, on making due compensation, any other land, for the purpose of erecting such forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, or other buildings as aforesaid, and for any other military or naval purpose, or the defence of the realm.

*Legislative Body.*

Veto by first order of Legislative Body, how overruled.

**23.** If a Bill or any provision of a Bill is lost by disagreement between the two orders of the Legislative Body, and after a period ending with a dissolution of the Legislative Body, or the period of *three years* whichever period is longest, such Bill, or a Bill containing the said provision, is again considered by the Legislative Body, and such Bill or provision is adopted by the second order and negatived by the first order, the same shall be submitted to the whole Legislative Body, both orders of which shall vote together on the Bill or provision, and the same shall be adopted or rejected according to the decision of the majority of the members so voting together.

Cesser of power of Ireland to return members to Parliament.

**24.** On and after the appointed day Ireland shall cease, except in the event hereafter in this Act mentioned, to return representative peers to the House of Lords or members to the House of Commons, and the persons who on the said day are such representative peers and members shall cease as such to be members of the House of Lords and House of Commons respectively.

*Decision of Constitutional Questions.*

Constitutional questions to be submitted to Judicial Committee.

**25.** Questions arising as to the powers conferred on the Legislature of Ireland under this Act shall be determined as follows:—

(*a.*) If any such question arises on any Bill passed by the Legislative Body, the Lord Lieutenant may refer such question to Her Majesty in Council;

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(*b.*) If, in the course of any action or other legal proceeding, such question arises on any Act of the Irish Legislature, any party to such action or other legal proceeding may, subject to the rules in this section mentioned, appeal from a decision on such question to Her Majesty in Council;

(*c.*) If any such question arises otherwise than as aforesaid on any Act of the Irish Legislature, the Lord Lieutenant or one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State may refer such question to Her Majesty in Council;

(*d.*) Any question referred or appeal brought under this section to Her Majesty in Council shall be referred for the consideration of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council;

(*e.*) The decision of Her Majesty in Council on any question referred or appeal brought under this section shall be final, and a Bill which may be so decided to be, or contain a provision, in excess of the powers of the Irish Legislature shall not be assented to by the Lord Lieutenant; and a provision of any Act which is so decided to be in excess of the powers of the Irish Legislature shall be void;

(*f.*) There shall be added to the Judicial Committee when sitting for the purpose of considering questions under this section, such members of Her Majesty's Privy Council, being or having been Irish judges, as to Her Majesty may seem meet;

(*g.*) Her Majesty may, by Order in Council from time to time, make rules as to the cases and mode in which and the conditions under which, in pursuance of this section, questions may be referred and appeals brought to Her Majesty in Council, and as to the consideration thereof by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and any rules so made shall be of the same force as if they were enacted in this Act;

(*h.*) An appeal shall not lie to the House of Lords in respect of any question in respect of which an appeal can be had to Her Majesty in Council in pursuance of this section.

*Lord Lieutenant.*

Office of Lord Lieutenant

**26.**—(1.) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in any Act of Parliament, every subject of Her Majesty shall be eligible to hold and enjoy the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, without reference to his religious belief.

(2.) The salary of the Lord Lieutenant shall continue to be

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charged on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, and the expenses of his household and establishment shall continue to be defrayed out of moneys to be provided by Parliament. A.D. 1886.

(3.) All existing powers vested by Act of Parliament or otherwise in the Chief Secretary for Ireland may, if no such officer is appointed, be exercised by the Lord Lieutenant until other provision is made by Act of the Irish Legislature.

(4.) The Legislature of Ireland shall not pass any Act relating to the office or functions of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

*Judges and Civil Servants.*

Judges to be removable only on address.

**27.** A Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature or other superior Court of Ireland, or of any county court or other court with a like jurisdiction in Ireland, appointed after the passing of this Act, shall not be removed from his office except in pursuance of an address to Her Majesty from both orders of the Legislative Body voting separately, nor shall his salary be diminished or right to pension altered during his continuance in office.

Provision as to judges and other persons having salaries charged on the Consolidated Fund.

**28.**—(1.) All persons who at the passing of this Act are judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature or county court judges, or hold any other judicial position in Ireland, shall, if they are removable at present on address to Her Majesty of both Houses of Parliament, continue to be removable only upon such address from both Houses of the Imperial Parliament, and if removable in any other manner shall continue to be removable in like manner as heretofore; and such persons, and also all persons at the passing of this Act in the permanent civil service of the Crown in Ireland whose salaries are charged on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, shall continue to hold office and to be entitled to the same salaries, pensions, and superannuation allowances as heretofore, and to be liable to perform the same or analogous duties as heretofore; and the salaries of such persons shall be paid out of the moneys carried to the customs and excise account under this Act, or if these moneys are insufficient, out of the Irish Consolidated Fund, and if the same are not so paid, shall continue charged on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

(2.) *If any of the said persons retires from office with the approbation of Her Majesty before he has completed the period of service entitling him to a pension, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty, if she thinks fit, to grant to that person such pension, not exceeding the pension to which he would have been entitled if he had completed the said period of service, as to Her Majesty seems meet.*

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As to persons holding civil service appointments.

**29.**—(1). All persons not above provided for and at the passing of this Act serving in Ireland in the permanent civil service of the Crown shall continue to hold their offices and receive the same salaries, and to be entitled to the same gratuities and superannuation allowances as heretofore, and shall be liable to perform the same duties as heretofore or duties of similar rank, but any of such persons shall be entitled at the expiration of *two years* after the passing of this Act to retire from office, and at any time if required by the Irish Government shall retire from office, and on any such retirement shall be entitled to receive such payment as the Treasury may award to him in accordance with the provisions contained in the Fourth Schedule to this Act.

(2.) The amount of such payment shall be paid to him out of the moneys carried to the customs and excise account under this Act, or, if those moneys are insufficient, out of the Irish Consolidated Fund, *and so far as the same are not so paid shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament.*

34 & 35 Vict. c. 36.

(3.) The Pensions Commutation Act, 1871, shall apply to all persons who, having retired from office, are entitled to any annual payment under this section, in like manner as if they had retired in consequence of the abolition of their offices.

(4.) This section shall not apply to persons who are retained in the service of the Imperial Government.

Provision for existing pensions and superannuation allowances

**30.** Where before the passing of this Act any pension or superannuation allowance has been granted to any person on account of service as a judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature of Ireland or of any court consolidated into that court, or as a county court judge, or in any other judicial position, or on account of service in the permanent civil service of the Crown in Ireland otherwise than in some office the holder of which is, after the passing of this Act, retained in the service of the Imperial Government, such pension or allowance, whether payable out of the Consolidated Fund or out of moneys provided by Parliament, shall continue to be paid to such person, and shall be so paid out of the moneys carried to the customs and excise account under this Act, or, if such moneys are insufficient, out of the Irish Consolidated Fund, and so far as the same is not so paid, shall be paid as heretofore out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom or moneys provided by Parliament.

*Transitory Provisions.*

Transitory provisions in schedule.

**31.** The provisions contained in the Fifth Schedule to this Act relating to the mode in which arrangements are to be made for setting in motion the Irish Legislative Body and Government and for the transfer to the Irish Government of the powers and

duties to be transferred to them under this Act, or for otherwise bringing this Act into operation, shall be of the same effect as if they were enacted in the body of this Act. A.D. 1886.

*Miscellaneous.*

Post office and savings banks.

**32.** Whenever an Act of the Legislature of Ireland has provided for carrying on the postal and telegraphic service with respect to the transmission of letters and telegrams in Ireland, and the post office and other savings banks in Ireland, and for protecting the officers then in such service, and the existing depositors in such post office savings banks, the Treasury shall make arrangements for the transfer of the said service and banks, in accordance with the said Act, and shall give public notice of the transfer, and shall pay all depositors in such post office savings banks who request payment within *six months* after the date fixed for such transfer, and after the expiration of such *six months* the said depositors shall cease to have any claim against the Postmaster General or the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, but shall have the like claim against the Consolidated Fund of Ireland, and the Treasury shall cause to be transferred in accordance with the said Act the securities representing the sums due to the said depositors in post office savings banks and the securities held for other savings banks.

Audit.

**33.** Save as otherwise provided by the Irish Legislature,—

(*a.*) The existing law relating to the Exchequer and the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom shall apply to the Irish Exchequer and Consolidated Fund, and an officer shall from time to time be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant to fill the office of the Comptroller General of the receipt and issue of Her Majesty's Exchequer and Auditor General of public accounts so far as respects Ireland; and

(*b.*) The accounts of the Irish Consolidated Fund shall be audited as appropriation accounts in manner provided by the Exchequer and Audit Departments Act, 1866, by or under the direction of the holder of such office. 29 & 30 Vict. c. 39.

Application of parliamentary law.

**34.**—(1.) The privileges, immunities, and powers to be held, enjoyed, and exercised by the Irish Legislative Body, and the members thereof, shall be such as are from time to time defined by Act of the Irish Legislature, but so that the same shall never exceed those at the passing of this Act held, enjoyed, and exercised by the House of Commons, and by the members thereof.

(2.) Subject as in this Act mentioned, all existing laws and

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customs relating to the members of the House of Commons and their election, including the enactments respecting the questioning of elections, corrupt and illegal practices, and registration of electors, shall, so far as applicable, extend to elective members of the first order and to members of the second order of the Irish Legislative Body.

Provided that—

(*a.*) The law relating to the offices of profit enumerated in Schedule H. to the Representation of the People Act, 1867, shall apply to such offices of profit in the government of Ireland not exceeding ten, as the Legislature of Ireland may from time to time direct;

(*b.*) After the first dissolution of the Legislative Body, the Legislature of Ireland may, subject to the restrictions in this Act mentioned, alter the laws and customs in this section mentioned.

Regulations for carrying Act into effect.

**35.**—(1.) The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland may make regulations for the following purposes:—

(*a.*) The summoning of the Legislative Body and the election of a speaker, and such adaptation to the proceedings of the Legislative Body of the procedure of the House of Commons as appears to him expedient for facilitating the conduct of business by that body on their first meeting;

(*b.*) The adaptation of any law relating to the election of representative peers;

(*c.*) The adaptation of any laws and customs relating to the House of Commons or the members thereof to the elective members of the first order and to members of the second order of the Legislative Body; and

(*d.*) The mode of signifying their assent or election under this Act by representative peers or Irish members of the House of Commons as regards becoming members of the Irish Legislative Body in pursuance of this Act.

(2.) Any regulations so made shall, in so far as they concern the procedure of the Legislative Body, be subject to alteration by Standing Orders of that Body, and so far as they concern other matters, be subject to alteration by the Legislature of Ireland, but shall, until alteration, have the same effect as if they were inserted in this Act.

Saving of powers of House of Lords.

**36.** Save as in this Act provided with respect to matters to be decided by Her Majesty in Council, nothing in this Act shall affect the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords in respect of actions and suits in Ireland, or the jurisdiction of the House of Lords to determine the claims to Irish peerages.

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Saving of rights of Parliament.

**37.** Save as herein expressly provided all matters in relation to which it is not competent for the Irish Legislative Body to make or repeal laws shall remain and be within the exclusive authority of the Imperial Parliament save as aforesaid, whose power and authority in relation thereto shall in nowise be diminished or restrained by anything herein contained.

Continuance of existing laws, courts, officers, &c.

**38.**—(1.) Except as otherwise provided by this Act, all existing laws in force in Ireland, and all existing courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and all existing legal commissions, powers, an authorities, and all existing officers, judicial, administrative, an ministerial and all existing taxes, licence, and other duties, fees and other receipts in Ireland shall continue as if this Act had not been passed; subject, nevertheless, to be repealed, abolished, or altered in manner and to the extent provided by this Act; provided that, subject to the provisions of this Act, such taxes, duties, fees, and other receipts shall, after the appointed day, form part of the public revenues of Ireland.

(2.) The Commissioners of Inland Revenue and the Commissioners of Customs, and the officers of such Commissioners respectively, shall have the same powers in relation to any articles subject to any duty of excise or customs, manufactured, imported, kept for sale, or sold, and any premises where the same may be, and to any machinery, apparatus, vessels, utensils, or conveyance used in connexion therewith, or the removal thereof, and in relation to the person manufacturing, importing, keeping for sale, selling, or having the custody or possession of the same as they would have had if this Act had not been passed.

Mode of alteration of Act.

**39.**—(1.) On and after the appointed day this Act shall not, except such provisions thereof as are declared to be alterable by the Legislature of Ireland, be altered except—

(*a.*) by Act of the Imperial Parliament and with the consent of the Irish Legislative Body testified by an address to Her Majesty, or

(*b.*) by an Act of the Imperial Parliament, for the passing of which there shall be summoned to the House of Lords the peerage members of the first order of the Irish Legislative Body, and if there are no such members then twenty-eight Irish representative peers elected by the Irish peers in manner heretofore in use, subject to adaptation as provided by this Act; and there shall be summoned to the House of Commons such one of the members of each constituency, or in the case of a constituency returning four members such two of those members, as the Legislative Body of Ireland

A.D. 1886.

may select, and such peers and members shall respectively be deemed, for the purpose of passing any such Act, to be members of the said Houses of Parliament respectively.

(2.) For the purposes of this section it shall be lawful for Her Majesty by Order in Council to make such provisions for summoning the said peers of Ireland to the House of Lords and the said members from Ireland to the House of Commons as to Her Majesty may seem necessary or proper, and any provisions contained in such Order in Council shall have the same effect as if they had been enacted by Parliament.

Definitions.

**40.** In this Act—

The expression "the appointed day" shall mean such day after the *thirty-first day of March in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven* as may be determined by order of Her Majesty in Council.

The expression "Lord Lieutenant" includes the lords justices or any other chief governor or governors of Ireland for the time being.

The expression "Her Majesty the Queen," or "Her Majesty," or "the Queen," includes the heirs and successors of Her Majesty the Queen.

The expression "Treasury" means the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury.

The expression "Treaty" includes any convention or arrangement.

The expression "existing" means existing at the passing of this Act.

The expression "existing constituency" means any county or borough, or division of a county or borough, or a University, returning at the passing of this Act a member or members to serve in Parliament.

The expression "duties of excise" does not include a duty received in respect of any license whether for the sale of intoxicating liquors or otherwise.

The expression "financial year" means the twelve months ending on the *thirty-first day of March.*

Short title of Act.

**41.** This Act may be cited for all purposes as the Irish Government Act, 1886.

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## FIRST SCHEDULE.

FIRST ORDER OF THE IRISH LEGISLATIVE BODY.

| Electoral Districts. | Number of Members. | Rotation. |
|---|---|---|
| | | |

## SECOND SCHEDULE.

PROVISIONS RELATING TO THE FIRST ORDER OF THE IRISH LEGISLATIVE BODY.

## THIRD SCHEDULE.

BOUNDARIES OF DIVISIONS OF THE CITY OF CORK FOR THE PURPOSE OF RETURNING MEMBERS TO THE SECOND ORDER OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY.

## FOURTH SCHEDULE.

PROVISIONS AS TO SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES OF PERSONS IN THE PERMANENT CIVIL SERVICE

## FIFTH SCHEDULE.

TRANSITORY PROVISIONS.

# APPENDIX B.

## LAND PURCHASE BILL, 1886.

[SECTIONS 25 to 28.]

*Financial Arrangements.*

A.D. 1886.

Appointment of Receiver General of Ireland.

**25.** The Treasury shall from time to time appoint a Receiver General of the public revenues of Ireland (in this Act referred to as the Irish Receiver General), and such deputies or deputy to act under him in any part or parts of Ireland as to the Treasury seem necessary for the execution of this Act. Such Receiver General and deputies shall hold office as persons serving in an established capacity in the permanent civil service of the State, and shall be subject generally to the directions of the Treasury, *and shall be paid out of moneys provided by the Imperial Parliament such salaries as the Treasury from time to time assign.*

Collection and payment of land revenue.

**26.** All sums payable by tenants of holdings vested in them in pursuance of this Act, and all sums receivable by the State authority in pursuance of this Act, whether as capital or income, from any estates which are vested in them or over which they have any right, or from which they derive any profit (which sums are in this Act referred to as land revenues), shall be collected by such collectors as the Irish Government may from time to time appoint for that purpose.

Taxes, &c., payable to Receiver General.

**27.**—(1.) There shall be paid to the Irish Receiver General all sums collected by a collector in respect of any tax, duty, or impost imposed or levied by or under the direction of the Irish Legislature for the public service in Ireland or collected by a collector in respect of the land revenues under this Act, and all sums other than those above mentioned and payable on account or in respect of the public revenues of the Government of Ireland, whatever collector or person is liable to pay the same.

(2.) There shall also be paid to the Irish Receiver General all moneys directed by the Irish Government Act, 1886, to be carried to the customs and excise account.

(3.) If default is made in payment to the Irish Receiver General of any sum by this section required to be paid to him by any person, the person who makes such default, and the

person who receives such sum, in respect of which such default is made, and every person, whether a member of a corporation or not, who is privy to such default, shall forfeit double such sum to Her Majesty, and the Irish Receiver General or one of his deputies shall take proceedings to recover such sum, and the sum when recovered shall be paid into the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom. A.D. 1886.

(4.) If the Irish Receiver General under this Act or any of his deputies is guilty of any malfeasance in his office, he shall forfeit to Her Majesty all sums lost by such malfeasance, and also such penal sum not exceeding *five hundred pounds*, as the Court in which the forfeiture is sued for may determine; and such forfeiture and penal sum may be recovered by action on behalf of the Irish Government, and when recovered shall be paid to the Irish Consolidated Fund.

(5.) Every action or legal proceeding by or against the Irish Receiver General or any of his deputies or deputy shall, if either of the parties thereto so desire, be heard and determined by the Exchequer Division, or one of the judges thereof, and the provisions of the Irish Government Act, 1886, with respect to legal proceedings by or against the Commissioners of Customs in the Exchequer Division, shall apply in like manner as if those provisions were herein re-enacted, and in terms made applicable to the Irish Receiver General, and such Exchequer Division shall have for such purpose the same powers as at the passing of this Act are vested in any Division of the High Court of Justice.

Application of sums received by Irish Receiver General.

**28.**—(1.) The Irish Receiver General shall apply all sums received by him:

First, in paying all sums payable out of the moneys carried under the Irish Government Act, 1886, to the account therein called the customs and excise account, and

Secondly, in paying all sums directed by this Act to be paid out of the land revenues, or out of moneys coming to the hands of such Receiver General.

(2.) The Receiver General shall pay all sums which are not, or in his opinion are not likely to be, required for making the above-mentioned payments to the Irish Consolidated Fund.

# APPENDIX C.

# GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL.

## ARRANGEMENT OF CLAUSES.

### PART I.

*Legislative Authority.*

Clause.
1. Establishment of Irish Legislature.
2. Powers of Irish Legislature.
3. Exceptions from powers of Irish Legislature.
4. Restrictions on powers of Irish Legislature.

*Executive Authority.*

5. Executive power in Ireland.

*Constitution of Legislature.*

6. Composition of Irish Legislative Council.
7. Composition of Irish Legislative Assembly.
8. Disagreement between two Houses, how settled.

*Irish Representation in House of Commons.*

9. Representation in Parliament of Irish counties and boroughs.

*Finance.*

10. As to separate Consolidated Fund and taxes.
11. Hereditary revenues and income tax.
12. Financial arrangements as between United Kingdom and Ireland.
13. Treasury Account (Ireland).
14. Charges on Irish Consolidated Fund.
15. Irish Church Fund.
16. Local loans.
17. Adaptation of Acts as to Local Taxation Accounts and probate, &c. duties.
18. Money bills and votes.
19. Exchequer judges for revenue actions, election petitions, &c.

*Post Office Postal Telegraphs and Savings Banks.*

Clause.
20. Transfer of post office and postal telegraphs.
21. Transfer of savings banks.

*Irish Appeals and Decision of Constitutional Questions.*

22. Irish appeals.
23. Special provision for decision of constitutional questions.

*Lord Lieutenant and Crown Lands.*

24. Office of Lord Lieutenant.
25. Use of Crown lands by Irish Government.

*Judges and Civil Servants.*

26. Tenure of future judges.
27. As to existing judges and other persons having salaries charged on the Consolidated Fund.
28. As to persons holding civil service appointments.
29. As to existing pensions and superannuation allowances.

*Police.*

30. As to Police.

*Miscellaneous.*

31. Irish Exchequer Consolidated Fund and Audit.
32. Law applicable to both Houses of Irish Legislature.
33. Supplemental provisions as to powers of Irish Legislature.
34. Limitation on borrowing by local authorities.

*Transitory Provisions.*

35. Temporary restriction on powers of Irish Legislature and Executive.
36. Transitory provisions.
37. Continuance of existing laws, courts, officers, &c.
38. Appointed day.
39. Definitions.
40. Short title.

SCHEDULES.

# A BILL

TO AMEND

A.D. 1893. *The provision for the Government of Ireland.*

[56 VICT.]

WHEREAS it is expedient that without impairing or restricting the supreme authority of Parliament, an Irish Legislature should be created for such purposes in Ireland as in this Act mentioned:

Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

## PART I.

### *Legislative Authority.*

Establishment of Irish Legislature.

**1.** *On and after the appointed day* there shall be in Ireland a Legislature consisting of Her Majesty the Queen and of two Houses, the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly.

Powers of Irish Legislature.

**2.** With the exceptions and subject to the restrictions in this Act mentioned, there shall be granted to the Irish Legislature power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland in respect of matters exclusively relating to Ireland or some part thereof.

Exceptions from powers of Irish Legislature.

**3.** The Irish Legislature shall not have power to make laws in respect of the following matters or any of them:—

(1.) The Crown, or the succession to the Crown, or a Regency; or the Lord Lieutenant as representative of the Crown; or

(2.) The making of peace or war or matters arising from a state of war; or

(3.) Naval or military forces, or the defence of the realm; or

(4.) Treaties and other relations with foreign States or the relations between different parts of Her Majesty's dominions or offences connected with such treaties or relations; or

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(5.) Dignities or titles of honour; or

(6.) Treason, treason-felony, alienage, or naturalization; or

(7.) Trade with any place out of Ireland; or quarantine, or navigation (except as respects inland waters and local health or harbour regulations); or

(8.) Beacons, lighthouses, or sea marks (except so far as they can consistently with any general Act of Parliament be constructed or maintained by a local harbour authority); or

(9.) Coinage; legal tender; or the standard of weights and measures; or

(10.) Trade marks, merchandise marks, copyright, or patent rights.

Any law made in contravention of this section shall be void.

Restrictions on powers of Irish Legislature.

**4.** The powers of the Irish Legislature shall not extend to the making of any law—

(1.) Respecting the establishment or endowment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or

(2.) Imposing any disability, or conferring any privilege, on account of religious belief; or

(3.) Abrogating or prejudicially affecting the right to establish or maintain any place of denominational education or any denominational institution or charity; or

(4.) Prejudicially affecting the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money, without attending the religious instruction at that school; or

(5.) Whereby any person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or may be denied the equal protection of the laws, or whereby private property may be taken without just compensation; or

(6.) Whereby any existing corporation incorporated by Royal Charter or by any local or general Act of Parliament (not being a corporation raising for public purposes taxes, rates, cess, dues, or tolls, or administering funds so raised) may, unless it consents, or the leave of Her Majesty is first obtained on address from the two Houses of the Irish Legislature, be deprived of its rights, privileges, or property without due process of law; or

(7.) Whereby any inhabitant of the United Kingdom may be deprived of equal rights as respects public sea fisheries.

Any law made in contravention of this section shall be void.

*Executive Authority.*

Executive power in Ireland.

**5.**—(1.) The executive power in Ireland shall continue vested in Her Majesty the Queen, and the Lord Lieutenant, on behalf of Her Majesty, shall exercise any prerogatives or other executive power of the Queen the exercise of which may be delegated to him by Her Majesty, and shall, in Her Majesty's name, summon, prorogue, and dissolve the Irish Legislature.

(2.) There shall be an Executive Committee of the Privy Council of Ireland to aid and advise in the government of Ireland, being of such numbers, and comprising persons holding such offices, as Her Majesty may think fit, or as may be directed by Irish Act.

(3.) The Lord Lieutenant shall, on the advice of the said Executive Committee, give or withhold the assent of Her Majesty to Bills passed by the two Houses of the Irish Legislature, subject nevertheless to any instructions given by Her Majesty in respect of any such Bill.

*Constitution of Legislature.*

Composition of Irish Legislative Council.

**6.**—(1.) The Irish Legislative Council shall consist of *forty-eight* councillors.

(2.) Each of the constituencies mentioned in the First Schedule to this Act shall return the number of councillors named opposite thereto in that schedule.

(3.) Every man shall be entitled to be registered as an elector, and when registered to vote at an election, of a councillor for a constituency, who owns or occupies any land or tenement in the constituency of a rateable value of more than *twenty* pounds, subject to the like conditions as a man is entitled at the passing of this Act to be registered and vote as a parliamentary elector in respect of an ownership qualification or of the qualification specified in section five of the Representation of the People Act, 1884, as the case may be: Provided that a man shall not be entitled to be registered, nor if registered to vote, at an election of a councillor in more than one constituency in the same year.

48 & 49 Vict. c. 3.

(4.) The term of office of every councillor shall be *eight* years, and shall not be affected by a dissolution; and one *half* of the councillors shall retire in every *fourth* year, and their seats shall be filled by a new election.

Composition of Irish Legislative Assembly.

**7.**—(1.) The Irish Legislative Assembly shall consist of *one hundred and three* members, returned by the existing parliamentary constituencies in Ireland, or the existing divisions thereof, and elected by the parliamentary electors for the time being in those constituencies or divisions.

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(2.) The Irish Legislative Assembly when summoned may, unless sooner dissolved, have continuance for *five* years from the day on which the summons directs it to meet and no longer.

(3.) After *six* years from the passing of this Act, the Irish Legislature may alter the qualification of the electors, and the constituencies, and the distribution of the members among the constituencies, provided that in such distribution due regard is had to the population of the constituencies.

Disagreement between two Houses, how settled.

**8.** If a Bill or any provision of a Bill adopted by the Legislative Assembly is lost by the disagreement of the Legislative Council, and after a dissolution, or the period of *two years* from such disagreement, such Bill, or a Bill for enacting the said provision, is again adopted by the Legislative Assembly and fails within three months afterwards to be adopted by the Legislative Council, the same shall forthwith be submitted to the members of the two Houses deliberating and voting together thereon, and shall be adopted or rejected according to the decision of the majority of those members present and voting on the question.

*Irish Representation in House of Commons.*

Representation in Parliament of Irish counties and boroughs.

**9.** Unless and until Parliament otherwise determines, the following provisions shall have effect—

(1.) After *the appointed day* each of the constituencies named in the Second Schedule to this Act shall return to serve in Parliament the number of members named opposite thereto in that schedule, and no more, and Dublin University shall cease to return any member.

(2.) The existing divisions of the constituencies shall, save as provided in that schedule, be abolished.

(3.) An Irish representative peer in the House of Lords and a member of the House of Commons for an Irish constituency shall not be entitled to deliberate or vote on—

(*a*) any Bill or motion in relation thereto, the operation of which Bill or motion is confined to Great Britain or some part thereof; or

(*b*) any motion or resolution relating solely to some tax not raised or to be raised in Ireland; or

(*c*) any vote or appropriation of money made exclusively for some service not mentioned in the Third Schedule to this Act; or

(*d*) any motion or resolution exclusively affecting Great Britain or some part thereof or some local authority or some person or thing therein; or

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(*e*) any motion or resolution, incidental to any such motion or resolution as either is last mentioned, or relates solely to some tax not raised or be raised in Ireland, or incidental to any such vote or appropriation of money as aforesaid.

(4.) Compliance with the provisions of this section shall not be questioned otherwise than in each House in manner provided by the House.

(5.) The election laws and the laws relating to the qualification of parliamentary electors shall not, so far as they relate to parliamentary elections, be altered by the Irish Legislature, but this enactment shall not prevent the Irish Legislature from dealing with any officers concerned with the issue of writs of election, and if any officers are so dealt with, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty by Order in Council to arrange for the issue of such writs, and the writs issued in pursuance of such Order shall be of the same effect as if issued in manner heretofore accustomed.

*Finance.*

As to separate Consolidated Fund and taxes.

**10.**—(1.) *On and after the appointed day* there shall be an Irish Exchequer and Consolidated Fund separate from those of the United Kingdom.

(2.) The duties of customs and excise and the duties on postage shall be imposed by Act of Parliament, but subject to the provisions of this Act the Irish Legislature may, in order to provide for the public service of Ireland, impose any other taxes.

(3.) Save as in this Act mentioned, all matters relating to the taxes in Ireland and the collection and management thereof shall be regulated by Irish Act, and the same shall be collected and managed by the Irish Government and form part of the public revenues of Ireland: Provided that—

(*a*) the duties of customs shall be regulated, collected, managed, and paid into the Exchequer of the United Kingdom as heretofore; and

(*b*) all prohibitions in connexion with the duties of excise, and so far as regards articles sent out of Ireland, all matters relating to those duties, shall be regulated by Act of Parliament; and

(*c*) the excise duties on articles consumed in Great Britain shall be paid in Great Britain or to an officer of the Government of the United Kingdom.

(4.) Save as in this Act mentioned, all the public revenues

of Ireland shall be paid into the Irish Exchequer and form a Consolidated Fund, and be appropriated to the public service of Ireland by Irish Act.

(5.) If the duties of excise are increased above the rates in force on *the first day of March one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three*, the net proceeds in Ireland of the duties in excess of the said rates, shall be paid from the Irish Exchequer to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.

(6.) *If the duties of excise are reduced below the rates in force on the said day, and the net proceeds of such duties in Ireland are in consequence less than the net proceeds of the duties before the reduction, a sum equal to the deficiency shall, unless it is otherwise agreed between the Treasury and the Irish Government, be paid from the Exchequer of the United Kingdom to the Irish Exchequer.*

Hereditary revenues and income tax.

**11.**—(1.) The hereditary revenues of the Crown in Ireland which are managed by the Commissioners of Woods shall continue during the life of Her present Majesty to be managed and collected by those Commissioners, and the net amount payable by them to the Exchequer on account of those revenues, after deducting all expenses (but including an allowance for interest on such proceeds of the sale of those revenues as have not been re-invested in Ireland), shall be paid into the Treasury Account (Ireland) herein-after mentioned, for the benefit of the Irish Exchequer.

(2.) A person shall not be required to pay income tax in Great Britain in respect of property situate or business carried on in Ireland, and a person shall not be required to pay income tax in Ireland in respect of property situate or business carried on in Great Britain.

(3.) *For the purpose of giving to Ireland the benefit of the difference between the income tax collected in Great Britain from British, Colonial, and foreign securities held by residents in Ireland, and the income tax collected in Ireland from Irish securities held by residents in Great Britain, there shall be made to Ireland out of the income tax collected in Great Britain, an allowance of such amount as may be from time to time determined by the Treasury, in accordance with a minute of the Treasury laid before Parliament before the appointed day, and such allowance shall be paid into the Treasury Account (Ireland) for the benefit of the Irish Exchequer.*

(4.) Provided that the provisions of this section with respect to income tax shall not apply to any excess of the rate of income tax in Great Britain above the rate in Ireland or of the rate of income tax in Ireland above the rate in Great Britain.

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Financial arrangements as between United Kingdom and Ireland.

**12.**—(1.) The duties of customs contributed by Ireland and, save as provided by this Act, that portion of any public revenue of the United Kingdom to which Ireland may claim to be entitled, whether specified in the Third Schedule to this Act or not, shall be carried to the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, as the contribution of Ireland to Imperial liabilities and expenditure as defined in that Schedule.

(2.) The civil charges of the Government in Ireland shall, subject as in this Act mentioned, be borne after the appointed day by Ireland.

(3.) After *fifteen* years from the passing of this Act the arrangements made by this Act for the contribution of Ireland to Imperial liabilities and expenditure, and otherwise for the financial relations between the United Kingdom and Ireland, may be revised in pursuance of an address to Her Majesty from the House of Commons, or from the Irish Legislative Assembly.

Treasury Account (Ireland).

**13.**—(1.) There shall be established under the direction of the Treasury an account (in this Act referred to as the Treasury Account (Ireland).

(2.) There shall be paid into such account all sums payable from the Irish Exchequer to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, or from the latter to the former Exchequer, and all sums directed to be paid into the account for the benefit of either of the said Exchequers.

(3.) All sums, which are payable from either of the said Exchequers to the other of them, or being payable out of one of the said Exchequers are repayable by the other Exchequer, shall in the first instance be payable out of the said account so far as the money standing on the account is sufficient; and for the purpose of meeting such sums, the Treasury out of the customs revenue collected in Ireland, and the Irish Government out of any of the public revenues in Ireland, may direct money to be paid to the Treasury Account (Ireland) instead of into the Exchequer.

(4.) Any surplus standing on the account to the credit of either Exchequer, and not required for meeting payments, shall at convenient times be paid into that Exchequer, and where any sum so payable into the Exchequer of the United Kingdom is required by law to be forthwith paid to the National Debt Commissioners, that sum may be paid to those Commissioners without being paid into the Exchequer.

(5.) All sums payable by virtue of this Act out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom or of Ireland shall be payable from the Exchequer of the United Kingdom or Ireland, as the case may be, within the meaning of this Act, and all sums by this Act made payable from the Exchequer of the

United Kingdom shall, if not otherwise paid, be charged on and paid out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom. A.D. 1893.

Charges on Irish Consolidated Fund.

**14.**—(1.) There shall be charged on the Irish Consolidated Fund in favour of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom as a first charge on that fund all sums which—

(*a*) are payable to that Exchequer from the Irish Exchequer; or

(*b*) are required to repay to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom sums issued to meet the dividends or sinking fund on guaranteed land stock under the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1891, or 54 & 55 Vict. c. 48.

(*c*) otherwise have been or are required to be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom in consequence of the non-payment thereof out of the Exchequer of Ireland or otherwise by the Irish Government.

(2.) If at any time the Controller and Auditor General of the United Kingdom is satisfied that any such charge is due, he shall certify the amount of it, and the Treasury shall send such certificate to the Lord Lieutenant, who shall thereupon by order without any counter-signature, direct the payment of the amount from the Irish Exchequer to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, and such order shall be duly obeyed by all persons, and until the amount is wholly paid no other payment shall be made out of the Irish Exchequer for any purpose whatever.

(3.) There shall be charged on the Irish Consolidated Fund next after the foregoing charge;

(*a*) all sums, for dividends or sinking fund on guaranteed land stock under the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1891, which the Land Purchase Account and the Guarantee Fund under that Act are insufficient to pay; 54 & 55 Vict. c. 48.

(*b*) all sums due in respect of any debt incurred by the Government of Ireland, whether for interest, management, or sinking fund;

(*c*) an annual sum of *five thousand* pounds for the expenses of the household and establishment of the Lord Lieutenant;

(*d*) all existing charges on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom in respect of Irish services other than the salary of the Lord Lieutenant; and

(*e*) the salaries and pensions of all judges of the Supreme Court or other superior court in Ireland or of any county or other like court, who are appointed after the passing of this Act, and are not the Exchequer judges hereafter mentioned.

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(4.) Until all charges created by this Act upon the Irish Consolidated Fund and for the time being due are paid, no money shall be issued from the Irish Exchequer for any other purpose whatever.

Irish Church Fund. 32 & 33 Vict. c. 42. 44 & 45 Vict. c. 71.

**15.**—(1.) All existing charges on the Church property in Ireland,—that is to say, all property accruing under the Irish Church Act, 1869, and transferred to the Irish Land Commission by the Irish Church Amendment Act, 1881—shall so far as not paid out of the said property be charged on the Irish Consolidated Fund, and any of those charges guaranteed by the Treasury, if and so far as not paid, shall be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.

(2.) Subject to the existing charges thereon, the said Church property shall belong to the Irish Government, and be managed, administered, and disposed of as directed by Irish Act.

Local loans.

**16.**—(1.) All sums paid or applicable in or towards the discharge of the interest or principal of any local loan advanced before the appointed day on security in Ireland, or otherwise in respect of such loan, which but for this Act would be paid to the National Debt Commissioners, and carried to the Local Loans Fund shall, after the appointed day, be paid, until otherwise provided by Irish Act, to the Irish Exchequer.

(2.) For the payment to the Local Loans Fund of the principal and interest of such loans, the Irish Government shall after the appointed day pay by half yearly payments an annuity for *forty-nine* years, at the rate of *four* per cent on the principal of the said loans, exclusive of any sums written off before the appointed day from the account of assets of the Local Loans Fund, and such annuity shall be paid from the Irish Exchequer to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, and when so paid shall be forthwith paid to the National Debt Commissioners for the credit of the Local Loans Fund.

(3.) After the appointed day, money for loans in Ireland shall cease to be advanced either by the Public Works Loan Commissioners or out of the Local Loans Fund.

Adaptation of Acts as to Local Taxation Accounts and probate, &c. duties. See 50 & 51 Vict. c. 41. 54 & 55 Vict. c. 48.

**17.**—(1.) So much of any Act as directs payment to the Local Taxation (Ireland) Account of any share of probate excise or customs duties payable to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom shall, together with any enactment amending the same, be repealed as from the appointed day without prejudice to the adjustment of balances after that day; but the like amounts shall continue to be paid to the Local Taxation Accounts in England and Scotland as would have been paid if this Act had not passed, and any residue of the said share shall be paid into the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.

(2.) The stamp duty chargeable in respect of the personalty

of a deceased person, shall not in the case of administration granted in Great Britain be chargeable in respect of any personalty situate in Ireland, nor in the case of administration granted in Ireland be chargeable in respect of any personalty situate in Great Britain; and any administration granted in Great Britain shall not, if re-sealed in Ireland, be exempt from stamp duty on administration granted in Ireland, and any administration granted in Ireland shall not, when re-sealed in Great Britain, be exempt from stamp duty on administration granted in Great Britain.

See 21 & 22 Vict. c. 86. ss. 12-18. 21 & 22 Vict. c. 95. s. 29. 22 & 23 Vict. c. 31. s. 25. 39 & 40 Vict. c. 70. ss. 41-4.

(3.) In this section the expression "administration" means probate or letters of administration, and as respects Scotland, confirmation inclusive of the inventory required under the Acts relating to the said stamp duty, and the expression "personalty" means personal or moveable estate and effects.

Money bills and votes.

**18.**—(1.) Bills for appropriating any part of the public revenue or for imposing any tax shall originate in the Legislative Assembly.

(2.) It shall not be lawful for the Legislative Assembly to adopt or pass any vote, resolution, address, or Bill for the appropriation for any purpose of any part of the public revenue of Ireland, or of any tax, except in pursuance of a recommendation from the Lord Lieutenant in the session in which such vote, resolution, address, or Bill is proposed.

Exchequer judges for revenue actions, election petitions, &c.

**19.**—(1.) Two of the judges of the Supreme Court in Ireland shall be Exchequer judges, and shall be appointed under the great seal of the United Kingdom; and their salaries and pensions shall be charged on and paid out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

(2.) The Exchequer judges shall be removeable only by Her Majesty on address from the two Houses of Parliament, and each such judge shall, save as otherwise provided by Parliament, receive the same salary and be entitled to the same pension as is at the time of his appointment fixed for the puisne judges of the Supreme Court, and during his continuance in office his salary shall not be diminished, nor his right to pension altered, without his consent.

(3.) An alteration of any rules relating to such legal proceedings as are mentioned in this section shall not be made except with the approval of Her Majesty the Queen in Council; and the sittings of the Exchequer judges shall be regulated with the like approval.

(4.) All legal proceedings in Ireland, which are instituted at the instance of or against the Treasury or Commissioners of customs, or any of their officers, or relate to the election of members to serve in Parliament, or touch any matter not within

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the powers of the Irish Legislature, or touch any matter affected by a law which the Irish Legislature have not power to repeal or alter, shall, if so required by any party to such proceedings, be heard and determined before the Exchequer judges or (except where the case requires to be determined by two judges) before one of them, and in any such legal proceeding an appeal shall, if any party so requires, lie from any court of first instance in Ireland to the Exchequer judges, and the decision of the Exchequer judges shall be subject to appeal to Her Majesty the Queen in Council and not to any other tribunal.

(5.) If it is made to appear to an Exchequer judge that any decree or judgment in any such proceeding as aforesaid has not been duly enforced by the sheriff or other officer whose duty it is to enforce the same, such judge shall appoint some officer whose duty it shall be to enforce that judgment or decree; and for that purpose such officer and all persons employed by him shall be entitled to the same privileges, immunities, and powers as are by law conferred on a sheriff and his officers.

(6.) The Exchequer judges, when not engaged in hearing and determining such legal proceedings as above in this section mentioned, shall perform such of the duties ordinarily performed by other judges of the Supreme Court in Ireland as may be assigned by Her Majesty the Queen in Council.

(7.) All sums recovered by the Treasury or the Commissioners of customs or any of their officers, or recovered under any Act relating to duties of customs, shall, notwithstanding anything in any other Act, be paid to such public account as the Treasury or the Commissioners direct.

*Post Office Postal Telegraphs and Savings Banks.*

Transfer of post office and postal telegraphs.

**20.**—(1.) As from *the appointed day* the postal and telegraph service in Ireland shall be transferred to the Irish Government, and may be regulated by Irish Act, except as in this Act mentioned and except as regards matters relating—

(*a*) to such conditions of the transmission or delivery of postal packets and telegrams as are incidental to the duties on postage; or

(*b*) to foreign mails or submarine telegraphs or through lines in connection therewith; or

(*c*) to any other postal or telegraphic business in connection with places out of the United Kingdom.

(2.) The administration of or incidental to the said excepted matters shall, save as may be otherwise arranged with the Irish Post Office remain with the Postmaster-General.

(3.) As regards the revenue and expenses of the postal and

telegraph service, the Postmaster-General shall retain the revenue collected and defray the expenses incurred in Great Britain, and the Irish Post Office shall retain the revenue collected and defray the expenses incurred in Ireland, subject to the provisions of the Fourth Schedule to this Act; which schedule shall have full effect, but may be varied or added to by agreement between the Postmaster-General and the Irish Post Office. A.D. 1893.

(4.) *The sums payable by the Postmaster-General or Irish Post Office to the other of them in pursuance of this Act shall, if not paid out of Post Office moneys, be paid from the Exchequer of the United Kingdom or of Ireland, as the case requires, to the other Exchequer.*

(5.) Sections forty-eight to fifty-two of the Telegraph Act, 1863, and any enactment amending the same, shall apply to all telegraphic lines of the Irish Government in like manner as to the telegraphs of a company within the meaning of that Act. 26 & 27 Vict. c. 112.

**21.**—(1.) As from *the appointed day* there shall be transferred to the Irish Government the post office savings banks in Ireland and all such powers and duties of any department or officer in Great Britain as are connected with post office savings banks, trustee savings banks or friendly societies in Ireland, and the same may be regulated by Irish Act. Transfer of savings banks.

(2.) The Treasury shall publish not less than six months previous notice of the transfer of Savings Banks.

(3.) If before the date of the transfer any depositor in a Post Office Savings Bank so requests, his deposit shall, according to his request either be paid to him or transferred to a Post Office Savings Bank in Great Britain, and after the said date the depositors in a Post Office Savings Bank in Ireland shall cease to have any claim against the Postmaster-General or the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, but shall have the like claim against the Government and Consolidated Fund of Ireland;

(4.) If before the date of the transfer the trustees of any trustee savings bank so request, then, according to the request, either all sums due to them shall be repaid and the savings bank closed, or those sums shall be paid to the Irish Government, and after the said date the trustees shall cease to have any claim against the National Debt Commissioners or the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, but shall have the like claim against the Government and Consolidated Fund of Ireland.

(5.) Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions of this section, if a sum due on account of any annuity or policy of insurance which has before the above-mentioned notice been granted through a Post Office or Trustee Savings Bank, is not paid by the Irish Government, that sum shall be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.

*Irish Appeals and Decision of Constitutional Questions.*

Irish appeals.

**22.**—(1.) The appeal from courts in Ireland to the House of Lords shall cease; and where any person would, but for this Act, have a right to appeal from any court in Ireland to the House of Lords, such person shall have the like right to appeal to Her Majesty the Queen in Council; and the right so to appeal shall not be affected by any Irish Act; and all enactments relating to appeals to Her Majesty the Queen in Council, and to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, shall apply accordingly.

39 & 40 Vict. c. 59.

(2.) When the Judicial Committee sit for hearing appeals from a court in Ireland, there shall be present not less than four Lords of Appeal, within the meaning of the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1876, and at least one member who is or has been a judge of the Supreme Court in Ireland.

(3.) A rota of privy councillors to sit for hearing appeals from courts in Ireland shall be made annually by Her Majesty in Council, and the privy councillors, or some of them, on that rota shall sit to hear the said appeals. A casual vacancy in such rota during the year may be filled by Order in Council.

(3.) Nothing in this Act shall affect the jurisdiction of the House of Lords to determine the claims to Irish peerages.

Special provision for decision of constitutional questions.

**23.**—(1.) If it appears to the Lord Lieutenant or a Secretary of State expedient in the public interest that steps shall be taken for the speedy determination of the question whether any Irish Act or any provision thereof is beyond the powers of the Irish Legislature, he may represent the same to Her Majesty in Council, and thereupon the said question shall be forthwith referred to and heard and determined by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, constituted as if hearing an appeal from a court in Ireland.

(2.) Upon the hearing of the question such persons as seem to the Judicial Committee to be interested may be allowed to appear and be heard as parties to the case, and the decision of the Judicial Committee shall be given in like manner as if it were the decision of an appeal, the nature of the report or recommendation to Her Majesty being stated in open court.

(3.) Nothing in this Act shall prejudice any other power of Her Majesty in Council to refer any question to the Judicial Committee or the right of any person to petition Her Majesty for such reference.

*Lord Lieutenant and Crown lands.*

Office of Lord Lieutenant.

**24.**—(1.) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any Act, every subject of the Queen shall be qualified to hold the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, without reference to his religious belief.

(2.) The term of office of the Lord Lieutenant shall be *six years*, without prejudice to the power of Her Majesty the Queen at any time to revoke the appointment.

Use of Crown lands by Irish Government.

**25.** Her Majesty the Queen in Council may place under the control of the Irish Government, for the purposes of that Government, such of the lands and buildings in Ireland vested in or held in trust for Her Majesty, and subject to such conditions or restrictions (if any), as may seem expedient.

*Judges and Civil Servants.*

Tenure of future judges.

**26.** A judge of the Supreme Court or other superior court in Ireland, or of any county court or other court with a like jurisdiction in Ireland, appointed after the passing of this Act, shall not be removed from his office except in pursuance of an address from the two Houses of the Legislature of Ireland, nor during his continuance in office shall his salary be diminished or right to pension altered without his consent.

As to existing judges and other persons having salaries charged on the Consolidated Fund.

**27.**—(1.) All existing judges of the Supreme Court, county court judges, and Land Commissioners in Ireland and all existing officers serving in Ireland in the permanent civil service of the Crown and receiving salaries charged on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, shall, if they are removeable at present on address from both Houses of Parliament, continue to be removeable only upon such address, and if removeable in any other manner shall continue to be removeable only in the same manner as heretofore; and shall continue to receive the same salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and to be liable to perform the same duties as heretofore, or such duties as Her Majesty may declare to be analogous, and their salaries and pensions, if and so far as not paid out of the Irish Consolidated Fund, shall be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom: Provided that this section shall be subject to the provisions of this Act with respect to the Exchequer judges.

(2.) *If any of the said judges, commissioners, or officers retires from office with the Queen's approbation before completion of the period of service entitling him to a pension, Her Majesty may, if she thinks fit, grant to him such pension, not exceeding the pension to which he would on that completion have been entitled, as to Her Majesty seems meet.*

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As to persons holding civil service appointments.

**28.**—(1.) All existing officers in the permanent civil service of the Crown, who are not above provided for, and are at the appointed day serving in Ireland, shall after that day continue to hold their offices by the same tenure and to receive the same salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and to be liable to perform the same duties as heretofore or such duties as the Treasury may declare to be analogous; *and the said gratuities and pensions, and until three years after the passing of this Act, the salaries due to any of the said officers if remaining in his existing office, shall be paid to the payees by the Treasury out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.*

(2.) Any such officer may after *three years* from the passing of this Act retire from office, and shall, at any time during those three years, if required by the Irish Government, retire from office, and on any such retirement may be awarded by the Treasury a gratuity or pension in accordance with the Fifth Schedule to this Act; Provided that—

(*a*) six months written notice shall, unless it is otherwise agreed, be given either by the said officer or by the Irish Government as the case requires; and

(*b*) such number of officers only shall retire at one time and at such intervals of time as the Treasury, in communication with the Irish Government, sanction.

(3.) If any such officer does not so retire, the Treasury may award him after the said three years a pension in accordance with the Fifth Schedule to this Act which shall become payable to him on his ultimate retirement from the service of the Crown.

(4.) *The gratuities and pensions awarded in accordance with the Fifth Schedule to this Act shall be paid by the Treasury to the payees out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.*

(5.) All sums paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom in pursuance of this section shall be repaid to that Exchequer from the Irish Exchequer.

(6.) This section shall not apply to officers retained in the service of the Government of the United Kingdom.

As to existing pensions and superannuation allowances.

**29.** Any existing pension granted on account of service in Ireland as a judge of the Supreme Court or of any court consolidated into that court, or as a county court judge, or in any other judicial position, or as an officer in the permanent civil service of the Crown other than in an office the holder of which is after the appointed day retained in the service of the Government of

the United Kingdom, shall be charged on the Irish Consolidated Fund, and if and so far as not paid out of that fund, shall be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom. A.D. 1893.

*Police.*

**30.**—(1.) The forces of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police shall, when and as local police forces are from time to time established in Ireland in accordance with the Sixth Schedule to this Act, be gradually reduced and ultimately cease to exist as mentioned in that Schedule ; and after the passing of this Act, no officer or man shall be appointed to either of those forces ; As to Police.

Provided that until the expiration of *six* years from the appointed day, nothing in this Act shall require the Lord Lieutenant to cause either of the said forces to cease to exist, if as representing Her Majesty the Queen he considers it inexpedient.

(2.) The said two forces shall, while they continue, be subject to the control of the Lord Lieutenant as representing Her Majesty, and the members thereof shall continue to receive the same salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and hold their appointments on the same tenure as heretofore, *and those salaries gratuities, and pensions, and all the expenditure incidental to either force, shall be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.*

(3.) When any existing member of either force retires under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to this Act, the Treasury may award to him a gratuity or pension in accordance with that Schedule.

(4.) *Those gratuities and pensions and all existing pensions payable in respect of service in either force, shall be paid by the Treasury to the payees out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.*

(5.) *Two-thirds of the net amount payable in pursuance of this section out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom shall be repaid to that Exchequer from the Irish Exchequer.*

*Miscellaneous.*

**31.** Save as may be otherwise provided by Irish Act,—

(*a*) The existing law relating to the Exchequer and Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom shall apply with the necessary modifications to the Exchequer and Consolidated Fund of Ireland, and an officer shall be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant to be the Irish Comptroller and Auditor General; and Irish Exchequer Consolidated Fund and Audit.

(*b*) The Accounts of the Irish Consolidated Fund shall be audited as appropriation accounts in manner provided by the Exchequer and Audit Departments Act, 1866, by or under the direction of such officer. 29 & 30 Vict. c. 39.

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Law applicable to both Houses of Irish Legislature.

**32.**—(1.) Subject as in this Act mentioned and particularly to the Seventh Schedule to this Act (which Schedule shall have full effect) all existing election laws relating to the House of Commons and the members thereof shall, so far as applicable, extend to each of the two Houses of the Irish Legislature and the members thereof, but such election laws so far as hereby extended may be altered by Irish Act.

(2.) The privileges, rights, and immunities to be held and enjoyed by each House and the members thereof shall be such as may be defined by Irish Act, but so that the same shall never exceed those for the time being held and enjoyed by the House of Commons, and the members thereof.

Supplemental provisions as to powers of Irish Legislature.

**33.**—(1.) The Irish Legislature may repeal or alter any provision of this Act which is by this Act expressly made alterable by that Legislature, and also any enactments in force in Ireland, except such as either relate to matters beyond the powers of the Irish Legislature, or being enacted by Parliament after the passing of this Act may be expressly extended to Ireland. An Irish Act, notwithstanding it is in any respect repugnant to any enactment excepted as aforesaid, shall, though read subject to that enactment, be, except to the extent of that repugnancy, valid.

(2.) An order, rule, or regulation, made in pursuance of, or having the force of, an Act of Parliament, shall be deemed to be an enactment within the meaning of this section.

(3.) Nothing in this Act shall affect Bills relating to the divorce or marriage of individuals, and any such Bill shall be introduced and proceed in Parliament in like manner as if this Act had not passed.

Limitation on borrowing by local authorities.

**34.** The local authority for any county or borough or other area shall not borrow money without either—

(*a*) special authority from the Irish Legislature, or

(*b*) the sanction of the proper department of the Irish Government ;

and shall not, without such special authority, borrow ;

(i) in the case of a municipal borough or town or area less than a county, any loan which together with the then outstanding debt of the local authority, will exceed twice the annual rateable value of the property in the municipal borough, town, or area ; or

(ii) in the case of a county or larger area, any loan which together with the then outstanding debt of the local authority, will exceed one-tenth of the annual rateable value of the property in the county or area; or

(iii) in any case a loan exceeding one-half of the above limits without a local inquiry held in the county, borough, or area by a person appointed for the purpose by the said department. A.D. 1893.

*Transitory Provisions.*

Temporary restriction on powers of Irish Legislature and Executive.

**35.**—(1.) During *three* years from the passing of this Act, and if Parliament is then sitting until the end of that session of Parliament, the Irish Legislature shall not pass an Act respecting the relations of landlord and tenant, or the sale, purchase, or letting of land generally : Provided that nothing in this section shall prevent the passing of any Irish Act with a view to the purchase of land for railways, harbours, waterworks, town improvements, or other local undertakings.

(2.) During *six* years from the passing of this Act, the appointment of a judge of the Supreme Court or other superior court in Ireland (other than one of the Exchequer judges) shall be made in pursuance of a warrant from Her Majesty countersigned as heretofore.

Transitory provisions.

**36.**—(1.) Subject to the provisions of this Act Her Majesty the Queen in Council may make or direct such arrangements as seem necessary or proper for setting in motion the Irish Legislature and Government and for otherwise bringing this Act into operation.

(2.) The Irish Legislature shall be summoned to meet on the *first Tuesday in September, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-four*, and the first election of members of the two Houses of the Irish Legislature shall be held at such time before that day, as may be fixed by Her Majesty in Council.

(3.) Upon the first meeting of the Irish Legislature the members of the House of Commons then sitting for Irish constituencies, including the members for Dublin University, shall vacate their seats, and writs shall, as soon as conveniently may be, be issued by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland for the purpose of holding an election of members to serve in Parliament for the constituencies named in the Second Schedule of this Act.

(4.) The existing Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and the senior of the existing puisne judges of the Exchequer Division of the Supreme Court, or if they or either of them are or is dead or unable or unwilling to act, such other of the judges of the Supreme Court as Her Majesty may appoint shall be the first Exchequer judges.

(5.) Where it appears to Her Majesty the Queen in Council, before the expiration of *one year* after the appointed day, that

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any existing enactment respecting matters within the powers of the Irish Legislature requires adaptation to Ireland, whether—

(*a*) by the substitution of the Lord Lieutenant in Council, or of any department or officer of the executive Government in Ireland, for Her Majesty in Council, a Secretary of State, the Treasury, the Postmaster-General, the Board of Inland Revenue, or other public department or officer in Great Britain; or

(*b*) by the substitution of the Irish Consolidated Fund or moneys provided by the Irish Legislature for the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, or moneys provided by Parliament; or

(*c*) by the substitution of confirmation by, or other act to be done by or to, the Irish Legislature for confirmation by or other act to be done by or to Parliament; or

(*d*) by any other adaptation;

Her Majesty, by Order in Council, may make that adaptation.

(6.) Her Majesty the Queen in Council may provide for the transfer of such property, rights, and liabilities, and the doing of such other things as may appear to Her Majesty necessary or proper for carrying into effect this Act or any Order in Council under this Act.

(7.) An Order in Council under this section may make an adaptation or provide for a transfer either unconditionally or subject to such exceptions, conditions, and restrictions as may seem expedient.

(8.) The draft of every Order in Council under this section shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament for not less than two months before it is made, and such Order when made shall, subject as respects Ireland to the provisions of an Irish Act, have full effect, but shall not interfere with the continued application to any place, authority, person, or thing, not in Ireland, of the enactment to which the Order relates.

Continuance of existing laws, courts, officers, &c.

**37.**—Except as otherwise provided by this Act, all existing laws, institutions, authorities, and officers in Ireland, whether judicial, administrative, or ministerial, and all existing taxes in Ireland shall continue as if this Act had not passed, but with the modifications necessary for adapting the same to this Act, and subject to be repealed, abolished, altered, and adapted in the manner and to the extent authorised by this Act.

Appointed day.

**38.** Subject as in this Act mentioned the appointed day for the purposes of this Act shall be the day of the first meeting of the Irish Legislature, or such other day not more than *seven* months earlier or later as may be fixed by order of Her Majesty

in Council either generally or with reference to any particular provision of this Act, and different days may be appointed for different purposes and different provisions of this Act, whether contained in the same section or in different sections. A.D. 1893.

**39.** In this Act unless the context otherwise requires— Definitions.

The expression "existing" means existing at the passing of this Act.

The expression "constituency" means a parliamentary constituency or a county or borough returning a member or members to serve in either House of the Irish Legislature, as the case requires, and the expression "parliamentary constituency" means any county, borough, or university returning a member or members to serve in Parliament.

The expression "parliamentary elector" means a person entitled to be registered as a voter at a parliamentary election.

The expression "parliamentary election" means the election of a member to serve in Parliament.

The expression "tax" includes duties and fees, and the expression "duties of excise" does not include license duties.

The expression "foreign mails" means all postal packets, whether letters, parcels, or other packets, posted in the United Kingdom and sent to a place out of the United Kingdom, or posted in a place out of the United Kingdom and sent to a place in the United Kingdom, or in transit through the United Kingdom to a place out of the United Kingdom.

The expression "telegraphic line" has the same meaning as in the Telegraph Acts, 1863 to 1892. 26 & 27 Vict. c. 112. 41 & 42 Vict. c. 76.

The expression "duties on postage" includes all rates and sums chargeable for or in respect of postal packets, money orders, or telegrams, or otherwise under the Post Office Acts or the Telegraph Act, 1892. 55 & 56 Vict. c. 59. 7 Will. 4 and 1 Vict. c. 36.

The expression "Irish Act" means a law made by the Irish Legislature. 32 & 33 Vict. c. 73. 48 & 49 Vict. c. 58.

The expression "election laws" means the laws relating to the election of members to serve in Parliament, other than those relating to the qualification of electors, and includes all the laws respecting the registration of electors, the issue and execution of writs, the creation of polling districts, the taking of the poll, the questioning of elections, corrupt and illegal practices, the disqualification of members and the vacating of seats.

The expression "rateable value" means the annual rateable value under the Irish Valuation Acts.

The expression "salary" includes remuneration, allowances, and emoluments.

The expression "pension" includes superannuation allowance.

**40.** This Act may be cited as the Irish Government Act, 1893. Short title.

# SCHEDULES.

## FIRST SCHEDULE.

### Legislative Council.

### Constituencies and Number of Councillors.

| Constituencies. | Councillors. |
|---|---|
| Antrim county | Three. |
| Armagh county | One. |
| Belfast borough | Two. |
| Carlow county | One. |
| Cavan county | One. |
| Clare county | One. |
| Cork county— | |
| East Riding | Three. |
| West Riding | One. |
| Cork borough | One. |
| Donegal county | One. |
| Down county | Three. |
| Dublin county | Three. |
| Dublin borough | Two. |
| Fermanagh county | One. |
| Galway county | Two. |
| Kerry county | One. |
| Kildare county | One. |
| Kilkenny county | One. |
| King's county | One. |
| Leitrim and Sligo counties | One. |
| Limerick county | Two. |
| Londonderry county | One. |
| Longford county | One. |
| Louth county | One. |
| Mayo county | One. |
| Meath county | One. |
| Monaghan county | One. |
| Queen's county | One. |
| Roscommon county | One. |
| Tipperary county | Two. |
| Tyrone county | One. |
| Waterford county | One. |
| Westmeath county | One. |
| Wexford county | One. |
| Wicklow county | One. |
| | Forty-eight. |

The expression "borough" in this Schedule means an existing parliamentary borough.

Counties of cities and towns not named in this Schedule shall be combined with the county at large in which they are included for parliamentary elections, and if not so included, then with the county at large bearing the same name.

A borough named in this Schedule shall not for the purposes of this Schedule form part of any other constituency.

## SECOND SCHEDULE.



IRISH MEMBERS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

| Constituency. | Number of Members for House of Commons. |
|---|---|
| Antrim county .. .. .. .. | Three. |
| Armagh county .. .. .. .. | Two. |
| Belfast borough (in divisions as mentioned below) .. | Four. |
| Carlow county .. .. .. .. | One. |
| Cavan county .. .. .. .. | Two. |
| Clare county .. .. .. .. | Two. |
| Cork county (in divisions as mentioned below) .. | Five. |
| Cork borough .. .. .. .. | Two. |
| Donegal county .. .. .. .. | Three. |
| Down county .. .. .. .. | Three. |
| Dublin county .. .. .. .. | Two. |
| Dublin borough (in divisions as mentioned below) .. | Four. |
| Fermanagh county .. .. .. .. | One. |
| Galway county .. .. .. .. | Three. |
| Galway borough .. .. .. .. | One. |
| Kerry county .. .. .. .. | Three. |
| Kildare county .. .. .. .. | One. |
| Kilkenny county .. .. .. .. | One. |
| Kilkenny borough .. .. .. .. | One. |
| King's county .. .. .. .. | One. |
| Leitrim county .. .. .. .. | Two. |
| Limerick county .. .. .. .. | Two. |
| Limerick borough .. .. .. .. | One. |
| Londonderry county .. .. .. .. | Two. |
| Londonderry borough .. .. .. .. | One. |
| Longford county .. .. .. .. | One. |
| Louth county .. .. .. .. | One. |
| Mayo county .. .. .. .. | Three. |
| Meath county .. .. .. .. | Two. |
| Monaghan county .. .. .. .. | Two. |
| Newry borough .. .. .. .. | One. |
| Queen's county .. .. .. .. | One. |
| Roscommon county .. .. .. .. | Two. |
| Sligo county .. .. .. .. | Two. |
| Tipperary county .. .. .. .. | Three. |
| Tyrone county .. .. .. .. | Three. |
| Waterford county .. .. .. .. | One. |
| Waterford borough .. .. .. .. | One. |
| Westmeath county .. .. .. .. | One. |
| Wexford county .. .. .. .. | Two. |
| Wicklow county .. .. .. .. | One. |
| | Eighty. |

(1.) In this Schedule the expression "borough" means an existing parliamentary borough.

(2.) In the parliamentary boroughs of Belfast and Dublin, one member shall be returned by each of the existing parliamentary divisions of those boroughs, and the law relating to the divisions of boroughs shall apply accordingly.

(3.) The county of Cork shall be divided into two divisions, consisting of the East Riding and the West Riding, and three members shall be elected by the East Riding, and two members shall be elected by the West Riding; and the law relating to divisions of counties shall apply to those divisions.

A.D. 1893.

## THIRD SCHEDULE.

FINANCE.

IMPERIAL LIABILITIES, EXPENDITURE, AND MISCELLANEOUS REVENUE.

*Liabilities.*

For the purpose of this Act, "Imperial liabilities" consist of—

(1.) The funded and unfunded debt of the United Kingdom, inclusive of terminable annuities paid out of the permanent annual charge for the National Debt, and inclusive of the cost of the management of the said funded and unfunded debt, but exclusive of the Local Loans stock and Guaranteed Land stock and the cost of the management thereof; and

(2.) All other charges on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom for the repayment of borrowed money, or to fulfill a guarantee.

*Expenditure.*

For the purpose of this Act Imperial expenditure consists of expenditure for the following services:—

I. Naval and Military expenditure (including Greenwich Hospital).

II. Civil expenditure, that is to say,—

(*a.*) Civil list and Royal Family.

(*b.*) Salaries, pensions, allowances, and incidental expenses of—

(i.) Lord Lieutenant of Ireland;

(ii.) Exchequer judges in Ireland.

(*c.*) Buildings, works, salaries, pensions, printing, stationery, allowances, and incidental expenses of—

(i.) Parliament;

(ii.) National Debt Commissioners;

(iii.) Foreign Office and diplomatic and consular service, including secret service, special services, and telegraph subsidies;

(iv.) Colonial Office, including special services and telegraph subsidies;

(v.) Privy Council;

(vi.) Board of Trade including the Mercantile Marine Fund, Patent Office, Railway Commission, and Wreck Commission but excluding Bankruptcy;

(vii.) Mint;

(viii.) Meteorological Society;

(ix.) Slave trade service.

(*d.*) Foreign mails and telegraphic communication with places outside the United Kingdom.

*Revenue.*

For the purposes of this Act the public revenue to a portion of which Ireland may claim to be entitled consists of revenue from the following sources:—

1. Suez Canal shares or payments on account thereof.
2. Loans and advances to foreign countries.
3. Annual payments by British possessions.
4. Fees, stamps, and extra receipts received by departments, the expenses of which are part of the Imperial expenditure.
5. Small branches of the hereditary revenues of the Crown.
6. Foreshores.

## FOURTH SCHEDULE. A.D. 1893.

PROVISIONS AS TO POST OFFICE.

(1.) The Postmaster-General shall pay to the Irish Post Office in respect of any foreign mails sent through Ireland and the Irish Post Office shall pay to the Postmaster-General in respect of any foreign mails sent through Great Britain, such sum as may be agreed upon for the carriage of those mails in Ireland or Great Britain as the case may be.

(2.) The Irish Post Office shall pay to the Postmaster-General;

(i.) One half of the expense of the packet service and submarine telegraph lines between Great Britain and Ireland after deducting from that expense the sum fixed by the Postmaster-General as incurred on account of foreign mails or telegraphic communication with a place out of the United Kingdom as the case may be; and

(ii.) Five per cent of the expenses of the conveyance outside the United Kingdom of foreign mails, and of the transmission of telegrams to places outside the United Kingdom; and

(iii.) Such proportion of the receipts for telegrams to places out of the United Kingdom as is due in respect of the transmission outside the United Kingdom of such telegrams.

(3.) The Postmaster-General and the Irish Post Office respectively shall pay to the other of them on account of foreign money orders, of compensation in respect of postal packets, and of any matters not specifically provided for in this Schedule such sums as may be agreed upon.

(4.) Of the existing debt incurred in respect of telegraphs, a sum of five hundred and fifty thousand pounds two and three quarters per cent Consolidated Stock shall be treated as debt of the Irish Post Office, and for paying the dividends on and redeeming such stock there shall be paid half yearly by the Irish Exchequer to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom an annuity of *eighteen* thousand pounds for *sixty* years, and such annuity when paid into the Exchequer shall be forthwith paid to the National Debt Commissioners and applied for the reduction of the National Debt.

(5.) The Postmaster-General and the Irish Post Office may agree on the facilities to be afforded by the Irish Post Office in Ireland in relation to any matters the administration of which by virtue of this Act remains with the Postmaster-General, and with respect to the use of the Irish telegraphic lines for through lines in connection with submarine telegraphs, or with telegraphic communication with any place out of the United Kingdom.

## FIFTH SCHEDULE.

REGULATIONS AS TO GRATUITIES AND PENSIONS FOR CIVIL SERVANTS.

A.D. 1893.

## SIXTH SCHEDULE.

### Part I.

Regulations as to establishment of Police Forces and as to the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police ceasing to exist.

(1.) Such local police forces shall be established under such local authorities and for such counties, municipal boroughs, or other larger areas, as may be provided by Irish Act.

(2.) Whenever the Executive Committee of the Privy Council in Ireland certify to the Lord Lieutenant that a police force adequate for local purposes, has been established in any area, then, subject to the provisions of this Act, he shall within six months thereafter direct the Royal Irish Constabulary to be withdrawn from the performance of regular police duties in such area, and such order shall be forthwith carried into effect.

(3.) Upon any such withdrawal the Lord Lieutenant shall order measures to be taken for a proportionate reduction of the numbers of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and such order shall be duly executed.

(4.) Upon the Executive Committee of the Privy Council in Ireland certifying to the Lord Lieutenant that adequate local police forces have been established in every part of Ireland, then, subject to the provisions of this Act, the Lord Lieutenant shall within six months after such certificate, order measures to be taken for causing the whole of the Royal Irish Constabulary to cease to exist as a police force, and such order shall be duly executed.

(5.) Where the area in which a local police force is established is part of the Dublin Metropolitan Police District, the foregoing regulations shall apply to the Dublin Metropolitan Police in like manner as if that force were the Royal Irish Constabulary.

### Part II.

Regulations as to Gratuities and Pensions for the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police.

## SEVENTH SCHEDULE.

Regulations as to Houses of the Legislature and the Members thereof.

*Legislative Council.*

(1.) There shall be a separate register of electors of councillors of the Legislative Council which shall be made, until otherwise provided by Irish Act, in like manner as the parliamentary register of electors.

(2.) Where, for the election of councillors any counties are combined so as to form one constituency, then until otherwise provided by Irish Act, A.D. 1893.

(*a*) the returning officer for the whole constituency shall be that one of the returning officers for Parliamentary elections for those counties to whom the writ is addressed, and the writ shall be addressed to the returning officer for the constituency with the largest population, according to the census of 1891.

(*b*) the returning officer shall have the same authority throughout the whole constituency as a returning officer at a Parliamentary election for a county has in the county.

(*c*) the registers of electors of each county shall jointly be the register of electors for the constituency.

(*d*) for the purposes of this Schedule "county" includes a county of a city or town, and this Schedule, and the law relating to the qualification of electors shall apply, as if the county of a city or town formed part of the county at large with which it is combined, and the qualification in the county of a city or town shall be the same as in such county at large.

(3.) Writs shall be issued for the election of councillors at such time not less than one nor more than three months before the day for the periodical retirement of councillors as the Lord Lieutenant in Council may fix.

(4.) The day for the periodical retirement of councillors shall until otherwise provided by Irish Act be the last day of August in every fourth year.

(5.) For the purposes of such retirement, the constituencies shall be divided into two equal divisions, and the constituencies in each province shall be divided as nearly as may be equally between those divisions, and constituencies returning two or more members shall be treated as two or more constituencies, and placed in both divisions.

(6.) Subject as aforesaid, the particular constituencies which are to be in each division shall be determined by lot.

(7.) The said division and lot shall be made and conducted before the appointed day in manner directed by the Lord Lieutenant in Council.

(8.) The first councillors elected for the constituencies in the first division shall retire on the first day of retirement which occurs after the first meeting of the Irish Legislature, and the first councillors for the constituencies in the second division shall retire on the second day of retirement after that meeting.

(9.) Any casual vacancy among the councillors shall be filled by a new election, but the councillor filling the vacancy shall retire at the time at which the vacating councillor would have retired.

*Legislative Assembly.*

(10.) The Parliamentary register of electors for the time being shall, until otherwise provided by Irish Act, be the register of electors of the Legislative Assembly.

*Both Houses.*

(11.) Until otherwise provided by Irish Act, the Lord Lieutenant in Council may make regulations for adapting the existing election laws to the election of members of the two Houses of the Legislature.

(12.) Annual sessions of the Legislature shall be held.

(13.) Any peer, whether of the United Kingdom, Great Britain, England, Scotland, or Ireland shall be qualified to be a member of either House.

(14.) A member of either House may by writing under his hand resign his seat, and the same shall thereupon be vacant.

(15.) The same person shall not be a member of both Houses.

A.D. 1893.

(16.) Until otherwise provided by Irish Act, if the same person is elected to a seat in each House, he shall, before the eighth day after the next sitting of either House, by written notice, elect in which House he will serve, and upon such election his seat in the other House shall be vacant, and if he does not so elect, his seat in both Houses shall be vacant.

(17.) Until otherwise provided by Irish Act, any such notice electing in which House a person will sit, or any notice of resignation, shall be given in manner directed by the Standing Orders of the Houses, and if there is no such direction, shall be given to the Lord Lieutenant.

(18.) The powers of either House shall not be affected by any vacancy therein, or any defect in the election or qualification of any member thereof.

(19.) Until otherwise provided by Irish Act the holders of such Irish offices as may be named by Order of the Queen in Council before the appointed day, shall be entitled to be elected to and sit in either House notwithstanding that they hold offices under the Crown, but on acceptance of any such office the seat of any such person in either House shall be vacated unless he has accepted the office in succession to some other of the said offices.

(20.) The Lord Lieutenant in Council may, before the appointed day make regulations for the following purposes:—

(*a.*) The making of a register of electors of councillors in time for the election of the first councillors, and with that object for the variation of the days relating to registration in the existing election laws, and for prescribing the duties of officers, and for making such adaptations of those laws as appear necessary or proper for duly making a register;

(*b.*) The summoning of the two Houses of the Legislature of Ireland, the issue of writs and any other things appearing to be necessary or proper for the election of members of the two Houses;

(*c.*) The election of a chairman (whether called Speaker, President, or by any other name,) of each House, the quorum of each House, the communications between the two Houses, and such adaptation to the proceedings of the two Houses of the procedure of Parliament, as appears expedient for facilitating the conduct of business by those Houses on their first meeting;

(*d.*) The adaptation to the two Houses and the members thereof of any laws and customs relating to the House of Commons or the members thereof;

(*e.*) The deliberation and voting together of the two Houses in cases provided by this Act.

(21.) The regulations may be altered by Irish Act, and also in so far as they concern the procedure of either House alone, by Standing Orders of that House, but shall, until altered, have effect as if enacted in this Act.

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# SPEECH

OF

# MR. JOHN ATKINSON, Q.C.

*(Ex-Attorney-General for Ireland),*

AT

# ENNISKILLEN,

ON THE

*12th JANUARY, 1893.*

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# SPEECH OF

# MR. JOHN ATKINSON, Q.C.

*(Ex-Attorney-General for Ireland),*

## AT ENNISKILLEN,

*On the 12th JANUARY, 1893.*

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THE speech of the Rt. Hon. John Atkinson, Q.C. (Ex-Attorney-General for Ireland), at the Meeting held under the auspices of the Ulster Convention League, at Enniskillen, on the 12th of January, 1893, has been considered to be of such exceptional importance, that the Irish Unionist Alliance, in response to several requests, have determined to reprint it as one of their series of publications. Mr. Atkinson has been kind enough to revise the speech for publication.

The Right Hon. JOHN ATKINSON, Q.C., who was warmly greeted, proposed the following resolution—"That we hereby renew our determined opposition to Home Rule, and express our determination to resist it in every manner in our power." In proposing the resolution, the right hon. gentleman said—At this crisis in the history of our country it affords me infinite pleasure to be present at this meeting. (Hear, hear.) You, or many of you, are descendants of the men who in the darkest hour held high the lamp of freedom and consecrated with their blood the cause of civil and religious liberty. (Cheers.) I believe that all you who are here assembled are true to that cause, and it is because you are that we, loyalists scattered through other parts of Ireland, look to the North as our refuge and our strength. (Cheers). And it is because I believe you so to be that I rejoice to be amongst you. (Hear, hear.) If I thought for a moment that the object or effect of this meeting was or would be to rouse sectarian hate, stir up civil strife, or promote the religious ascendency of any creed, I for one should not be here. I respect, and all my life have respected, the religious views and feelings of my fellow-countrymen. I respect, and all my life have respected, the clergy of all denominations in

the exercise of the offices of their religion and in the enjoyment of their civil rights as citizens. I love toleration of religious opinion as much as any man, and hate as sincerely, as the cultured Agnostic who now rules in the Castle, ecclesiastic domination in civil and political affairs. (Applause). I have to apologise for speaking even for a moment of myself or of obtruding these personal matters upon your attention; but at this time, when

FALSEHOOD AND MISREPRESENTATION ARE SO RAMPANT,

it behoves one to make his position clear and unmistakable, and guard himself against if possible "the lying spirit that is abroad." This meeting is, as I understand, called to renew your protest against the dangerous experiment of Home Rule, and express again your determination to oppose it. (Hear, hear.) In that your action is worthy of your sires, and your efforts ought to be animated by their spirit; for, as I think I will show you, principles are involved in the present struggle similar to those for which, in the end of the 17th century, they so nobly strove. A little consideration will show that, I know your detractors have said that the loyal minority in Ireland are opposed to Home Rule because they wish to maintain or promote Protestant ascendency. That is a calumny as absurd as it is false, but since it has been uttered I shall not trespass at any length upon your attention by discussing the general or Imperial aspects of the Home Rule question, but rather confine myself to the consideration whether your and our apprehensions are natural, and whether sense and reason are not on our side. Who are the loyal minority, and what is their character? Mr. Davitt calls us West Britons, I believe; but I find Mr. Peter Walsh, a Parnellite, speaking at a meeting of shareholders of the *Freeman's Journal*, as reported in that journal of the 22nd September, 1892, referred to us as the "influential, educated, wealthy, powerful, courageous minority," and he continued to observe that, after what had occurred, we were to be excused for refusing to sacrifice our rights as British citizens until we knew how we were going to be treated, and what we were going to get. (Cheers.) Well, I think that is not an inaccurate description, and I believe there is much practical wisdom in the attitude thus suggested for us; but surely everybody knows that the loyal minority contains within its ranks some of the

STURDIEST AND MOST UNCOMPROMISING LIBERALS.

(Hear, hear.) Men who supported the Liberal party consistently in their legislation for Ireland, up to 1885, have all their lives opposed religious ascendency and advocated equal treatment to all. (Cheers.) But the accusation is also absurd. What we ask for is to be governed by and through the Imperial Parliament. (Hear, hear.) While that Government lasts there can be no

ascendency in Ireland save what the Imperial Parliament approves or and sustains. It passes the laws. It sustains in office the Ministry who appoint from time to time the Executive and regulate and control the Administration. Whatever may have been the case long years gone by, the last trace of ascendency has been removed, and until 1885 both parties in the State vied with each other in legislating for what they believed to be the good of Ireland. (Applause.) It is ridiculous to talk of the present democratic Imperial Parliament tolerating here any ascendency it would not tolerate in England. (Applause.) No. We wish for equal rights, equal liberties, privileges, protection, and toleration to all, and we value the Union, because under it and by it, and by it alone, these things may be secured and perpetuated, while by Home Rule they will be endangered or lost. (Cheers.)

### ON WHAT GROUNDS DO OUR CONVICTIONS REST?

The Union is generally spoken of by the agitator as if it was some iniquitous idea which first occurred to Pitt, and was carried out to enslave, oppress, and impoverish a people. (Laughter.) Why, many years before it was carried shrewd observers, like Sir W. Petty, advised it as the proper form of Government for Ireland; Patriots like Molyneux and Bishop Berkely sighed for it as almost too great a blessing to hope for. Thinkers like Adam Smith advocated it; and the Irish Parliament itself, in the early years of the 18th century, before it ever passed those Penal Laws, since so severely condemned, addressed their Sovereign, praying to be united to the Parliament of England. (Cheers.) Most unfortunately, that appeal was refused, and within the next eighty years the wool, cattle, and export trades of Ireland were ruined by legislation on these matters, passed in the English Parliament, in which Ireland was not represented at all. Had the Legislatures been united then, there is, I think, little doubt but that Irish trade would never have been crushed as it has been, and the Penal Laws would, if enacted at all, have lost most of their rigour. (Applause.) Well, in 1782 National thought took another direction, and in the crisis of England's difficulties obtained an independent Parliament—Grattan's Parliament—without, however, any power over the Executive. Let us ask ourselves, Why was the Union carried? I say nothing as to the means by which it was carried, as in my opinion that is altogether beside the question as to whether it ought to be repealed. The Union was carried for two main reasons—Firstly, because a separate independent Legislature was a weakness to the Empire, owing to diversity in the policy pursued by the respective Legislatures on questions of Imperial politics; and secondly, because by it Roman Catholic grievances could be redressed without creating Catholic ascendency. By retaining Irish members at Westminster, limiting the powers of the local Parliament,

and confining it to local affairs, whatever they may be, the first of these dangers will, it is said, be obviated. (Hear, hear.) It is assumed that in the future scheme of Home Rule Irish members will be retained at Westminster to attend to Imperial affairs, leaving the local Legislature to manage domestic affairs, although Mr. Gladstone has said that it passes the wit of man to decide what are local affairs as distinguished from Imperial affairs; and Mr. Morley has said that such an arrangement would be even worse than that which now exists. (Cheers.) But as the Gladstonians have, apparently, reduced apostacy to a system—(hear, hear)—it may be that the institutions which they approved of yesterday are those most liable to be attacked by them to-day. (Hear, hear.) At all events, it is the first instance in the history of the world where a state or country with a local Legislature was enabled to send representatives to the Legislature of a neighbouring state or country dealing with both local and Imperial matters, and is a clumsy attempt to solve the insolvable. (Cheers.) Instead of solving the Irish difficulty it must necessarily intensify and exasperate it. (Hear, hear.) For while the Irish members are there they can still interfere with the local affairs of England, and still sell their support for the removal of any restrictions which may be imposed upon the local Parliament. The restrictions, if they could be thus easily got rid of, would be a sham, and if preserved would be merely irritant. (Hear, hear.) As to the second reason, which more nearly concerns us,

GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT WAS A PURELY PROTESTANT BODY.

The condition of the representation was a scandal—half, or nearly half, its members were returned for pocket boroughs. The Act admitting Roman Catholics to the franchise had been most properly and justly carried in 1793, and it gave the Roman Catholic electors an enormous majority in the counties and open towns. The electorate was tripled. To exclude Roman Catholics from Parliament by retaining an obnoxious and offensive oath was no longer possible; while to admit them would place complete power in the hands of the Roman Catholics. The latter clamoured for equal rights, and these could not with justice be denied to them. It was feared, however, that the power they would obtain would not be either justly or fairly used. The new ascendency, it was apprehended, would be more oppressive than the old. What was the solution? The Union coupled with Catholic Emancipation. It was because of this that, out of the four Roman Catholic Archbishops and nineteen Bishops of Ireland, four Archbishops and fifteen Bishops were in favour of the Union, and petitions in support of it came in from all sides. (Hear, hear). The Union was carried, but Catholic Emancipation was unfortunately postponed. Were these fears that absolute power given to the Roman Catholics over the Protestant

colony would be abused, well-founded, were they natural? What did history teach? From the time of the Reformation almost every enemy of England had found the Roman Catholic clergy and laity of Ireland their strongest allies. By their invitation foreign hosts had landed here to smite England from these shores. Every rebellion, designed to shake off the power of England and extirpate the Protestant colony, and with them the faith that they possessed, the Catholic clergy and bishops had aided. Insurrection was regarded as an act of piety. The very penal laws adopted here as defences against a Church which, by its decrees, absolved every subject from allegiance to a heretic Sovereign, were in fact milder than those which at the time prevailed in Spain, Italy, and France—countries where the Church had full sway against the Protestant community, which was treated as a danger to the State. (Hear, hear.) Their creed was not permitted to be taught in church or school, and six feet of earth was denied to them for burial. These laws, too, were continued in some instances long after ours were repealed, and were executed with not less severity. Well, they had the lesson taught by the massacre of 1641. The lesson was further taught them by the doings of the only purely Roman Catholic Parliament ever assembled in Ireland—namely, that assembled under James II. in 1689. It attainted all the leading members of the Protestant party in Ireland, 2,600 in number. It confiscated 1,400,000 acres of land which had been given to Protestant settlers when almost in a state of nature, with all the vast improvements that the industry, enterprise and capital of these colonists had made upon it. You may remember that when James II. landed at Kinsale on the 12th March, 1689, he gave orders for the summoning of that Parliament, but passed through Dublin on to the North with his 5,000 French troops and 40,000 stand of arms, promising to return and grace its opening by presenting it with the keys of Derry. But that promise was never kept, those keys were never brought back. (Cheers.) The brave and stubborn

SPIRIT WHICH NEVER BOWED BEFORE THE TYRANNY OF PRIEST OR KING

swelled the hearts and nerved the arms of the heroes of Derry and Newtownbutler. Those emaciated skeletons in Derry whom neither famine nor pestilence nor the sword could subdue, guarded these keys until a few days after that Parliament had ended—the gates they had closed in defiance were unlocked in triumph. (Cheers.) You are the children of those men—you have, I doubt not, in your hearts their courage, and in your loins their vigour. You have their love for civil and religious liberty, their hatred of the tyranny they risked all to combat — (cheers) — though happily you will, I believe, never be called upon to make the efforts and sacrifices they made. These are the lessons and experiences which taught the

founders of the Union. (Applause.) Let us look around and see what are the conclusions we may legitimately draw from the experience they had, and from the facts which surround us. (1) What will be the nature and composition of the proposed Irish Parliament? (2) What are its policy and arms. It

WILL AND MUST BE AS ABSOLUTELY A ROMAN CATHOLIC PARLIAMENT,

as was the Parliament of James II. in 1689. Under any system of representation that can be devised three-fourths of the representatives returned to a local Parliament will be returned by the votes of farmers and farm labourers alone. For political purposes there is in the main no middle or commercial class in Ireland. The consistency of such places as Cork, Limerick, Galway, and Waterford, by the inclusion of what are called their Liberties comprehend such a number of rural voters that the latter are able to turn the election. In England classes are so shaded, the one into the other, that it is quite impossible for any one interest, or even two interests combined, to permanently tyrannize over or oppress a third interest. Here it is different.

THE PRIEST AND PEASANT WOULD BE SUPREME.

The classes which are embraced in the loyal minority would be in a permanent minority, and until some division or split took place in the majority would be absolutely powerless to control, or in any way influence, the course of legislation or administration. The majority would, therefore, have the power, at all events, to tyrannize and oppress unless restrained by the Imperial Parliament. The idea that the Imperial Parliament would interfere to check in any way the exercise of the powers which they had deliberately conferred upon the local Legislature is a delusion, statutory prohibitions would be of little value—(hear, hear)—and England, having freed herself from the meshes and perplexities of Irish local affairs, is not likely to entangle herself in them again. (Hear, hear.) The majority, therefore, having the power to be intolerant, unjust, and oppressive, the question is—Would they have the will? Now, I do not apply to the Roman Catholic clergy of the present day the words of Mr. Morley where he describes them as "the sworn and chartered foes of light." I take a more modern description of their character and aims.

MR. GLADSTONE ON THE ROMAN CLERGY.

Mr. Gladstone says—"In Churches subject to the Pope's clerical power every doctrine and usage favourable to clerical power have been developed, while all that nurtured freedom, and all that guaranteed it, have been harassed, cabined, and confined, attenuated

and starved. To secure rights has been the aim of Christian civilization. To destroy them, and to establish the resistless domineering action of a purely secular power, has been the aim of the Roman policy." (Applause.) We are assured that this description is unjust, that the spirit of intolerance, the desire for supreme power are dead, and are told that we are bigots if we do not accept these assurances and act upon them. (Laughter.) But we have some experience of the value of assurances such as these. (Hear, hear.) At the time Catholic Emancipation was passed—rightly and properly passed, but quite too long delayed—as vehement assurances as are now given were given then that clerical influence and the terrors of the Church would never be used to coerce the consciences of Roman Catholics in political affairs. (Laughter.) What a commentary on them do the revelations of the Meath election petitions afford to us. (Cheers.) There it was proved in evidence and in argument boldly asserted that the priests are the supreme judges in questions of faith and morals, that they are also supreme judges as to when moral questions enter into political questions, and that when that union takes place it is not only their right but their duty to prescribe the course of political action to their flocks—(cheers)—enforce their commands by the terrors of the mysteries of their religion—(cheers)—and treat the disobedience of their orders as mortal sins. (Cheers.) Such pretension, I say, are against political freedom. (Applause.) There is no political question into which moral considerations do not enter—(hear, hear)—indeed, the counsel for the respondent, with unhappy frankness, instanced the question of education as one into which morals so entered that the Church was bound to dictate with authority. (Hear, hear.) I say, therefore, that the old spirit of domination is as rank as ever—(cheers)—the claim for supreme authority as strong as it was centuries ago. (Cheers.) It is said, indeed, that it was here employed only to procure the submission of one section of the members of their own flock; but does anyone suppose that the powers which were used to crush and coerce the rebellious section of their own followers would not be used to crush and tyrannize over their hereditary enemies? (Cheers.) It is also said that there is a revolt against their authority in their own flock; that this election petition differs from all others in this, that whereas formerly the petitioners were Protestants and the witnesses Protestants, here the petitioner in one case was a Catholic and the witnesses were Catholics, and the money was subscribed by Catholics, and this shows a spirit of independence upon which the minority may with safety rely as a protection. The answer to that is, that

DESPITE THE DEVOTION OF THE PEOPLE TO MR. PARNELL,

the love and respect for his memory which the Parnellites tell you exist in that which they call the Irish people, there were seventy-

one M'Carthyite and nine Parnellite members returned to the House of Commons—(cheers)—a fact which the Parnellites assure us is due to clerical intimidation. (Hear, hear.) But the question remains, even taking this display of independence by one or two sections of the Nationalists against their priests at its full value, would the same spirit be displayed in opposition in the cause of the loyal minority, whom the peasantry have been taught to look upon as the English garrison, the support and stay of the English rule, the cause and origin of all their miseries? (Hear, hear.) So much for the manifestations of liberality and tolerance amongst the priesthood. Let us see can we get any light as to the motives and action of the peasantry. (Hear, hear.) Why is Home Rule demanded at all? It is not to restore some departed glory of Irish civilization before the Saxon invasion—some Celtic institution? Parliament in Ireland was an exotic, planted in here by Englishmen for Englishmen, and, save for ten years, the Catholic inhabitants formed no part of it—it was not a cherished institution which had sunk deep into the hearts and affections of the people. It can hardly be contended that Home Rule is asked for in order to pass juster laws or to remove grievances; it is not asked for in order to introduce a more firm and equitable administration, or a more impartial and efficient Executive. It is asked for to gratify a National sentiment. (Hear, hear.) What National sentiment?

HATRED OF ENGLAND—OF ENGLISH RULE—

and of the so-called English colonists, who are described as the English garrison. (Cheers.) That, according to Wolfe Tone, was the passion which moved them in 1798. That, said Father Sheehy, in Mr. Healy's presence, at Chicago, is the passion that moves them to-day. In November, 1881, Father Sheehy, at Chicago, in Mr. Healy's presence, said, "In their hearts he saw a burning love of Ireland and a burning hatred of England; they would give no quarter in Ireland—legislative independence would not satisfy him. The interest of Americans in the cause turned not so much to love of the old country as to hatred of that country's enemies." It was for that the body, the Clan-na-Gael, gave their support to the movement, and it was that which filled the coffers of the League. (Hear, hear.) It could not be that these gentlemen were falsifying facts, misrepresenting sentiments—(hear, hear)—and by such means obtaining money. That hatred was shown long ago in the many rebellions that arose, not to establish a Parliament, but to shake off the English rule and drive out the English colony and the faith they profess. It is kept alive to-day by the recollection of the many confiscations which followed on those rebellions. (Hear, hear.) If that be the sentiment how can it be satisfied by a local Parliament with moderate powers? How can a Parliament,

the majority of whose members represent electors longing to drive out the English garrison, be expected to deal fairly, justly, or tolerantly with the minority in Ireland? (Hear, hear.)

IF JUSTICE AND MODERATION AND TOLERATION WERE THEIR OBJECTS

this Parliament would not be asked for. These things are secure to us, but they leave this sentiment unsatisfied. (Hear, hear.) No; the priest strives for power, the peasant for the property. Some, possibly, of the loudest politicians would be contented with place, but whatever the letter of the statute may be which gives Home Rule it will and must be worked to gratify this sentiment which demanded it. (Cheers.) It is ridiculous to say that hatred has been turned into goodwill by the conversion of Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party to Home Rule. (Hear, hear.) It is the English institutions which have been planted here that are hated—it is the settlement of property which is disapproved of—it is the English garrison which is to be undone. (Cheers.) The Irishry, as they were formerly called, are to be put in power and the Englishry are to be put under. The confiscations are, under the forms of law, to be, as it were, reversed. (Cheers). Seeing and knowing these things, it is impossible we can believe that justice or fair play is to be given to us or to our creed. (Hear, hear). Can any inference be drawn from the conduct of the present Government? They are really under the control of their Nationalist supporters, and the operations of the Government must be such as the latter approve. (Hear, hear.) How far is the action of the present Government in its administration characterized by a spirit of justice and fair play to the minority? I refer to their three principal acts since they came into office. First, they sent over here as Lord Lieutenant an amiable and accomplished young nobleman. One regrets to be obliged to condemn the public action of one so personally estimable. He seems, however, to have been advised to treat as an offence to him, as the representative of his Sovereign, addresses of welcome, expressing approval of the existing constitution under which we have lived for close upon a century. In doing so, I say, he did not represent the Sovereignty who, during her long and glorious reign, has identified herself with no political party, but acted with equal loyalty to all. But it was deemed necessary to snub and humiliate the loyal minority, to teach them the Government was now in the hands of those who despised, and would, if possible, crush them, and forthwith the representative of the Sovereign is degraded into the political partizan. Such addresses as these would not be offensive to our gracious Queen, could not have been offensive to the Viceroy as her impartial representative. If offensive at all, they must have been offensive to him as a party politician. I say his action in this matter amounted to a denial of

the right which is secured to every subject by the Bill of Rights—namely, the right to address his Sovereign—whether in terms of compliment or complaint. No distinction can be made between these. It was illegal and unconstitutional, as was in effect decided in 1730 by such lawyers as Lord Mansfield and the then Attorney-General Wedderburn. The Loyalists of Ireland are thus placed in this difficulty, that after the Viceroy has so declared himself any act of respect they would desire to do towards him will be seized upon by the Radical Press of England as proof of lukewarmness in their opposition to Home Rule. No greater misfortune could happen than that any section of the English people should be led to form such an erroneous conclusion; and the Loyalist who, by his conduct, gives them any reason to form it incurs a grave responsibility, and may, unintentionally, injure the cause he loves.

NEXT IS THE REPEAL OF THE PROCLAMATION OF THE CRIMES ACT.

By the repeal of that proclamation the power to hold secret inquiries, to change the venue in criminal cases, and to have special juries, was abolished; and I have no hesitation in saying, from an experience of the criminal administration of the country, that as regards the latter the result will be, despite the appeals to the turbulent not to embarrass the Government, to paralyze justice in all agrarian or what are called popular crimes—(laughter)—in twenty-six counties of Ireland. (Cheers.) In the case of the very first serious crime which has been committed since their advent to office—namely, the dynamite outrage in Exchange Court—they have been obliged to exercise the power of holding a secret inquiry conferred by the Explosives Acts of 1883 similar to that conferred by the Crimes Act. If, then, secret inquiry be just and necessary in the case of dynamite offences, how is it unjust or unnecessary in the case of agrarian crimes, and if just and necessary in the case of agrarian crimes was not the abolition of it and the consequent embarrassment to justice a scandalous subserviency to the party of disorder? (Cheers.) Now, before leaving the consideration of this crime I wish to call your attention to the mode and words in which Mr. Morley has spoken of dynamitards and other so-called political prisoners who were in prison in England on the 2nd of February, 1888. In a speech made by him at a banquet here, as reported in the *Freeman* of the 3rd of February, 1888, he spoke as follows:—"But I want to ask a question. The French amnestied the Communists, who were guilty of most atrocious crimes against their country; the Americans amnestied the Secessionists, who were guilty of most atrocious crimes against their country. Are the only people in the world for whom there is to be no amnesty the Irish, whose only fault has been that they have used their talents for the benefit of their country, and done the best they

could, and done much too, to raise up the misruled and oppressed and down-trodden people of this country?"—(cheers)—a kind of glorification of the men who committed crimes of the character of the blowing up of Westminster or attempting to blow up London Bridge. It would not be a matter for wonder if the confederates of such men, or sympathisers with them, were unable to understand why the Minister who, when in opposition, so belauded these convicts should not, when in office, set them at liberty, should by an explosion such as this remind him of his promises and their displeasure. I next come to the

EVICTED TENANTS' COMMISSION.

In reference to this Commission I say nothing as to its procedure, which has made it a laughing-stock and a subject of derision, save this—that of the seven Commissioners under the Lord Lieutenant's warrant which have been issued in Ireland since the year 1848 to men who are now distinguished judges of the Irish Bench, in each and every case a counsel for the respective parties concerned appeared before them, and were permitted to cross-examine at length. In this case the denial of that right was a departure from the practice pursued in every Commission of this character; and not only was the procedure departed from, but the departure was sought to be justified by a misrepresentation of the practice which had prevailed in Vice-Regal Commissions for forty-four years. I deal with its composition, however, as showing what the minority in Ireland may expect. I say that it was not only unjust in its composition, but seems to me to have been composed with an almost cynical contempt for even the appearance of justice. (Cheers.) It was appointed to consider among other things the terms on which the evicted tenants should be restored. The evicted tenants are constantly described as wounded soldiers in the fight—that is, the fight between the Land League and the Landlords; and it might be supposed that some effort at impartiality would be made by selecting persons who were not members of or active sympathisers with the League and its policy. (Hear, hear.) One man, and one only, was appointed who did not answer to that description—(cheers)—and he was obliged to resign, because he disapproved apparently of the proceedings of those that remained. In addition to Judge Mathew, who by his acts has proclaimed his unfitness, there remained Mr. Roche, a director of the *Freeman*, for many years the authorized organ of the League, and Mr. Reddington, who in Mr. Morley's presence, on the 2nd of February, 1888, spoke of Mr. Sullivan, who had lately been discharged from Tullamore Jail as a captive, but never a criminal, and went on to say that the tenants had won a signal victory, leaving many dead and wounded on the field. He said:—"I don't know if these

trusted leaders wish for another struggle; if they do, victory will be again achieved"—a speech which showed him to be an active sympathiser with the revolt against the landlords—one of the parties to the fight. (Cheers.) There are many other considerations in the past history of the country, and the facts and experience surrounding our daily life, that justify us not only by reason but by patriotism

IN OPPOSING THIS MAD EXPERIMENT

—(cheers)—of entrusting, in a country where society is cleft to its very basis by bitter political and religious feeling, legislation and executive power to a class who have no experience in the art of government—(cheers)—and expect from them justice, moderation, or toleration to those whose very presence here is, in their minds, a badge of conquest and of wrong. (Cheers.) A subordinate Parliament has been tried and failed; an independent Parliament for eighteen years has been tried and failed. Thrice in its short history, on questions of foreign relations, commercial policy, and the regency during the illness of the Sovereign, it came to an almost open rupture with the Parliament of England. The Union has been tried, and though many reforms have been too long delayed, yet, judging by the progress, well-being, and peace here in Ulster—(cheers)—it has succeeded where law and liberty are respected. (Cheers.) The question of Home Rule is a most serious one for us. There has not been in English politics a question meaning to any section of the English people what it means to the loyal minority in Ireland since the time of Cromwell or James II. It transcends in importance all which has since arisen. The rules of conduct applicable to the ordinary division of political opinion cannot be applied to it. It would be scarcely reasonable to expect a Cavalier and a Roundhead, or a Williamite and a Jacobite, to act towards each other as if they only differed on such a question as the Eight Hours' Bill; and if we believe, as we say we do, that not only our properties, but our civil and religious liberties, are endangered, why should we misrepresent our feelings by acting as if the question dividing us was one only involving consequences of ordinary and trifling import? We ought not to say that under Home Rule we think we would be plundered and enslaved unless we believe it, and if we believe it we ought to act up to our belief, and be in earnest. If we are not we can hardly blame Englishmen for disbelieving in our fears, being deaf to our complaints, indifferent to our appeals. These matters, which I have referred to, are some of the reasons which make us hate and oppose Home Rule; but in hating it and opposing it we do not love our country less, or less desire to serve her. Every consideration convinces us that the Union is the safest and best form of

government for all, and that the truest patriot and best Irishman is he who would draw yet closer the bonds that bind us to that great country near whose shores we have been for ever anchored in the deep, who would still enable us to be governed by her Parliament, to join in the making of her laws, to enjoy the full rights of her free citizenship, march forward with her in her paths of progress, and help directly to uphold the sceptre that sways her mighty Empire. Liberty, justice, toleration, and security she can by the Union, and by that alone, give to all. It is only those who desire other things who would exchange her equal and stately rule for the Government of an embittered and triumphant faction.

# ROMAN CATHOLIC OPINION.

## SPEECH OF COLONEL DEASE,

EX-GOVERNOR OF BANK OF IRELAND,
DIRECTOR OF GREAT SOUTHERN & WESTERN RAILWAY CO.,
CHAMBERLAIN TO HIS EXCELLENCY, LORD HOUGHTON,
LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

AT a meeting of the Loyalists of Kildare, which was held on Friday, 10th March, 1893, at the Courthouse, Celbridge, for the purpose of considering the Home Rule Bill, Colonel Gerald R. Dease proposed a resolution and spoke as follows :—

That this meeting emphatically protests against Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule proposals, believing that if carried into effect they would be disastrous to the best interests of the country.

He said—Gentlemen, with some reluctance I come here to-night to take part in a political controversy, for indeed I have but little faith in either politics or politicians, and usually keep as clear as I can from both. **I was born and bred a Liberal, but the leaders of that great party have run riot** and thrown in their lot with the Radicals, leaving moderate men, like myself, equally aloof from them as we are from the Orange element in this country, having lost faith in the one, while we never had any in the other. (Hear, hear.) Thus it comes that we join the party now known as Unionists, which is mainly composed of the moderate men of the two great parties, Liberals and Conservatives, and on all great issues we endeavour to act together.

(Hear, hear.) I confess that in what is called the Irish Question, which is a somewhat undefined quantity, my sympathies lie with the mass of the people of Ireland, who are my fellow-countrymen and my co-religionists, for unquestionably our fore-fathers, if not ourselves, have suffered bitter and cruel wrongs at the hands of the Imperial Government during centuries of oppression, when the ascendency of one religion and one class was kept up and supported by the State without the smallest recognition of the injustice and suffering inflicted on the majority of the people. Up to, I may say, the middle of the present century no reasonable concession was ever made to the demands of the majority of the Irish people because they were just, but only because it was forced by the exigency of political warfare or the fear of civil strife. Every wholesome national sentiment was repressed in Ireland while cherished and encouraged in England and Scotland, and thus Irish Nationality took the form of an **unreasoning hatred of British rule, which continues to this day, though the cause for it has long ceased to exist.** Those days, however, are happily gone by, and public feeling in England towards this country is vastly changed. Now, if it can be shown that any real grievance exists, it is, at any rate, reasonably considered and discussed in the united Parliament, and the Legislation of the last 20 years has been eminently favourable to that class in Ireland which formerly had most reason to complain, perhaps in some measure without due consideration for the just rights and interests of others. **I have always looked upon the Home Rule cry as a sentimental one, kept up more for the purposes of agitation than for any real meaning**—(hear, hear)—and if anything were wanting to confirm me in that view the provisions and framing of the Home Rule Bill, which we are met here this evening to discuss, are amply sufficient to justify that belief without going any further. We must bear in mind that this Bill is the carefully elaborated solution of the problem which has been discussed on public

platforms, in all the newspapers, and persistently in the House of Commons any time during the last twenty years or more. That a Bill for a similar purpose was brought in and rejected in 1886. That seven years have elapsed since then, during which Mr. Gladstone has had very ample time to patch up the weak places in the former Bill; and that for the last seven or eight months he has had to assist him the majority of the Irish members in the House, who also form the majority that is to keep him in his place as Prime Minister, or relegate him to the cold shade of opposition if he fails to yield to their blandishments. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, we may fairly assume that the utmost talent and capacity that could be brought to bear on so difficult a question has been applied to the preparation of this Bill. And yet the Prime Minister, in introducing it, admitted that the subject was a very difficult one to deal with, and on several points, mainly on the Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament, he did not by any means nail his colours to the mast, but rather intimated to the House that he would be very happy to consider any suggestions. But if with his great knowledge and practice, and assisted by his Cabinet and the larger section of the Nationalist party in Ireland, he has been unable to frame a Bill to his own liking, why should even the most rampant and uncompromising Home Ruler accept it without question and careful investigation of its provisions and how it would be likely to work. I will not enter into consideration of the main provisions of the Bill beyond saying that they do not appear to be favourably received as a whole by the Parnellite section of the Nationalist party any more than by the general intelligence of the community, as an even tolerable solution of the question. **I will only deal with the financial scheme,** and endeavour as shortly as I can to put before you what would be the probable results at no distant date if this part of the Bill were accepted in its present form. (Hear, hear.) **The Budget, as proposed in the Bill, does not appear to be framed on any general**

**principle beyond that of expediency.** It proposes to give to Ireland all the revenue she raises except the Customs, and leaves her to pay out of that income all her internal expenditure, with the exception of a loan of half a million, which Great Britain contributed for a fixed period only, towards police charges. The estimate of revenue is as follows :—Excise, £3,220,000; Stamps, £755,000; Licences, £190,000; Income Tax, £550,000; Post Office, £740,000; Crown Lands, £65,000; Miscellaneous, £140,000; total, £5,660,000. The expenditure is calculated at—Civil charges, £3,210,000; Revenue collection, £160,000; Post Office, £790,000; Constabulary, £1,000,000; total, £5,160,000, leaving a surplus of £500,000. The collection and management of the Excise and the Post Office service will be under the control of the Irish Executive. The latter, as will be seen by the figures I have quoted, is carried on at a loss of not less than £50,000 a year, so that the Irish revenue must either bear that loss or we must all put up with reduced postal accommodation, which means general inconvenience and **the dismissal of many people employed in connection with the Post Office service.** The Excise duties appear to be the only existing source from which the revenue could be increased, but that would be by the increase of the consumption of spirits in the country, which is by no means a desirable resort, though perhaps it might recommend itself to some of our local friends. On the other hand, **as sobriety prevails so does the revenue decline,** and if another Father Mathew preached a successful temperance crusade our very doubtful surplus might vanish altogether. (Laughter and applause.) So much for the difficulties of revenue and expenditure. Now, let me ask what would become of the Imperial grants now made for the purposes of education—say, £1,000,000. **From whom will the farmer borrow £100 to build a house or barn? From what source will the parish borrow money to build a school or a parochial house?** Or where will the Corporate town obtain money for drainage or other useful purposes? These loans all come

now from the Imperial Exchequer, which will be absolutely barred against us in the future. (Hear, hear.) The new Irish Government would have to take over a debt amounting roughly to sixteen millions, and would be responsible for the collection of interest on same to pay off the various loans, &c., by annual payments to cover sinking fund and interest in 49 years. **The Irish Exchequer would also take over the management of the Post Office Savings Banks, the deposits in which amount to about 6 millions; but it does not appear that depositors relish this arrangement, for as the Bill provides that when it comes into operation six months' time for withdrawal will be allowed, after which all deposits will be handed over to the Irish Exchequer, they are already drawing out large sums, and, no doubt, this source of capital will be exhausted before the Bill passes, if indeed it be possible that such a Bill can pass.** People with nothing to lose, may hail with enthusiasm the passing of any Home Rule Bill, but believe me, the man who has some savings and wishes to increase them will unquestionably remove what he has to safer custody than what the new Irish Exchequer would afford. (Hear, hear.) The Bill is a sham. (Applause.) **The safeguards in it are a sham, and the passing of the Bill would sound the death knell of Irish prosperity, which is steadily increasing,** and is only retarded by agitation or want of security for capital. And now, gentlemen, I fear I have trespassed too long on your patience, and will bring my remarks to a conclusion. I appeal to all of you who are against Home Rule in any shape to oppose this Bill by every means in your power. **I appeal to any of you who are in favour of a just measure of Home Rule to repudiate this Bill, because you ask for bread and are offered a stone—aye, a stone that once around your necks would soon drag you and our country under water, and**

**leave Irish patriots the laughing stock of nations if they accepted such a thing.** (Hear, hear.) I appeal to all of you who hold moderate views to repudiate this poor attempt to fulfil the pledge of a Ministry without any care as to the future result, believing as I do that while we owe much of our misery and misfortune in the past to British misrule in days gone by, it behoves us, now that times have changed, not to allow England to divorce us. **Which of us, if he were engaged in commercial business, with a partner richer than himself, for whom he had a sentimental dislike, would dissolve partnership and let him go out of the concern taking his capital with him and claiming an annuity as well? I must say this would be paying a high price to gratify one's spleen, but not one bit higher than this Bill suggests.** At no distant date a liberal system of extended Local Government must be given to Ireland, when all classes will have a voice in the management of our own affairs, and such a measure I for one would gladly welcome. (Hear, hear.) But meanwhile I appeal to you to treat "sentiment" as a pleasant enough topic in a spleen, but as entirely outside the bounds of practical politics. (Applause.) I thank you, gentlemen, for your more than patient hearing, and I beg to move the resolution which has been placed in my hands. (Cheers.)—*Irish Times*, 13th March, 1893.

# Parnellite Opinion on the Home Rule Bill.

## THE FINANCIAL CLAUSES OF THE HOME RULE BILL.

THE EDITOR DAILY INDEPENDENT.

Dublin, March 7, 1893.

SIR—I am glad to see the action taken yesterday by the Dublin Corporation as regards the Government of Ireland Bill now before the House of Commons, and hope their example may be followed by other corporate bodies and by individuals throughout the country, because I am fully satisfied that the more its clauses are investi gated the more clearly will it be seen that the English Treasury officials have been at work for the advantage of English trade and for the destruction of Irish trade.

Clause 10, sub-section 3 (a) provides that the duties of Customs (foreign goods) are all to be taken by England, no matter how considerable the increase may be, and there has been a steady increase for some years, exceeding in 1892 by £150,000 what the amount was in 1877.

Clause 10, sub-section 3 (c) sets up a Custom House against Irish Exciseable goods (whiskey, porter, beer, and rectifying distillers' produce), consumed in Great Britain in favour of the English Exchequer, and there is no proposal to set up a Custom House against English and Scotch Exciseable goods consumed in Ireland in favour of the Irish Exchequer. Under this sub-section it will be necessary to examine all exciseable duty-paid goods passing from Ireland to Great Britain for the purpose of ascertaining their specific gravity or alcoholic strength. The passing of the necessary entries and consequent delay in transit and execution of orders will drive away our trade to other places where traders are not subjected to these annoyances.

Clause 10, sub-section 5, provides for the increase of Excise duties by Great Britain (War Tax). The natural result of an increase in duty is a reduction in consumption, and consequently a reduction in the Irish revenue, but the increase in the rate of duty goes to the credit of the English Exchequer.

Clause 10, sub-section 6, provides that the English Exchequer shall pay to the Irish Exchequer any loss which may be sustained by it if a reduction in the Excise duty is made. The result of the reduction in the duty would be an increase in the consumption, and consequently the liability of the English Exchequer is very limited.

Clause 10, sub-section 2, gives to the Irish Legislature power to impose taxes which are virtually limited to taxes on property (Land Tax and Income Tax).

Clause 11, sub-section 2, provides that Income Tax shall be paid where the trade is carried on. How is this to be defined? And are we in Ireland to receive no benefit from the trade done by English and Scotch firms (coal, iron, soft goods, tea, wine, &c.) all over the country?

Clause 14, sub-section 1, makes the Irish Consolidated Fund responsible for all advances, &c., under the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1891; and sub-section 4 provides that until all charges created by this Act are paid to England no money shall be issued from the Irish Exchequer for any other purpose whatever; while sub-section 2 provides that the decision as to whether any money is due to England by Ireland rests exclusively with the Auditor-General of the United Kingdom. . . . [From letter of "A Dublin Trader" in *Daily Independent*, 8th March, 1893.]

# IRISH COMMERCIAL INTERESTS

AND THE

# HOME RULE BILL.

## *DEPUTATION TO EX-MINISTERS.*

A large and influential representative deputation of gentlemen from Ireland, desirous of putting before ex-ministers their views of the inevitably disastrous results of the Home Rule Bill to the whole of the commercial and industrial interests of the country (Ireland), was this afternoon received by the Marquis of Salisbury, at his town residence in Arlington Street. His lordship was accompanied by Mr. Balfour, Lord Randolph Churchill, and Mr. Goschen, and a cordial reception was given them as they entered the room. The full deputation undertaking this important mission numbered between fifty and sixty, and was composed as follows:—

Lord Iveagh, Mr. Joseph Hone (Governor of the Bank of Ireland), Mr. H. Dudgeon (Stockbroker), Mr. John Jameson (Distiller), Mr. John Chambre (Wine Merchant), Mr. James Sheill (Corn Merchant), Mr. John R. Wigham, (Hon. Sec. of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce), Mr. Joseph Pike (Chairman of the Cork Steamship Company and Director of the Cork, Bandon, and South Coast Railway Company), Mr. H. S. Persse (Distiller, Galway), Mr. Alexander D. Kennedy (Solicitor and Insurance Manager), Mr. William Watson (Manager City of Dublin Steam-packet Company and Director Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway), Mr. Maurice E. Dockrell, J.P. (Contractor), Mr. S. P. Boyd (Wholesale Druggist), Mr. George Casson, J.P.; Mr. R. H. Jephson, J.P. (ex-Government Auditor and Arbitrator of the Board of Trade), Mr. T. C. Franks (ex-President Incorporated Law Society), Mr. Richard Pim (Dublin Stock Exchange), Mr. James Gray (Chairman Great Northern Railway of Ireland Company), Mr. J. K. Fowler, Mr. Robert Goodbody (Tobacco Manufacturer), Mr. W. B. Jameson (Director of Dublin Distilleries), Mr. Joshua J. Pim (Deputy-Chairman Great Southern and Western Railway, and Director Bank of Ireland), Andrew Beattie,

J.P.; Mr. Dunbar, P. Barton, M.P. (Director of Arthur Guinness, Sons, and Co., Ltd.), Thomas K. Austin, J.P. (Director of Cork and Bandon Railway), Mr. Edward Walpole (Linen Draper and Manufacturer), Mr. Percy La Touche (Chairman Barrow Navigation Co.), Mr. G. B. Thomson (Merchant), Mr. W. J. Goulding, J.P. (Director G.S.W. Railway), Mr. G. R. Fitzgerald (Fellow Trinity College, Dublin), Mr. Fane Vernon (Director Bank of Ireland and Great Northern Railway, Ireland), Mr. Arthur Andrews (Wine Merchant), Mr. James Talbot Power (Distiller), Alderman Sir John Harley Scott, J.P. (Iron and Coal Merchant and Steamship Owner, Cork), Mr. Fred. W. Pim (Director Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway), Mr. Joseph T. Pim (Member Port and Docks Board), Mr. M. B. Murray (Distiller), Mr. Edward Watson (Managing Director City of Dublin Steampacket Company), Mr. H. L. Barnardo, J.P.; Mr. Andrew Jameson (Brewer, Director Bank of Ireland), Mr. F. C. Pilkington (Director National Assurance Association, and Director J. and T. Burke, Limited), Mr. Percy Kinahan of Kinahan and Co., Limited), Mr. Marcus Goodbody (Tobacco Manufacturer), Sir Richard Martin, D.L.; Mr. Robert Worthington, J.P. (Railway Contractor), Mr. H. Sharman Crawford (Merchant), Mr. W. Kenny, M.P.; and Mr. Farquharson (of the Irish Unionist Alliance.)

Lord Iveagh, who introduced the deputation, said it consisted of Irish gentlemen representing commercial interests in the three provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. Lord Salisbury would soon have an opportunity of visiting the great commercial capital of Ulster, and learning the opinion of that province. That deputation desired to-day to bring before him at this crisis the views of the mercantile community in the three other provinces of Ireland.

Mr. Wigham (Secretary of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce), in presenting an address to Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Goschen, and Lord Randolph Churchill, said that before reading it he would like to mention the character of the deputation. It was a deputation composed mostly, if not entirely, of commercial men connected with the commercial interests of the three Southern provinces of Ireland. It comprised men of almost all creeds, Catholics and Protestants, Liberals and Conservatives, and bankers, merchants, and gentlemen connected with almost every commercial pursuit in the country. The address was as follows:—

The deputation which waits on you to-day consist of representatives of commercial interests in three Southern provinces of Ireland who are united in their belief that the Home Rule Bill now before Parliament will if passed into law arrest the growing prospects of

Ireland, which under the firm rule of the last few years has been steadily increasing. We represent no separate creed or class, and we desire no ascendency, social or religious. We are all personally concerned and vitally interested in the development of the industries of Ireland. We know that for that development, and for the happiness and prosperity of the Irish people of all classes, a steady and just government, with equal rights and equal liberties for all, is before all things essential; and we hold with unhesitating conviction that the "Government of Ireland Bill" offers no prospect of either equal liberties or of just and steady Government. Into the specific provisions of the measure itself we do not propose to enter. Its whole scope appears to us radically unjust, and certain to promote neither peace nor progress in Ireland. The proposed scheme of a separate Legislature gives enormous powers for mischievous interference with individual and corporate rights, qualified only by artificial and impracticable limitations. The special safeguards devised for the supposed protection of minorities seem to us likely rather to intensify and embitter party animosities than to allay them. Much has been done within the last few years both by Government assistance and by private effort for the material advantage of Ireland. The effects of these efforts are just now beginning to show themselves, and all classes in Ireland were looking to the future with renewed, and, as we believe, with well-grounded hope in which party feeling and barren political agitation were rapidly calming down. The Bill of the Government throws amongst us a new apple of discord, and plunges Ireland again into a state of political and party ferment which cannot but arrest business enterprise in every direction. We find in the bill no prospect of anything but the perpetuation and intensification of the unsettlement which has so long been a source of shame and sorrow to all true friends of Ireland; and we earnestly trust, not only for the sake of Ireland but for the sake also of the United Kingdom, of which Ireland still forms an integral part, and of the Empire in which Irishmen, attached subjects of our gracious Queen and loyal adherents of the Constitution, have been proved to have their birthright, that it may never be allowed to pass into law.—*Irish Times*, 11th March, 1893.

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# The Excise.

The offer of the Excise as a source of income is a bribe to help consumption of whiskey up to its present level. The following figures show how a reduction in the quantity of whiskey consumed would affect the income. The number of gallons of whiskey entered for home consumption to March, 1892, was 5,034,896 gallons. From 1886 to 1891 inclusive, the whiskey similarly entered was under 5,000,000 gallons per year. For the year ending March, 1889 (merely three years ago), the quantity entered for home consumption was but 4,223,745 gallons, or approaching 1,000,000 gallons less than last year. The duty at present is 10s. 6d. per gallon proof. Assuming from normal causes the quantity on which duty paid decreased by 1,000,000 gallons, the Irish Exchequer would lose half a million sterling. The figures would stand thus :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. Gladstone's estimated surplus ... | £500,000 |
| Deduct loss in duty on 1,000,000 galls. at 10s. 6d. | 525,000 |
| Deficiency ... ... | £25,000 |

Should the quantity on which duty decreased be 2,000,000 gallons, the *deficiency* would be £525,000. Though our export trade may increase under favourable circumstances our consumption will most probably decrease. While Mr. Gladstone is offering us the excise as a good asset, his Government is bringing in a Bill for local option in England. He secures for England any excess of rates—a deficiency the result of reduction of consumption we suffer. Should the duty on Irish whiskey be increased by the English House of Commons 2s. per gallon, that excess would go to England, and the amount paid would be as follows :—

Take 1892 figures—

| | |
|---|---|
| For Home consumption ... ... | 5,034,896 gallons |
| Deduct Estimates reduction ... | 1,000,000 ,, |
| Balance ... ... | 4,034,896 , |

which at 2s. per gallon on excess would amount to £403,489, so that while the Irish Exchequer would lose by deficiency £525,000 the English Exchequer would on the excess in rates obtain £403,489.

This is altogether apart from other exciseable goods.—[From letter of Mr. Henry Dixon, Jun., *Daily Independent*, 8th March, 1893.]

# MR. W. E. H. LECKY

ON THE

# HOME RULE BILL, 1893.

In my own opinion the Home Rule Bill, if carried in its present form, would be ultimately ruinous to both Great Britain and Ireland; but here I shall only set down a few of the consequences relating to the former. In the first place it would subvert the whole system of Parliamentary Government. It is proposed to maintain in the British Parliament eighty members who are to vote on questions affecting Ireland and the Empire, but not on questions exclusively affecting Great Britain; who will have the power of turning most British measures into Irish ones, by moving that they should be extended to Ireland; and who are certain to use their power mainly with Irish objects. It is not only possible, it is in the highest degree probable, that a Government with a large and steady majority on all British questions will find itself in a minority whenever a vote of No Confidence or any other Imperial question brings the eighty Irish on the scene. Surely a more grotesque Constitution was never devised! Is it conceivable that any firm and strong Government could exist on such a foundation? Is it not certain that this system of intermittent and alternate majorities must reduce Government to a condition of permanent debility, which would be utterly destructive to the well-being of the Empire?

The contribution of Ireland to Imperial purposes is to be the Customs, which are to be retained in Imperial hands, and the Irish Legislature, being deprived of all power over them, will be without one of the most essential attributes of a free Parliament. One probable result of this arrangement will be an immense increase of smuggling, for no one in Ireland is likely to take very stringent measures to enforce payments that are to be carried out of the country. Another is, that a formidable obstacle will be interposed to any further reduction of duties. "A free breakfast-table" would at once strike off a great part of the Irish contribution. A third consequence, which Mr. Chamberlain has justly pointed out, is that a great war which destroyed Irish trade would necessarily diminish the Irish contribution, at a time when its increase was most urgently required. In the agonies of some desperate struggle for her national existence, England could obtain no Irish support except by the vote of the Irish Legislature. Is it likely that she would receive it? The vast majority in that Legislature would

be in the hands of men who have very recently been paid by American Fenians; who have systematically excluded the British flag from their demonstrations; who have openly sympathised with every enemy of England; who have through long years been steadily stimulating anti-English sentiment in Ireland. Even if these men were converted into sincere loyalists, the sentiment which they have kindled would remain, and they would be always liable to be displaced by demagogues more violent than themselves.

The new Constitution, among its other absurdities, stereotypes the existing Irish constituencies, which give a wholly disproportionate power to the most ignorant, the most priest-ridden, the most disloyal portion of the community. Is it likely that a majority so constituted would in times of danger make great sacrifices for the Empire? Is it even certain that the minority would wish to do so? In the eyes of the Irish Protestants the policy of Mr. Gladstone is a policy of the basest treachery. In one form or another Ulster will certainly resist, and the only power that can coerce Ulster is an Imperial force acting under Imperial orders. It is possible that British troops may be some day employed in shooting down Ulster Protestants, because they refuse to place themselves under priestly or Fenian rule. But if that day arrives, it is not too much to say that it will see all attachment to Great Britain on the part of Irish Protestants extinguished for ever.

The addition of some millions a year to British taxation is but a very small part of the consequences that would follow. The path that Parliament is asked to tread is a path that leads to Separation, and through Separation to the downfall of the Empire.

W. E. H. Lecky.

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# Professor Tyndall

ON THE

# HOME RULE BILL, 1893.

To the lover of this "land of just and old renown" the present outlook is not cheerful. Her foes are of her own household. A great political party, submerging its own judgment, follows an aged and erring man far more abjectly than pious Catholics follow the Pope of Rome. He has had his years of sanity. He has dug his Suez Canal. He has gone on to his Panama; but instead of wrecking himself upon that enterprise, he is bent upon wrecking his country. An individual may go mad; but the wonder and amazement of the present situation is the "faith-madness" of a whole party. They follow their leader like Gadarene swine, dreaming that the land of Beulah, instead of the deep sea, is before them. Argument is lost upon them; history is valueless; experience goes for naught. A kind of obstinate fury is the spell of the hour. A thing is to be done, and every consideration which warns us of the peril of doing it is brushed aside.

The Liberal party has become the tool of a statesman whose head has been turned by the sophisms of a doctrinaire. Mr. Gladstone is the muscle to which Mr. John Morley has hitherto played the part of nerve. The day of reckoning will come, but many an honest man will suffer meanwhile. The flower of industrial Ireland is to be placed at the mercy of the indolent—her intellect at the mercy of her ignorance; while, when the occasion arises, her splendid harbours will offer facilities to the foreign foe. Some gallant Hoche of the near future may count upon a sympathetic reception from Mr. Gladstone's friends, and run his vessels gaily into Bantry Bay. If you wish to compare our present Prime Minister and his trophies of Majuba, Pendjdeh, and Khartoum, with the great statesman he has so cruelly maligned, turn to the brilliant and impartial pages of Captain A. T. Mahan, President of the United States War College. Though written by an American, they will warm the blood of every true Briton. And then consider what would be the present condition of these islands if Gladstone had filled the place of Pitt. They would, without doubt, have become a province of our "sweet enemy France."

I yield to no man in my desire to see Ireland not only justly but generously ruled. To Roman Catholics, as such, no trace of hostility exists in my mind; but I hold that no priesthood ought to be allowed to occupy the position in which Mr. Gladstone would place

the priesthood of Ireland. Mr. John Morley may call this "cant," but in talking thus he is certainly false to his former—possibly to his present—self. (At this very hour, I doubt if his detestation of sacerdotalism be not more intense than mine.) My sole motive power in relation to this question is the love of an Empire which has been built up and handed down to us by brave forefathers, and which Mr. Gladstone's measures would hand over to ruin and despair. I am dazed and stupefied by the action of our Prime Minister, and far more dazed and stupefied by the action of those that follow him. Their safeguards are worthless; their tyranny is sure.

> England, bound in with the triumphant sea,
> Whose rocky shores beat back the envious siege
> Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
> With inky blots, and rotten parchment bonds;
> That England, that was wont to conquer others,
> Hath made a shameful conquest of itself!

JOHN TYNDALL.

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# SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, BART., M.P.

ON THE

# HOME RULE BILL, 1893.

[The criticisms quoted below deal with the provisions of the Home Rule Bill as originally introduced. That their force is not destroyed by its subsequent alterations is shown in the notes appended.—IRISH UNIONIST ALLIANCE, August, 1893.]

Others, no doubt, will deal with the objections to the Bill from an Irish point of view. I will only point out that it is opposed almost unanimously

1. By the Protestants of Ireland.
2. By the landlords.
3. By the manufacturers and merchants.
4. By the professional men.

And no wonder, because—

1. It places the Protestant minority at the mercy of the priests.

2. It places the landlords at the mercy of those who, in Mr. Gladstone's words and with his help, are marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the Empire.

3. Irish stocks and values are falling, capital is leaving Ireland, and industry is checked. It is sad to think of the unnecessary suffering which will thus be inflicted on the poorer classes in Ireland.

4. Educated men see clearly that the Bill will rouse the bitterest animosities—if not Civil War.

But I object to it quite as strongly from an English point of view. It will open up more subjects of difference between Great Britain and Ireland than it will settle. The Irish National League of America has just issued a manifesto in which it says:—"The measure cannot be accepted as a full and complete settlement of the claims of our people. The Parliament provided by the measure will be little better than a mockery."

Mr. Gladstone surrenders (see *Economist*, Feb. 25,) £1,500,000 as a beginning, to keep his party in office; and Irish support in the future will have to be bought by still further concessions. The result will be that Great Britain must submit to heavier taxation. Eighty Irish members are to vote on questions of peace and war, but there are no provisions in the Bill by which Ireland will bear its fair share of the expense. It is true that the Customs might be raised, but it is never possible to pay more than a very small part of the expense of a war by an increase in Customs duties, and the rest would fall upon us. *(a.)*

We are to have no voice in Irish affairs, but Irish members are to vote on some of the most important questions which affect us; for instance, on the constitution of the Ministry. This would throw the Government into confusion, because a Ministry which was in a minority on British, might be in a majority on Imperial subjects, and yet be kept in power against the wishes of the country by the Irish vote. *(b.)*

I have no desire to impute motives, and do not question those of the Government; but in my judgment the Bill is most unjust to Great Britain, and while I am anxious to retain the Irish members on equal terms, I must most strenuously protest against a Bill which, in the words of Sir G. Trevelyan, would make Irish members not only rulers in Dublin, but—it is plain beyond questioning—our masters at Westminster also. *(c.)*

The Bill can only be carried, if at all, by Irish votes, against the wishes of Great Britain; and it seems to me that such Englishmen and Scotsmen as support it ought to be either in the Tower or in a lunatic asylum.

JOHN LUBBOCK.

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## NOTES TO THE FOREGOING.

**(a.)** Mr. Gladstone has since attempted to meet this objection by reserving the collection of the Irish revenue in Imperial hands for six years. But this is merely postponing the difficulty until a date when Great Britain will be in a far *less advantageous* position as regards Ireland.

**(b.)** As the Irish members according to the revised scheme are to vote on all questions, British Ministries may by this arrangement not only be kept in office, but enabled to carry laws for Great Britain over the heads of the British majority. The confusion, therefore, if obviated at all, is obviated barely.

**(c.)** It is useful to remember these words, now that a clause, to which we find enlightened Liberals, like Sir J. Lubbock, objecting that it would make Irish members "Masters at Westminster," has been amended in such a manner as to make them masters twenty times over.

# PROFESSOR JEBB

ON THE

# HOME RULE BILL, 1893.

[N.B.—Professor Jebb's strictures deal with the Bill as it stood when first introduced. Notes are appended to show that the objections have not been met by Mr. Gladstone's so-called "modifications."—IRISH UNIONIST ALLIANCE.]

The Home Rule agitation has two springs: (1) The desire of Irish tenant-farmers to get rid of rent; and (2) the desire of some Irish politicians to make Ireland wholly independent. The first has been the lever of the second. "Home Rule" thinly veils both desires, but is moved by both.

No sound reason has been shown for introducing any measure of Home Rule. In 1886 the pretext used was the social disorder in Ireland. It is admitted that this reason does not now exist.

The present Bill utterly fails to satisfy those conditions which its authors allow to be essential.

*Imperial Unity.*—The existing unity of the United Kingdom is such that, in time of national peril (such as imminent war), the Imperial Parliament would have full command over the national resources. But, under this Bill, the Dublin Parliament and the Irish members at Westminster could thwart the Imperial Government. England's need would be Ireland's opportunity, if an Irish party wished to extort further concessions.

*Supremacy of the Imperial Parliament.*—The nominal safeguards in the Bill are three:—(1) A veto to be exercised by the Lord Lieutenant at the instance of the Irish Ministry. This would not be used when the Irish Ministry was in conflict with the Imperial Ministry. (2) A veto to be exercised by the Lord Lieutenant at the instance of the Crown—*i.e.*, of the Imperial Cabinet. But if such a veto were used against a Bill supported by the Irish Ministers, they would resign. No other Irish Ministry could come in. There would be a deadlock. (3) The powers of the Imperial Parliament to legislate for Ireland. Suppose that the Imperial Parliament passes a law to which the Irish Parliament is hostile. The Irish Parliament controls the Irish Executive, by which that law must be carried out.

The futility of these "safeguards" being evident, advocates of the Bill have been fain to suggest that a sweet reasonableness on both sides will obviate the need for anything of the kind. But differences between the two Parliaments are certain to arise on such subjects as Land, Church, and Education, the Administration of the Criminal Law, and Finance.

*Finance.*—Under the Bill, we take over the Customs, as representing the Irish contribution, leaving Ireland the Excise, Income

Tax and Stamps. That is, we tie the hands of the Imperial Chancellor of the Exchequer in respect to these sources of revenue, and give up our power of dealing freely with our own taxation. Moreover, we are to pay Ireland for the present a bonus of £500,000 a year, or the interest on 17 millions, which has aptly been described as a "war indemnity."

[NOTE.—Under the revised Financial Clauses, giving Ireland two-thirds of the Customs and Excise, the hands of the Imperial Chancellor of the Exchequer are still tied up—(Mr. Goschen, House of Commons, July 24th—and the "War Indemnity" paid by Great Britain is raised from 17 to 27 millions.]

*Protection of Minorities.*—There is absolutely no real provision for this in the Bill. Even the semblance is confined to these points. (1) The Irish Parliament cannot establish or directly endow a Church. But the door is left open for indirect endowment, as by voting salaries to school-managers. (2) Land legislation is reserved to the Imperial Parliament—for three years. And then? (3) "The Legislative Council," or second Chamber, of 48, to be elected on the £20 rating franchise. This Chamber, even if the Loyalists had every seat in it—and they would probably not have 24—would always be hopelessly outvoted in the Popular Chamber of 103. The veteran Nationalist, Sir C. Gavan Duffy, objects to the scheme on that very ground. This Bill simply hands over the loyal one-third of Ireland, without defence or remedy, to the disloyal majority. It is indeed "a great betrayal."

*Finality.*—Irish Nationalists cannot rest satisfied with this dole. Ireland gets less independence than the least of the self-governing colonies. Already the Irish National League of America has spoken out. Their manifesto of February 25 says:—"The measure cannot be accepted as a full and complete settlement of the claims of our people. The Parliament in Dublin . . . will be little better than a mockery. . . . In a little time British bayonets alone would save the Legislature of Dublin from the vengeance of an impoverished and degraded country. . . . Let us go on with the struggle until Ireland's national aspirations are satisfied to the full."

*Retention of the Irish Members at Westminster.*—The eighty Irish members can vote on "Imperial questions." Thus, on a vote of confidence, they can turn out an Imperial Ministry which has a British majority. They can also demand that a proposed British Bill shall be extended to Ireland; and, if they carry their point, then they can vote on such Bill. They can also challenge any attempt of the Imperial Parliament to use its power in Ireland. The result will be two-fold. Imperial Parliament will have no relief from Irish debates. And the Irish members at Westminster will be the supreme arbiters of British affairs.

[NOTE.—The clause thus criticised has been changed into one permitting the Irish members to vote on all questions, thus redoubling the force of Professor Jebb's objection, that the Irish will be "supreme arbiters of British affairs."]

R. C. JEBB.

[*Reprinted by permission from "National Observer," 4th March, 1893.*]

# MR. FREDERICK GREENWOOD

ON THE

# HOME RULE BILL, 1893.

Mr. Gladstone's calculations are misapprehended, I fancy. His Bill is discussed on all hands as if it had been framed in expectation that it would pass. That could never have been Mr. Gladstone's idea. When he sat down to the drafting of the measure he knew what his majority was. Knowing that, he knew that were it possible to present a plain scheme, and one that his Irish friends would vote for, though it gave them little scope for tyranny in Ireland or treachery to England, it would be the duty of the House of Lords not to pass it without reference to the country. But Mr. Gladstone also knew the impossibility of an unconfused scheme, free from palpable danger, clear of grave risks and great injustice, and yet one that the Irish members would accept. There was no choice for him but the presentation of a measure which the Lords would be bound to throw out, were it passed in the House of Commons by a majority of a sixth, and would most certainly be rejected when it was sent up by a "plurality" of six in the hundred. Hence this scheme which is not unconfused; and not unconfused because it must needs be stuffed with dangerous matter; and stuffed with dangerous matter because were it not the Irish members would be compelled (perhaps reluctantly, but compelled) to turn upon its author and rend him: which would be the end.

A Bill of which it is foreseen that it is not likely to pass anyhow is sure to show signs of drowsiness. Much of Mr. Gladstone's Bill might have been drafted in a dream; only in dreams do so many impossible things pretend to possibility. Of course care of a certain kind was extremely necessary to the composition; such care as an old parliamentary hand takes to secure the main point. But all that could be done with the Bill was to get it through the House of Commons by a full vote on his own side; and that no doubt explains why he made no difficulty of avowing that here and there his project might be hazardous and indefensible. In short, this is not *the* Bill. From the first, Mr. Gladstone's calculation ran in this line probably: No Home Rule Bill that passes the one

House with a majority of forty will be allowed to pass the other without reference to the country or violent coercion of the House of Lords. Coercion of the House of Lords would be a long process, especially as the coercion must needs include popular, powerful and resolute Liberals like the Duke of Devonshire. Dissolution is the shorter way, and as safe. As to the first point, dissolution and a re-assembling of Parliament may be got into three months: a conflict with the House of Lords might last longer. As to the second point, if the English constituencies are sick of Home Rule now, they will be yet more sick after another six months of newspaper cavil and platform debate. If those constituencies are already impatient to sweep Home Rule out of the way and come to business that does concern them, they will be more impatient still at the end of another "wasted session," with the prospect of all to do over again. Therefore, and if meanwhile a batch of popular measures is taken from the oven half-baked and put back for want of time to finish them off, the chances are that we shall have a larger majority at the next elections; and with that, and an amended Bill to put before the Lords (Bill amended as the circumstances of the time suggest), we shall pull through triumphantly.

This seems to me the calculation on which Mr. Gladstone proceeds; this the course of events as he maps it out. And thus may be explained his eagerness to push on to the second reading. He wants to get through the present phase of affairs, having no time to lose.

Many powerful voices will be raised in opposition to this measure. They will be none the less effective, perhaps, if the forecast here sketched out is kept in mind. For then it will be seen that, whether the constituencies are roused much or little against the Bill, it will not pass; that the final struggle lies beyond; that increase of the general loathing of Home Rule discussion is relied upon by the Gladstonians for success—nothing serving them so well; and therefore that the wiser course is pretty clear. A great deal that is still said and written on the subject is repetition a thousand times repeated. Enough of that; it does more harm than good. What the proposed Irish Parliament could *not* do under this measure may be put aside: what it *could* do is a very pretty tale, told in full; and that is rousing matter of a perfectly novel kind. That Protestant Ireland would be a prey to the Roman Catholic priesthood was thought incredible (by some) a little while since, and it was said then that the Catholic peasantry had at length emancipated themselves from the tyranny of the priest and his spiritual terrors. Convincing evidence to the contrary is new, and should not be neglected. Above all, it is becoming more and more clear—as we see by the swaggering revolt of "gallant little Wales," and further by the fact that Unionist Mr. Chamberlain can

talk of "a federal system" as possibly a wise substitute for a United Kingdom—that England and Englishmen are to be "taken down." That is undoubtedly Mr. Gladstone's hope and design; and at this rate they *will* be taken down, unless they rouse themselves to declare that they have had enough of these national hatred-and-jealousy plots, understand their drift, and do not intend that they shall gratify the passions or serve the ambition of any person or persons whatever. Bring England to that temper (it is time she was roused to it) and Mr. Gladstone may dissolve and welcome.

FREDERICK GREENWOOD.

[*Reprinted by permission from "National Observer," 4th March, 1893.*]

# HOME RULE AND IRISH STOCKS.

THE following is an extract from the Dublin Stock Exchange Review of the *Irish Times* (March 10th, 1893):—

Here is an indisputable fact, that within little more than one month the securities quoted on the Dublin Stock Exchange alone have fallen, on a moderate estimate, £5,120,000 in value, made up as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Corporation Stocks ... ... ... | £50,000 |
| Bank of Ireland Stock ... ... ... | 1,000,000 |
| Other Bank Shares ... ... ... | 500,000 |
| Great Northern Railway ... ... | 450,000 |
| Great Southern and Western ... ... | 300,000 |
| Midland Great Western ... ... | 150,000 |
| Other Railway Ordinary Stocks ... ... | 100,000 |
| Railway Preference Stocks ... ... | 370,000 |
| Railway Guaranteed Stocks ... ... | 250,000 |
| Railway Debenture Stocks ... ... | 450,000 |
| Guinness Shares ... ... ... | 750,000 |
| Other Shares ... ... ... | 750,000 |
| Grand Total ... ... ... | £5,120,000 |

There was little change in the aspect of the Dublin Stock and Share Markets to-day, and the only feature is the utter want of confidence shown by all classes of investors. Business was at some points on a more extended scale, but the continued shrinkage in prices has a most depressing effect on holders, who have at least great cause for anxiety by the great and growing downward movement in the value of their investments.—*Irish Times*, 10th March, 1893.

# A REVIEW FROM THE PULPIT.

## REV. DR. LYND

ON THE

## HOME RULE BILL.

Rev. Dr. Lynd, ex-Moderator, General Assembly, preaching to a crowded congregation in May Street Presbyterian Church, Belfast, last night on the Home Rule Bill, said it might be said he should not introduce politics into the pulpit, but when a measure was proposed by a Government led by one of the greatest statesmen of the age, which affected their lives, their liberties, and which might affect their spiritual and blood-bought privileges, were the occupants of the pulpit to be muzzled in protesting against the threatened reign of unrighteousness, simply because it had become a subject of possible Legislation? Looking at the subject in a negative aspect, they might well ask what possible benefit could they expect from their changed relationship to the other portions of this realm. Would it bring peace? It would only fan the fire of discord into a fiercer flame. Would it bring prosperity? Let those who had built up the trade and commerce of our country, whether Dublin or Belfast, answer, and the all but unanimous opinion of those who had a right to speak on such a subject was, that it would strike a fatal blow at their manufactures and every element of their advancement. Would it lead to general improvement and an influx of capital? On the contrary, there was every indication it would drive it away, or render it unstable and insecure. Would it improve the character of their legislation? He would be both a bold and credulous man who would give the palm of wise legislation to the permanent majority whom the bill proposed should sit in Dublin and substitute the nominees of the priesthood for the collective wisdom of the Queen, Lords, and Commons of Great Britain and Ireland. Would it benefit the education of the country? There was every prospect that it would shatter the cause of united education and make the system substituted an indirect method of endowing the Romish priesthood. Would it conserve the safety of the missionary work of their churches? Where Rome had had the secular power at her disposal, mission work within her borders had met with pronounced hostility. What could they expect from a Government in which the power of the South and West would prevail in guarding the sanctity of the Sabbath? Why, after the morning hours of the day, Sunday was

unknown and not recognised by their countrymen in the South and West, and to disfranchise the whole Protestant population all that was needed was to pass an enactment, quite within the powers of the proposed Legislature that all elections as in Continental lands would be held on the Lord's Day. Those who had made that their great day for agitation would have few scruples in supporting such a measure and giving it the force of law. And, as to the cause of temperance, what could they expect when so much of the revenue of a poor State would depend upon the consumption of intoxicating drinks. In vain did they search through the whole Bill for signs of any possible good to be reaped from its enactments. It was the universal sentiment, with a few insignificant exceptions, among all classes in Ulster and throughout the land that an Irish Parliament, composed, as it would of necessity be, of men in whom both landlord and Loyalist peasant could have no confidence, would not be trustworthy. None of them had ever witnessed in these lands such universal abhorrence of a legislative measure as the Home Rule Bill. Talk of democracy, and sympathy with the democracy, he (Dr. Lynd) had always sympathised with them, but had they not a democracy in Ulster —a Bible-loving and Bible-reading democracy—whose character, whose conduct, and whose intelligence would bear comparison with that of any other in Scotland or England, and who to a man were as determined in their hostility to the bill as any other class? Why, it seemed as if the leaders of modern statesmen had made up their minds to irritate and madden the whole Loyalists of the land. Loyalty, it seemed, was being wholly discounted. The law-breakers had become the favourites of fortune. They talked of bluster on the part of the earnest, devoted, God-fearing men of Ulster. Might God open the eyes of their statesmen and of the people of England and Scotland and point out to them that by their present action they were going to write "red ruin" over all that was best and worthiest in the land. Let them give up neither heart nor hope. Whatever dark events were in store for them, they believed the best of all was that God was for them. Let them possess their souls in patience, and while they prayed and worked and put forth every energy for the cause they believed to be right, let them avoid every excess, let there be no outbreak of strife, let their demeanour be calm, determined, God-confiding, and let them leave the issue in God's hands.—*Irish Times*, 7th March, 1893.

# A SCOTCH RADICAL'S EXPERIENCES OF IRELAND.

At a meeting of Graduates of Dublin University, which was held on Friday, 10th March, 1893, in the Examination Hall, Trinity College, Professor D. J. CUNNINGHAM, F.R.S., delivered the following speech.

Professor Cunningham is a native of Scotland, and is a Presbyterian. He has spent some ten years in Ireland.

PROFESSOR D. J. CUNNINGHAM, F.R.S., on coming forward to second the resolution, was received with applause. He said—Mr. Chairman and brother graduates of the University of Dublin, I come here to protest in the strongest and most emphatic manner against the iniquitous and outrageous Bill which has recently been introduced into Parliament under the title of the "Government of Ireland Bill." It therefore gives me very sincere pleasure to second the resolution which has been so eloquently proposed by my friend and pastor Canon Carmichael. (Hear, hear.) There are some reasons why it may be presumed that I take a more impartial view of this crisis in the history of Ireland than those who are Irishmen by birth, or those who, having spent a short time in this country and having fallen into the hands of some local politician or patriot, have returned to Great Britain under the belief that they have acquired a full knowledge of the state of the country, and are able to suggest a remedy for all its manifold ills. I have now had the privilege of living for more than ten years in Dublin. I have never before taken part in any political movement; further, when I came to Ireland, I was a sincere admirer and a devoted follower of that aged politician who now seems bent upon wrecking the destinies of this country. (Hear, hear.) For these reasons I believe that to some extent at least I may be regarded as being a more or less unprejudiced observer, and, perhaps, I may be allowed to describe in a very few words the picture which Ireland presents to my eyes. I see the people of this country divided into bitterly hostile sections. One of these, the minority, comprising, I understand, little more than one-fifth of the entire population contains within itself the very great proportion of the intellect, energy, industry, and enterprise of the country. (Hear.) This minority is loyal to our Sovereign, and entertains a deep and true affection for the people of Great Britain. From its midst have sprung some of our ablest statesmen; from it have been derived some of our most illustrious men of letters; from its ranks have been recruited some of our most heroic soldiers and the majority of our most distinguished generals. (Applause.) Taking into consideration its numbers, I make bold to say that there is no

section of the community which has contributed so largely to the fame and glory of the United Kingdom, or which deserves more tender and grateful consideration at the hands of the people of Great Britain. (Cheers.) Let us now look at the opposite side of the picture. Ranged against this minority, and entertaining towards it feelings of a most hostile kind, we have a majority, the chief distinguishing feature of which is the very lack of those qualities which serve to distinguish the minority. (Hear, hear.) I would be sorry, indeed, to utter one unkind or discourteous word of any section of the people amongst whom I have lived so happily for so many years. No one knows better than I do that an Irishman, no matter what party he belongs to, so long as he is left to himself, is full of generous impulses—(hear, hear)—but I also know that, unless he has learned self-restraint by the beneficial influences of education, he is excitable, emotional, superstitious, and, I am sorry to say, in some cases a dangerous member of society. Now it cannot be denied that a very large proportion of the voters who return Nationalist members to Parliament are ignorant in the extreme. Their ignorance and emotional character place them in the power of the agitators, their superstition hands them over body and soul into the hands of the priests, and we well know from recent events that the clergy are not slow to make use of this terrible power which they possess. (Hear, hear.) We have constantly dinned into our ears the party cry of "one man one vote." It is true that many of us as graduates of the ancient University have two votes, but what is that compared with the other side. With them it is more like 'one man a thousand votes'—(laughter)—so absolutely is the voting conscience of the people in the hands of the clergy. To a certain extent I am a believer in the principle of Home Rule—(oh)—but I deliberately say that taking into account the state of Ireland at the present moment any scheme of this kind can only be characterised as pure madness. (Cheers.) We hear a good deal about national aspirations and the need that there is that these should be satisfied. If these aspirations were directed towards the ennoblement and advancement of our country, as all true and patriotic aspirations should be, they would command our heartiest sympathy. But when we know that in most cases these aspirations when literally translated simply mean the desire of an aspirant to put his hand into another man's pocket; or, in other words, the desire of the majority to plunder the minority our sympathy disappears. (Hear, hear.) The benefit which Ireland has derived from its partnership with England is simply incalculable. (Applause) In Ireland, indeed, we have many privileges which are not enjoyed by the people of Great Britain. Having been a householder, both in Edinburgh and in Dublin, I can attest that in Ireland we have great advantages in the matter of Imperial taxation. Let one of those gentlemen who are so eager for the present change take up his abode on the other side of the Channel, and he will find the difference. He will then be made acquainted

for the first time that there is such a thing as an inhabited house tax; if he is a lover of dogs he will discover that the duty is raised from 2s. 6d. to 7s. 6d.; if he possesses any old family plate or any article bearing a crest or coat of arms, he will be made aware of the fact that this must be erased, or he will be required to pay duty upon it. In an admirable little pamphlet on this subject by my distinguished friend and colleague, Professor Brougham Leech, it is brought out that Ireland's contribution to the Imperial Exchequer per head of the population is £1 11s. 3d.; Scotland's, £2 5s. 7d., and England's £2 2s. 3d. In fact the generosity with which, in recent times, Great Britain has treated Ireland is most marked. (Hear, hear.) When, in recent times, has Ireland been in distress or difficulty without receiving the fullest sympathy and the most unstinted aid. (Hear, hear). It is appalling to think what might befall the poor of this country if it were severed from the support and financial credit of Great Britain. No doubt there was a time when cruel, harsh, and unjust laws were in force in Ireland; no one questions the fact that Ireland has been most wrongfully dealt with in the past. But all that is over now, and although of not so recent a date, is there not a list of wrongs as long and as glaring which can be charged against England by Scotland, and yet Scotland by the benefits she has reaped from the Union can afford to forgive and forget the past. (Hear, hear). Let me mention one other instance of England's liberality to Ireland. Not one penny of Government money goes to Edinburgh for the support of her hospitals. These magnificent institutions are supported entirely by voluntary subscriptions. Now I hold in my hand a note of the annual grant which is voted by the Imperial Parliament towards the maintenance of our hospitals in Dublin. It is taken from the recent report of the Hospital Commission, and it shows a yearly contribution of about £15,810. This money is distributed over eleven hospitals, and the amount of suffering which it is the means of relieving amongst the poorer classes of this city is simply incalculable. (Hear, hear.) The moment the Government of Ireland Bill becomes law this grant ceases, and what chance is there of its continuance by the new Legislature? ("None.") Absolutely none! And even if we are so hopeful as to expect that a grant in aid of your city hospitals would be voted by the home Government; do we not know that this grant would go to a favoured few—to two or three at most. One hospital with a time-honoured name would be obliged to close its doors, whilst the others would have to depend entirely upon voluntary contributions, and the sad result of it all would be that the wants of the suffering poor in Dublin would not be properly attended to. It is a melancholy fact that it is chiefly the poorer and more ignorant classes of this country that are pushing on this Bill. (Hear, hear.) What a sad awakening they will have should it pass, because it is they more than any other class that will suffer from its effects. There is another matter which is well worthy

of our most serious consideration. Half the cost of medical relief under the Poor-Law (viz. doctors' salaries. medicine, and sanitary services), representing a sum amounting to from £90,000 to £100,000, is at present paid out of the Imperial purse. We know how heavy our poor rates are as it is. Just imagine what they would be if this sum were added to them. (Hear, hear.) In the many striking passages of the eloquent speech which was delivered last Monday in this hall by Dean Jellett, there was one which arrested the attention of everyone. He drew a vivid picture of the many and opposite phases of mind which have been exhibited by Mr. Gladstone. There is one condition of Mr. Gladstone's mind to which he did not allude—it is to be seen in portrait-form in a recent number of the *Graphic*. In this Mr. Gladstone is represented taking the oath at the opening of Parliament, and, with the Bible at his lips, and, in all probability, the Home Rule Bill in his pocket, he is swearing to maintain the Acts of Union between England, Scotland, and Ireland. (Applause). This is, indeed, a curious phase of mind, and it may be added to Dean Jellett's list. I may be allowed to mention another episode in Mr. Gladstone's career which is full of significance in the present crisis. The Transvaal was annexed for the purpose of getting over a political difficulty, and when the Boers took up arms in 1880 every person laughed: a handful of Dutch farmers in arms against the whole might and power of the British Empire—the idea was ridiculous! Majuba Hill taught a different lesson, and then Mr. Gladstone, who had felt it his duty to maintain the annexation, thought it wiser to give the Boers their liberty. It was an attempt to place the Boers under a Government they detested. So long as they talked nothing was done, but the moment they began to fight, Mr. Gladstone gave in in the most obsequious manner. (Hear, hear). It is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that the present crisis is one of deadly peril to the interests of the Unionists in Ireland. Our civil and religious liberty is at stake; everything that we hold dear, everything that we regard as sacred, is in danger of being swept away, and the cruel thing is that this would take place under the eyes of the British people and under the shelter of the British army. (Hear, hear.) There is, sir, a great natural law which is recognized by scientific men as underlying the workings of all communities of living things. It is called the law of the survival of the fittest. (Applause.) Although in the minority, the Unionists are not afraid to subject themselves to the operations of this law. Let the British power be withdrawn and the test be applied. They do not dare it; nay in the North I rather suspect they court it. (Cheers.)—*Daily Express*, 11th March, 1893.

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# AN IRISH WIDOW'S STORY.

THE *Scotsman* (in its issue of the 18th October, 1887) prints a long letter from a lady in Kerry, in which the following passage occurs with reference to the poor widow whose husband was shot by moonlighters under circumstances which were recently recorded :—

We found her binding her "little oats" in a field—a tall, handsome, sad-eyed woman. On the way to her house she took us up a bit of rising ground to show us a view. "Ah," she said, "it's seldom I come up here now; it was here I used to walk up every evening to meet himself coming from the mountain. He was a good man. Never a bad word had he given me all the years we were married; and now to be left alone! I don't seem to care for anything—not for a thing at all. But I wouldn't curse them that murdered him; I'm trying not even to wish them ill in my heart. Shure he forgave them before he died, and why shouldn't I?" We then went into her house, which was one of two rooms, a good living-room, with a small sleeping-room off it. "It was here by the fireside we were sitting, just the same as we were used to sit every evening, himself on a chair at this side, and I just a bit behind him, and Tim and the three little ones on a stool in front of the fire, and Alice at her dad's feet between him and the door of the other room. I was a bit vexed with Alice who had just come in, and I was a bit vexed with her for being out so late; and she was telling us how she heard them say that the Moonlighters were going round the farms asking for arms, and I said to himself, 'They'll be coming after the revolver, and you'll be giving it them, Dan.' 'I will not,' says he; and says I, 'You will, for the sake of the childher. What'll be the use of angering them?' I knew he'd not go agin me; but it never came across me that they meant to harm him that was nobody's enemy and everybody's friend. We all sat quiet-like till we heard footsteps, and saw faces peering in at the window. We spoke no word till there came a big knock at the door, and a voice that said, 'Does Dan —— live here?' and himself answered them. 'He does,' says he. Then they came in six or eight on them, blazing with the drink, and most of them with disguises on their faces. One of them asked for a gun, and himself got up—for he

saw there wasn't any other way—and went up to the shelf where was the revolver; and while he was there two of them came up to where he was sitting at the fire, and dared Tim and the childher to be looking at them, with a revolver in his hand; and they all held their heads bent down. But they never sighted Alice, who was behind, and she was looking at them all the time. One man came and spoke quite friendly to me; he had his eyes leaping out of his head, burning like fire, and that was all I could see of his face. When himself had given them the revolver and showed them how to fire it—for there was something uncommon-like about it—he came back and set himself down by the fire, and we thought surely they were for going away. Just as they got nigh the door a voice called out, 'No. 1, do your duty.' It was No. 1 or No. 3, I don't rightly know which; and one stepped forward and fired, and then they all went out. We sat just as we was, without a word spoken till the smoke scattered; and I looked at Dan and saw that he was pale like, and then he said, 'Tim, pull off my boot,' and then when he rose his trowser I saw that his foot was well-nigh shot off and the blood streaming on the floor, and the little fellow ran up and tried to be putting the blood back in his dad's body with his little hands; and when he saw that that was no use, he got his arms round his neck till it was hard to part them. Then Tim said, 'I'll go for the priest.' I had never thought of the priest—God forgive me—I had only thought for him; and then I told Tim to get the priest and the doctor, and not to spare the mare; and I put my arms round him where he sat in his chair, and said to him, "Dan, you'll forgive them,' for I was that afeared he might die before he had forgiven them. He said, 'God forgive them,' and I knew he had forgiven them, for he was able for to pray for them that had murdered him. Then I put down my lips to his, and his were growing cold as the clay."

**Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Welshmen, will you let your fellow-subjects in Ireland be governed by the authors of horrors like these? Do not be guilty of such cruelty! Do not vote for Home Rule!**

# IRISH AUTONOMY:

## FACTS *VERSUS* FANCIES.

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## A SPEECH

DELIVERED BY

## MR. JOHN ATKINSON, Q.C.

*(Ex-Attorney-General for Ireland),*

AT THE

## Leinster Hall, Dublin,

*15th MARCH, 1893.*

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# IRISH AUTONOMY.

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AT THE

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*15th March, 1893.*

The Right Hon. JOHN ATKINSON, Q.C., who was received with cheers, said—We have assembled here, I take it, again to protest against Home Rule for Ireland—(hear, hear)—to express our undying hostility to it—(hear)—and, as regards the last legislative embodiment of that policy, to help to swell the chorus of condemnation with which it has been received by many thousands of Ireland's best sons and daughters. (Cheers.) We do so, in concert with other bodies of Loyalists, in the hope that the English people, if they will only open their eyes, may gauge our strength and quality, may understand the nature of our objections and our aims, and the reasons which influence us, and that they may learn, even if they be untouched by any feeling nobler or worthier than selfishness, that they have bargained with the forces of disorder in vain—(hear, hear)—that the price they have stipulated for will never be paid—(hear, hear)—that the proposed legislation, so far from ending the Irish difficulty, will only conduct it to a more acute and dangerous phase, and that the base and dishonourable peace some of them were willing to purchase will be found in the result to be no peace at all. (Hear, hear.) If I am right in this conjecture as to the purpose of meetings such as this, it would appear to me that eloquent and stirring appeals to your feelings or your fears, even if I could make them, which I cannot, are scarcely as fitting to the time as a calm and dispassionate statement of the origin and aim of this Home Rule movement as we understand it, of its probable results if carried out, as well as the grounds on which the Loyalists rest their objections to it. (Hear, hear.) We are told that

the Home Rule policy is a beneficent policy, that no sooner shall this Bill, which has been introduced, have been placed upon the Statute Book, and Ireland's dream thus realized, than all strife and discord will cease, plenty will abound, and "the kindly earth will slumber, lapped in universal law." Well, if that be so, neither Ireland, in all her chequered history, nor, indeed, any other country, has ever presented such a strange scene as this. (Hear, hear.) For here we have assembled to-night representatives of all that is best in Ireland—(hear, hear)—her intellect, her culture, her wealth, her commerce, her enterprise, and her industry—with gloom upon their faces and apprehension in their hearts lest the words should be ever spoken, or the act ever done, which is to rain down these blessings on the land we love. (Hear, hear.) All, or nearly all, assembled here, representing as they do all creeds, classes, opinions, and pursuits, live in Ireland ; most of us have, like our fathers before us, been born in Ireland ; our fortunes are bound up with hers. Her peace and order mean our comfort and security, her progress and development our gain, her abundance our richness, her poverty narrowed means to many of us, perhaps indigence to some—(hear, hear)—while, if civil and religious liberty is to find a home within her four seas, none can be more interested than we of the minority. (Hear, hear.) We know her wants. We think we can see below the surface and discover the true springs of her political life, and how is it that we are not only passionately opposed to the course of policy which is to secure to us all these benefits, but that at the very appearance of this Bill our stocks fall, a shudder runs through the commercial world, and professional men anxiously ask themselves will they have wherewithal to buy bread. (Hear, hear.) I wonder why Englishmen and Scotchmen, who are above all things practical, will not look these facts in the face—(hear, hear)—will not apply their critical reason and shrewd common sense to the explanations that are given by the advocates of Home Rule of these strange anomalies. (Hear, hear.) It cannot be that the opposition to Home Rule is, as is often said, purely a landlords' opposition, for some of the most vehement opponents of the measure are professional and commercial men, who are not landlords, never were landlords, never will be landlords, and are entirely uninfluenced in their conduct by sympathy with landlords. (Cheers.) Neither can it be, as it is said, that the opposition is due to a desire to maintain, as it is called, Orange ascendency, for the last traces of such an ascendency have been long since swept

away, and some of the strongest supporters of the Unionist cause are the Nonconformists of Ireland—(hear, hear)—men who in the long night of religious bigotry and exclusion suffered for their religion in common with their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen—(hear, hear)—and from the first dawn of Catholic Emancipation, one hundred years ago, till its final achievement have been the firm allies of their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen in their struggles for religious equality and justice, the passionate defenders of civil and religious liberty. (Cheers.) In addition to that the Loyalist ranks include numbers of Roman Catholics—(hear, hear)—some of them the highest in this land of ours—(hear, hear)—of whom it is an infamy even to suggest that any earthly object could tempt them to oppose the interest of the faith they and their ancestors have for centuries cherished. (Cheers.) These calumnies, and calumnies such as these, have been frequently exposed and denounced, yet such men as Lord Spencer and Mr. Morley do not scorn to stoop to the repetition of them. (Hear, hear.) No ; Unionists are opposed to Home Rule for other and better reasons. We are opposed to it because we believe that union with England as a sister, not a vassal, secures for all Irishmen such order with liberty, justice with toleration, and progress with security as we can enjoy under no other form of Government. (Hear, hear.) I do not for a moment seek to palliate or excuse the wrongs and injuries which England, in the remote past, from selfishness, ignorance, prejudice, or weakness inflicted upon this country. There is too much truth in one of Mr. Froude's main contentions—that England should have either exterminated or conciliated the Irish, and that she did neither—that she only exasperated them ; but I maintain that for nearly half a century both parties in England have vied with each other in doing what they respectively believed to be best for Ireland. (Hear. hear.) During that time the Parliament of England has effected here a beneficent revolution. I need not repeat a list of her reforms. So much is that so that the chief matter which Irish dissatisfaction can now seize on as the real practical grievance of Ireland is the existence here of English institution and rule—(hear, hear) —and judging of the future from the past we may repeat the words Mr. Gladstone used before his apostacy. When speaking in 1871 on one of Mr. Butt's annual motions for Home Rule, he said—"Why is Parliament to be broken up ? Has Ireland great grievances ? What is it that Ireland has demanded from the Imperial Parliament that the Imperial Parliament has refused ? I have looked in vain for any

scheme of practical utility which the Imperial Parliament is not able to deal with, or has refused to deal with, and has been brought nearer by Home Rule." Well, since that time the Land Act of 1881 has been passed, which, according to Mr. Gladstone, was to strangle Irish disaffection as the infant Hercules strangled the Namean lion, and the foundations of a satisfactory system of land ownership have been laid broad and deep by the Land Purchase Acts of 1885, 1887, and 1891, on terms more favourable to the tenants than exist in any other country in the world. But our confidence in the existing Constitution is by no means the only ground of our opposition to Home Rule. (Hear, hear.) We believe that the materials do not exist in Ireland under present conditions to build up, on a popular basis, a just, stable, liberal, or free autonomy. (Hear, hear.) We believe that injustice, oppression, and confiscation will follow upon the attempt to do so, even if civil strife and tumult should not, and that in the result Ireland will be poor, retrograde, and portion of her people enslaved. (Hear, hear.) In order to come to that conclusion, we do not attribute to our fellow-countrymen, as has been said by Mr. Gladstone, a double dose of original sin, but we think they are men, not angels—(hear, hear)—swayed and influenced by the ordinary passions of mankind. (Hear, hear.) And from the very nature of things, the past history, and the present condition of Ireland, we are convinced that this must be so. We believed that a just examination of that history and those conditions must lead to the conclusions we have formed. (Hear, hear.) We can, therefore, neither place confidence in, nor gain comfort from the assurance of men who thought as we do, and spoke as we do, until, with an apostacy as shameful as it was sudden, they, to serve their own interests, political or personal, turned their backs upon the profession of their lives. (Hear, hear.) These men have never lived in Ireland, never will live there, and would not be a shilling the poorer were Ireland to-morrow submerged for ever in the ocean. Yet they tell us, with a self-confidence which is almost insolent, that we know nothing of our countrymen, that our fears and forebodings are groundless, that we ought to have infinite trust in the Parliament and Government of which I will show presently they have themselves infinite suspicion of—(hear, hear)—absolute confidence in the leaders whom a few short years ago they prosecuted as criminals, imprisoned as malefactors, and denounced as instigators to plunder and the dismemberment of the Empire. (Cheers.) These are some of our convictions and beliefs, not hastily

formed. Let us examine for a moment the grounds of them. One of the most difficult things to get an Englishman to comprehend is the essential difference which exists between the structure of society, the conditions of life, and the nature and direction of social and political forces in England and Ireland. In fact, I don't think he ever does comprehend it until he has come and lived here. I never, myself, knew of one whom, whatever his opinions when he landed, the shortest residence here did not make an uncompromising Tory. (Hear, hear.) I admit this inability to understand us is an argument in favour of Home Rule. I believe it is the only one which can be urged for it. (Hear, hear.) In England society is divided into a number of classes, each shading into the other by almost imperceptible gradations—a multiplicity of interests so complex and so various that the interest which commands a majority in one constituency is in a minority in the next, and no interest so predominates that it can overshadow and oppress all others. The absence of any machinery for the representation of minorities does comparatively little mischief in such a community, and the rough method of determining in all things by a majority secures, on the whole, a fairly just and adequate representation of all interests and classes in the National Assembly. In Ireland all these conditions are reversed. (Hear, hear.) Society is cleft to its base by differences of race and religion, and one class, and one class alone, the farmers and farm labourers, outnumber all others to such an extent that the establishment of popular government necessarily places in their hands absolute power and authority. (Hear, hear.) On the existing Parliamentary franchise, or indeed on any popular franchise you may select, 84 or 85 out of the 103 representatives in the Irish popular Assembly will be returned by the votes of small farmers and farm labourers alone. Of these about 70 at least will be returned from Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. That is, four-fifths of the members of the Irish House of Commons will represent one class, and one class only, and that, too, a class the vast majority of which—of course there are exceptions—are perhaps more ignorant, uninstructed, inexperienced in the art and practice of self-government, more liable to be coerced and misled than any class upon which such power was ever conferred in the world's history in any country. (Hear, hear.) This fact should never be lost sight of. It lies at the very root of this question of self-government, and renders comparatively worthless all conclusions sought to be drawn from the example of other countries. The condition

of things in the new Legislative Council on the £20 franchise will be precisely the same, so that in the Irish Legislative Assemblies all forms of property and enterprise other than that of the tenants will be practically unrepresented. (Applause.) All interests will be at the mercy of this dominant interest. Not only will this be so in legislation, but in administration. The Ministry which appoints and guides the Executive will be dependent for its existence on the support of a majority of that House, and must shape its policy and action according to the views and interests of that majority and of those it represents. Taxation can be imposed at the desire of the majority—(hear, hear)—finance regulated by their views, and the whole administration directed and controlled by them. (Hear, hear.) This majority, too, will be a permanent one. Parties being so unequal, there won't be Ministerial fluctuations as there are in England. These objections do not depend on the provisions of the Bill or any other bill. They are inseparable from every attempt to create a native Government in Ireland on a popular basis. (Hear, hear.) I believe the history of the world teaches the lesson that no class can be safely entrusted with the extended and uncontrolled authority and power which would be conferred upon the small farmers and farm labourers of Ireland by such a constitution as is contemplated in this Bill. (Hear, hear.) While human nature is what it is, power such as this would probably be abused in any country, and by any class, but in Ireland is not the abuse of it a matter of certainty? (Cheers.) Just think for a moment what is the nature of the preparation of the class of farmers and farm labourers have undergone in three-fourths of Ireland to fit them for this most difficult task of government—a task sufficient to tax the powers of a number of Solons. (Hear, hear.) Let us consider what is the real motive power of this Home Rule movement. It is not merely this sentiment of Irish nationality, which is said to be undying, but which, in fact, so far as it consists in hatred to England and English institutions and English rule, was rapidly dying. According as Irish wrongs were redressed, discontent was, as it were, sinking as a residuum in political thought. (Hear, hear.) The upper and middle classes had become entirely freed from it, and year by year added to the ranks of the well-affected. So that just as the rebellion of 1798 was infinitely more formidable than that of 1848, that of 1848 was more formidable than that of 1867, whose puny efforts at insurrection only provoked derision. (Hear, hear.) Between this latter date and the real starting point

of the present movement, the Irish Church had been disestablished, the Land Act of 1870 and the Ballot Act of 1873 had been carried, measures which Mr. Gladstone at the time assured us would of themselves work the regeneration of Ireland, and this country enjoyed a period of unexampled agricultural prosperity. The Home Rule movement was dying of inanition. Appeals to the National sentiment and love of independence were, as far as the peasantry were concerned, made to deaf ears. They would have nothing to do with struggles for independence, and cared nothing for it. But in 1878, in a period of agricultural distress, Mr. Davitt was released from prison. He had seen what a *fiasco* Fenianism had been ; how the peasantry had kept aloof from it ; what a weak and feeble thing the so-called spirit of Nationality and love of independence of itself was, and he accordingly resolved to take up and work out the idea promulgated by Finton Lawlor in 1848, to appeal to the greed of the peasant, to his master-passion, land hunger—(hear, hear)—to link, as he said, the agrarian question to the national question, in order that the former might drag the latter as the engine drags the train. And from that hour he and others have never ceased to teach that landlordism, as he styled it, had been the curse of Ireland, the cause of their poverty and woes, that landlords were the English garrison, the prop of English rule—that they had no moral right to more than what would pay their tickets on the steamer to England—(hear)—that to destroy them was the first step to that absolute independence which he again and again protested should be the least that would content him. (Hear, hear.) This teaching soon bore fruit. Organised dishonesty was elevated into a national virtue, and the whole accursed machinery of fraud, violence, plunder, and crime under which men groaned in the days of the Land and National Leagues was set in motion to work out the National deliverance. (Hear, hear.) The leaders the people had then, they still, with one exception, have, and will have, should this Bill be passed. (Hear, hear.) It is to men debauched by such teaching, and led by such leaders—men, too, who are themselves children in the arts of government—that absolute power is to be given over the lives, liberties, and properties of their fellow-subjects, many of whom they have been taught to hate. (Hear.) That such a thing should be attempted is almost enough, as our brilliant countryman, Mr. Lecky, has said, to make one disbelieve in the moral government of the world. (Hear, hear.) Yet, despite all these things which have

taken place before our eyes, we are assured by English litterateurs, professors, and doctrinaires, that once give these stupendous powers and responsibility and the farmers and farm labourers of Ireland will be found to be so imbued with sound principles of statecraft and economic science, so full of brotherly love and reverence for law and right, so superior to all base or selfish motives, that, having absolute power, they will use it over the minority, tied and bound helpless at their feet by the forms of this contemplated Constitution with justice, tenderness, and moderation. (Derisive laughter.) Prophecies and assurances such as these insult the understanding. (Hear, hear.) We judge by history, by experience, by our knowledge of human nature, and the circumstances which surround our daily lives ; and judging by these we believe we are justified in assuming that the following will be the results of the proposed change :—(1) Unrepresented as all forms of property but one will be, public burdens will be thrown on those forms which are not represented. (Hear, hear.) (2) That industry, enterprise, and capital will be taxed unduly, because the capitalist and manufacturer will be powerless in both Houses. (Hear, hear.) (3) That rent, the immoral tax, as it has been described, will be no longer paid, because the public forces will no longer be given to aid in enforcing the payment of it. (Hear, hear.) (4) That the passion of revenge, which has been industriously stimulated against the landlords, will be gratified and the land question solved, not by purchase, but by plunder. (5) While, as to our civil and religious liberties, how will they fare ? (Hear, hear.) I wish to point out that there is nothing whatever in this Bill to prevent a Roman Catholic priest or bishop from being a member of either House of the Legislature, or from holding any office of State. Nothing. The disabilities imposed by the Act for Catholic Emancipation, 10 Geo. IV., c. 7, refer only to the Imperial Parliament. I don't know whether the discipline of their Church would or would not permit them to fill such places. Judging from history, I should say it would permit them, but whether they hold offices of State or sit in the Irish Houses of Parliament or not, outside that House they can and will exercise over the class who are to be the future masters in Ireland the powers which they, during the hearing of the Meath petition, have claimed as theirs—namely, the power to decide all questions of faith and morals, the power to determine when moral questions enter into political questions, and, when that union has, in their judgment, taken place, the power to prescribe the course of political action to their flock, and

to treat disobedience to their orders as mortal sins. (Hear, hear.) I do not desire to say anything disrespectful of the clergy of any Church or the professors of any religion, but as far as I have read history I affirm that ecclesiastical domination in civil and political affairs, such as the exercise of powers like these would secure to the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland under Home Rule, has been the real Upas tree, under whose baneful shade liberty of human thought and freedom of human conscience have always perished. (Hear, hear.) And it is hardly to be expected that Ireland will be an exception to the general rule. (Hear, hear.) I have frequently used the words "absolute power." I am quite aware that in the present Bill restrictions are imposed on the legislative action of the Irish Parliament. Most people think that these restrictions will be made as much a subject of barter and sale in the corrupt market which will be established at Westminster for the Parliamentary support of the Irish members as hay is in Smithfield Market—(hear, hear)—and in the result be a sham ; but I wish particularly to point out that the Executive has been placed under no restrictions of that kind ; for all practical purposes, in all that comes home to the citizen and touches the affairs of his daily life, the power of the majority in Parliament will be absolute and supreme, because the Lord Lieutenant must act on the advice of his Irish Ministers, who must again depend for their existence on the support of the Parliamentary majority. This is a matter of infinite importance. The best law may be badly administered. What benefit is it to me that the law should say no man shall injure me in person or property if the machinery of administration is not so worked that he who does injure me is brought to justice and punished. (Hear, hear.) How does it advantage me that the law should declare that my debtor shall pay me what he owes if the powers of the Executive won't be used to make him? (Applause.) Do you fancy for an instant that the Irish Executive, depending, as it must, on the support of tenants' representatives, would give police protection to carry out evictions, protect evicted farms, or protect persons who were boycotted and had become obnoxious to the peasantry? The whole landed property of Ireland can be transferred in effect from the landlord to the tenant, and the life of an obnoxious person made intolerable, without any change in the law at all, simply by the inaction of the Executive. (Hear, hear.) Officers may be dismissed to make room for hungry agitators, and public expenditure increased by the action of the Executive alone, and when that expen-

diture has to be met, on whom do you think it will be thrown? On those who are omnipotent in Parliament or those who are powerless? (Hear, hear.) These are some of the reasons which induce us to oppose this or any other Bill giving legislative and executive powers to Ireland. The experiences of our lives have helped to form them. We can't put them aside, and accept in their stead the confident prophecies of optimist professors or reckless and dishonest politicians. I shall not attempt to criticise in detail the provisions of the present Bill. The broad features on the very face of it are—(1.) Absolute distrust of the Irish Parliament and Irish Executive where the pecuniary interests of England are concerned, and absolute confidence in it where the loyalist minority only can suffer. (2.) That Whig and Radical jealousy of Irish competition which, many centuries ago, ruined Irish trade and commerce. (3.) The financial bankruptcy and ruin it brings on Ireland. As to these objections, Nos. 1 and 2, the Irish Parliament is not permitted to alter its own duties of customs or excise or rates for postal services. Its Executive is not trusted to collect its revenue or pay its debts. England must have her own collector, her own sheriff, her own judges. The judges who are good enough to decide on matters affecting the life or death of an Irish Loyalist are not good enough to decide whether or not a barrel of rum has been taken out of the Custom House without paying the full duty. (Hear, hear.) The accounts between the English and Irish Exchequer are to be audited in England, and Ireland is to be obliged to pay what the English Auditor-General certifies to be right. In nothing is Ireland trusted—(hear, hear)—where England can lose sixpence, but she may tax, and tyrannise over and oppress the minority with impunity. If we are in the same position as the Colonies, then this Act is an infamy which the Colonies would not for a moment endure, and if we are not in the same position as the Colonies, as this Act by its treatment of us proclaims, for what legitimate purpose is the example of the Colonies appealed to, or what just conclusion can be drawn from the alleged success of their forms of government? Are we to be a colony whenever we want to rob each other, and an integral part of the kingdom when we desire to cheat England? (Applause.) The Irishmen who have accepted this Bill may have secured plunder for the peasant, power for the priest, place for the patriot, but where is the protection or gain for and stimulus to Irish manufacture and Irish industry by golden promise of which they have tempted many classes into this movement? (Cheers.) No; we dare not put a sixpence import

duty on English goods to shut them out from our markets, while if Ireland resorts to bounties—if she can—to stimulate her flagging industries, she must provide the moneys out of her own taxes, an operation very like feeding a dog with a bit of its own tail. (Laughter and applause.) And thus, while the Irish manufacturer is paying perhaps one or two shillings in the pound income tax on his profits, the English manufacturer, who is only paying sixpence in the pound income tax, may be underselling him in the Irish markets. The authors and supporters of this Bill have sacrificed the manufactures of Ireland. In the matter of finance, they have rack-rented Ireland, they have put a receiver over her, and put her into what was, and is, a Court of Chancery—the Equity Exchequer. (Hear, hear.) At one stroke they have put upon her back the burden of £10,000,000 advanced under the Ashbourne Act, and nearly £9,000,000 remaining unpaid under the Board of Works Loans, together with a prospective liability of £30,000 more under the Land Purchase Act of 1891, and bound her to repay this sum of nearly £9,000,000 by instalments of 4 per cent. in 49 years. They have by this Bill secured to her a surplus of £500,000 annually, and have placed upon her back a present and prospective burden which, in case of default in the borrowers, it would take her 100 years of that surplus to pay, while until all charges on the Irish Exchequer in favour of the English Exchequer have been paid no money is to be advanced by the Irish Exchequer for any purpose whatever. Have the people of Ireland any conception of what this latter provision means—what a doom of almost permanent sterility it fixes upon thousands of acres of land in Ireland—how it starves and renders absolutely impossible many projects for the carrying out of great public enterprises—how it jeopardizes the very existence of large sections of the population in times of famine or distress? Remember that for the last sixty years money has been advanced on easy terms for public and private works of benefit at the rate of over half a million a year, £39,000,000 in the aggregate, of which over £8,000,000 have been forgiven, and £22,000,000 repaid. Think of the vast benefit that has been, and think of all that still remains to be done, and of this denial of the means to do it. Whatever Home Rule may accomplish, it cannot abolish poverty at a stroke, or change the climate. Bad seasons may come again, and with bad seasons bad harvests, with want or famine or pestilence in their train. The last time those ghastly enemies assailed us they were encountered

by the Government by a free gift of £904,000 to public and charitable objects, and a loan of over a million was made on easy terms for works of improvement and relief. Are the hungry henceforth to be filled with windy panegyrics on the glories of self-government and clothed with copies of the Home Rule Bill, and, if not, what of the poor? "How shall their unfed sides, their looped and widowed raggedness defend them in seasons such as these?" For money can only be procured by the added misfortune of increased taxation. But this is not all. Ireland, to increase her excise revenue, must live upon her own thirst. I have heard of a man who, when remonstrated with for intemperance, defended himself by saying that he was a man of small means, that at his club they sold very good claret worth 10s. a bottle for 5s. a bottle, and that he was therefore obliged to drink from motives of economy. And so Ireland at every crisis must be drunk to be solvent. Intemperance, the sin and curse of Ireland, must become a public duty. It would seem as if the saying was about to be realised—"Ireland may separate from England, but dearly will she pay for that malevolent satisfaction." As certain as this Bill is carried into law so surely must she become a pauper and beggar amongst the nations of the earth, covered with the rags and tatters of her former civilisation. Her civil policy and social life poor, thin, starved and uncultured. (Hear, hear.) Another feature of the Bill is the retention of the Irish Members. Mr. Gladstone, as we all know, said it surpassed the wit of man to construct any scheme for retaining them at Westminster. It is said that the supernatural intelligence which has come to his assistance to solve the riddle is that of Mr. Blake. He comes from a province where, I believe, they have Home Rule, and under it priestly rule, corruption, ignorance, bankruptcy, and disaffection; where, according to Professor Mahaffy, they have endowed the Jesuits from public funds. He was, therefore, a suitable assistant. The result, I think, proves Mr. Gladstone was right, for whoever constructed the present scheme has turned his talents in the wrong direction—he ought to have taken to *opera bouffe*, for out of Messrs. Gilbert and Sullivan's opera there was never anything so absolutely comical and topsy-turvy as the position of the Irish members running out of the House to let the English Ministry be beaten on all important English measures, and running in again to prevent their being turned out when they were beaten, as according to all Constitutional usage they should be, thus giving to the Irish members the power England

grumbled at when exercised by her kings—namely, the power to keep English Ministers in office against the will of England's Parliament—making Ireland, in fact, the governor of England. I do not know whether some of the English people from very weariness of the question may not shut their eyes, and in blind, fetish worship of Mr. Gladstone refuse to think or understand. But the more this question is studied the clearer it will, I believe, appear that the truest Irish patriot is he who, while developing the industrial resources of Ireland, redressing any practical grievances she may still have to complain of, promoting, where safe and possible, her local government and municipal life, readjusting her representation on proper lines, will draw closer the bond of union between her and that great mother and nurse of free institutions—England ; and that the most patriotic Englishman is he who, recognising that a policy of perfidy and desertion can never be a policy of safety or success, will maintain and protect on terms of absolute equality with their fellow-countrymen that section of the Irish population which, in the darkest hour when English power was assailed, or English liberty was threatened with extinction, stood to their allegiance as firm and unshaken as the rocks which face our stormy seas. At all events we have one duty to discharge—to spare no labour, and lose no opportunity to bring home to the mind of England the baseness and injustice, as well as in their own interest, the shortsightedness and folly of what they are asked to do. (Cheers.) I have now to move the following resolution :—

That no statutory restrictions on the authority of an Irish Legislature could protect the rights of minorities, since the measure would hand over Ireland to the control of a party which has repeatedly given evidence of its disregard of the elementary principles of honesty, liberty, and justice. Satisfied with the capacity of Parliament as now constituted to legislate and govern for the benefit of all classes in Ireland, we protest against any changes that will deprive us of our present position of absolute equality with Englishmen and Scotchmen in the glorious heritage of the British Empire.

# IRELAND'S

# Declarations and Addresses

ON BEHALF OF THE

## MAINTENANCE OF THE LEGISLATIVE UNION,

## 1893.

# IRELAND'S

# DECLARATIONS AND ADDRESSES

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1893.

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## *IRISH ROMAN CATHOLIC PETITION.*

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

"The Humble Petition of Roman Catholics in Ireland sheweth,—

"That we entertain unshaken allegiance and devotion to the Crown and Constitution under which we live and enjoy full civil and religious liberty.

"That we regard the maintenance of the Union between England and Ireland as a necessary safeguard of that liberty.

"That we believe the establishment in Ireland of a separate Legislature and Executive in the manner proposed in the Government of Ireland Bill recently introduced into your honourable House would be most prejudicial to our religion, and disastrous to the best interests of Ireland.

"We beseech your honourable House to reject the said Bill.

"And your Petitioners will ever pray."

*The above petition is being extensively signed by Irish Roman Catholics.*

## *THE CHURCH OF IRELAND.*

THE ACTION OF THE VESTRIES.

"The Archbishop of Dublin said—I have a communication to make which will, I think, give us all much encouragement at the beginning of this auspicious day. You are aware that about a fortnight ago there was a circular sent to every select vestry in Ireland requesting that that vestry should be summoned for the purpose of

considering and, if they should approve, of adopting a protest against the so-called Government of Ireland Bill. This was done in order that we might ascertain what was the feeling of the rank and file of our Church—what, in fact, were the opinions of those who have sent us to this House. We were going back as it were to our constituents to see whether we here were representing their opinions. I will read you out now the results indicated—

| | Parishes. | Protests. | Dissentient Individuals. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Armagh ... ... | 92 | 90 | 0 |
| Meath ... ... | 72 | 68 | 0 |
| Derry ... ... | 110 | 109 | 0 |
| Down ... ... | 165 | 161 | 1 |
| Kilmore ... ... | 106 | 105 | 1 |
| Tuam ... ... | 61 | 61 | 0 |
| Clogher ... ... | 72 | 70 | 2 |
| Dublin ... ... | 136 | 150 | 3 |
| Ossory ... ... | 110 | 109 | 2 |
| Cashel ... ... | 62 | 57 | 2 |
| Cork ... ... | 107 | 104 | 4 |
| Killaloe ... ... | 60 | 56 | 1 |
| Limerick ... ... | 56 | 50 | 4 |

The 39 parishes which make the difference between the 1,190 protests received and the 1,229 parishes are accounted for in the following way—2 of the parishes are vacant; 11 have either no parochial organizations, or no select vestries; 12 are defaulters for various reasons—one rector was not able to get a vestry together, three rectors declined to take action, one reported that he took no action; in two parishes it was not thought wise to summon a vestry, though petitions against Home Rule were being signed. In one the lawlessness of the neighbourhood made the parishioners afraid to meet; in the four remaining out of the twelve parishes, though the rectors were strongly in favour of the protest, they reported that opinion was too much divided in the parishes to warrant the holding of vestries. The result of all that briefly is this—that among these vestries, representing, I suppose, between 14,000 and 15,000 select vestrymen, there were altogether recorded 20 individual dissentient votes—20 out of between 14,000 and 15,000—(applause)—and if we add to that 20, we will say even the half of those four parishes that were divided, it would not, even

so, reach to a sufficient number to fill a moderately-sized tram-car. (Laughter.) And I wish also to mention, because this is a very practical matter, that in the circular that was sent round a request was made that the parishioners should show their sympathy with the cause by contributing something to the funds that are necessary for the purpose of carrying on this movement, and the result has been that upwards of £500 has been subscribed by the vestries. (Applause)."

*Address of the Archbishop of Dublin to the General Synod, March 14th*, 1893.

### *THE GENERAL SYNOD.*

1. "That we, the bishops, clergy, and laity of the Church of Ireland, in General Synod assembled, view with the deepest alarm the introduction of a measure which is charged with dangerous elements of revolutionary disturbance, destructive of those most sacred bonds by which society is held together, and in reverent maintenance of which empires, nations, and Churches can alone look for the blessing of Almighty God. Objecting to the whole tenor and spirit of the Bill on this primary ground, we are strongly opposed to its provisions in detail; and first:—

"As loyal subjects of the great British Empire, we earnestly protest against its threatened disintegration, and call on our fellow-subjects in England, Scotland, and Wales to join us in resisting a measure that must inevitably and irrevocably effect the dismemberment of the Empire, and the consequent ruin of our position and influence among the nations.

2. "That we believe the Bill for the Government of Ireland would produce grave and disastrous difficulties in questions of international treaties, war, and commerce; and that the constitution of a separate Irish Legislature, alien in sympathy and possibly adverse in action to the Imperial Parliament, would give rise to complications far more serious, wide, and vital than can have been calculated or even considered by those who framed this Bill.

3. "That the proposed retention of Irish members in the House of Commons would enable an Irish Party on any critical occasion to decide the fate of British Ministries; would present to successive Administrations an irresistible temptation to conciliate opposition by concession to Irish demands, leaving Irish members as much as ever masters of the position; on the other

hand, we apprehend that their exclusion would furnish to the Irish Government a ground of resentment, and a plausible pretext for refusing to pay taxes, in the levying of which they would have no representation and no vote.

4. "That we call on all true Irish patriots, who have the welfare and dignity of their native land at heart, to repudiate a measure, which, under semblance of Home Rule, imposes new political disabilities, injurious commercial restrictions, and many conditions at once vexatious and humiliating; and we believe that all parties in Ireland would even prefer a measure of total separation, with all its risks and evils, rather than consent to the ignominious terms of apparent independence and actual political vassalage offered under this Bill.

5. "That the proposed machinery of Government provides no constitutional check whatever against hasty class legislation, since by the mode of election and the definition of electoral areas scheduled in the Bill, the minority in Ireland would be practically unrepresented and wholly defenceless; while, as between the Irish and British Legislatures, conflicts of interest and collisions of authority would make their mutual relations a condition of frequent irritation and of intolerable strain.

6. "That the financial clauses of the Home Rule Bill would involve the Irish Legislature and Exchequer in serious embarrassment—would lead to the accumulation of debt, to general commercial insecurity, to the withdrawal of capital, the depreciation of private investments and public funds, the necessity of additional and intolerable taxation, and possibly to retrograde measures of political economy and legislation, which an Imperial Parliament would find itself practically unable to prevent.

7. "That we especially and solemnly protest as Churchmen against this Bill, because remembering how our Church, deprived in 1871 of her endowments, was forced by voluntary efforts to repair the loss of her material resources, we cannot, without deep sense of wrong, see her once again placed in sore strait and danger. We consider that the clauses of the Bill, under illusory phrases (the real drift of which is not perceived by all its supporters) deprive her of those safeguards which she possesses under the British Constitution, and expose her to imminent danger of further confiscations; and, moreover, the impoverishment and probable expatriation of many of her members would certainly

lead to the crippling of her remaining resources, and of her opportunities of good.

8. "That we regard the measure as fraught with peril to the civil and religious liberties, which are our prized inheritance; and see, with grave alarm, that not only is the Church of Ireland deprived of security for the continued possession of its property, but that many educational institutions, charitable endowments, and incorporated bodies, some of which have been already marked out for spoliation, are altogether unprotected under this Bill."

*Resolutions adopted by the General Synod of the Church of Ireland, March 14th,* 1893.

### *THE METHODIST CHURCH.*

"Whereas, the Conference of the Methodist Church in Ireland has frequently in its past history, and more especially in the course of the last seven years, earnestly affirmed its desire for the maintenance, unimpaired and inviolate, of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland; and whereas a grave crisis in public affairs has arisen in which a measure has been again introduced into the Imperial Parliament, the effect of which, if carried, must be seriously to impair, if not destroy, that Union; and whereas there is no provision in the Methodist constitution by which a special meeting could be called to consider and determine the action to be taken in the crisis. this Committee, appointed to act on behalf of the Conference in relation to public affairs during the intervals of its sessions, considers itself imperatively called upon to give emphatic expression to its convictions concerning the character and tendency of the measure now proposed under the title 'A Bill to amend the provision for the Government of Ireland.'

1. "That this Committee, speaking on behalf of the Conference of the Methodist Church in Ireland, shares those feelings of distrust and alarm with which a large number of Irishmen of all creeds and conditions view the proposed measure, which would introduce, without any proved necessity, such momentous changes in the government of the country, and without any guarantee or reasonable ground for hope that the changes thereby introduced would not be made available for more extended and more destructive changes.

2. "That in the judgment of this Committee the Bill, if it were to become law, so far from being a message of peace to Ireland

would be a fruitful occasion of more distressing discord and strife; that, in the new state of things which it would create, the religious equality now happily subsisting would speedily be destroyed, and religious freedom be seriously imperilled; that class would be arrayed against class and party against party with a virulence now rare or unknown, and that the inevitable result would be not the amending the provision for the government of Ireland, but the overturning of all order and good government.

3. "That, while this Committee looks with sad foreboding at the peril to social order and religious equality and freedom threatened by the passing of this Bill, it cannot leave out of account the peril to the commercial interests of the country which is involved in its complicated, illiberal, and unworkable financial arrangements, and in the impotence of the proposed Legislature, deprived of the substantial aid heretofore derived from the Exchequer, and hampered by restrictions to do anything effectual for the quickening of the industry or developing the resources of the country.

4. "For these and other reasons which might be assigned, the Committee urges that the Bill be opposed at every stage of its progress, and recommends the ministers, office-bearers, and members of the Methodist Church in Ireland to give expression to that opposition either by petition from individual congregations or by signing local petitions, or taking part, where it may be deemed expedient, in local meetings to protest against the Bill.

5. "In view of the great peril which threatens our country, and of the great need of Divine guidance and help at this critical juncture, this Committee requests the vice-president of the Conference to recommend that in every congregation special prayer shall be offered to Almighty God for His gracious guidance so as to guard against any course of action which will not tend to the safety and welfare of this Kingdom and the honour of His name."

*Resolutions adopted by the Committee of Privileges of the Methodist Church, representing the Conference in the interval of its sessions in public affairs, March 8th,* 1893.

### *THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.*

1. "That we declare anew our devoted loyalty to the person and throne of her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria.

2. "That we re-affirm our strong attachment to the Constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and express

our determination to resist every attempt to destroy the Legislative Union at present existing, and our firm resolve to maintain unimpaired for ourselves and our children the heritage of citizenship which we now enjoy. We protest against any proposal to thrust us out from the protection of the Imperial Legislature in violation of repeated assurances that the liberties and interests of the Protestant minority were safe in the hands of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

3. "That having carefully examined the measure at present before Parliament, entitled "A Bill to Amend the Provisions for the Government of Ireland," we are amazed at its revolutionary character, and strenuously oppose its enactment by the Legislature for the following, among other reasons:—(*a*) Because the measure seriously imperils our civil and religious liberties, inasmuch as it would deprive us of the protection of the Imperial Parliament and Government, under which our persons and property are safe, and our religious freedom is secure, and would force upon us instead an Irish Legislature and Executive, controlled by men declared to be "marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the Empire," whom a special Commission found to be guilty of a criminal conspiracy, and who have supported and still attempt to justify the iniquitous and criminal organization of the Land League, the Plan of Campaign, and the system of boycotting. Since the Imperial Parliament has in the present generation abolished religious ascendency in Ireland, placing all denominations on an equality, we are painfully surprised that a project of law should now be entertained under which one race, party, and creed would always dominate, and which would inevitably result in a new religious ascendency of a most objectionable character. Our conviction as to this result is amply confirmed by the arrogant claims of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy to control the members of their Church in the exercise of their political rights shown by recent election proceedings in the two divisions of the County of Meath. (*b*) Because the provisions which the bill contains for the protection of minorities against misgovernment and sectarian domination are illusory in themselves, and would be incapable of application in the face of a hostile majority. In the opinion of the Assembly no securities can be devised which would safeguard the rights and privileges of minorities under an Irish Legislature as they are safeguarded under the Imperial Parliament. Under

the provisions of the bill ample scope is afforded for the direct endowment of Romanism out of the general taxes of the country, and under its provisions small Protestant minorities might be deprived of State education for their children except under conditions subversive of their faith. (*c*) Because the Bill proposes momentous changes in the Constitution of the United Kingdom, to which changes the Protestants of all the Churches and many Roman Catholics, comprising over a third of the population of Ireland, and representing the intelligence, education, wealth, and industry of the country, are determinedly hostile, and because no advantages would be derivable from an Irish Legislature and Executive which could not with more certainty and safety be obtained from the Parliament and Government of the United Kingdom. The measure cannot, therefore, 'afford contentment to the Irish people, important relief to Parliament, and additional securities for the strength and union of the Empire.' but, on the contrary, is calculated to embitter the hostility of conflicting creeds and parties in this country, to add to the difficulties of the Imperial Legislature, and to encourage the disloyal to seek the complete separation of Ireland from Great Britain.

4. "That the Assembly is strongly of opinion that the land question has long lain at the root of Irish discontent, and that the time has come for the abolition of dual ownership, which only the Imperial Parliament can with justice effect. The Assembly is persuaded that a measure enabling every tenant-farmer to become on equitable terms the proprietor of the land he tills, combined with a proper scheme of local government, would go far to satisfy all reasonable demands, and would be free from the evils that would follow the creation of a Home Rule Parliament in Dublin.

5. "That the General Assembly earnestly exhorts the Presbyterian people to continue to cultivate forbearance, peace, and goodwill towards their fellow-countrymen of every class and creed, and to exhibit calmness and patient reliance upon the Most High in the present eventful crisis.

6. "That the General Assembly recommends that in all the churches Sabbath, the 26th day of March, be observed as a day of humiliation and prayer, when we shall confess our sins, and entreat the Most High to avert the dangers with which the Church and the country are at present threatened, and to extend His kingdom throughout the entire land.

7. "That copies of these resolutions, signed in the name of the Assembly by the Moderator and the clerk, be transmitted to her Majesty the Queen, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Prime Minister, the Chief Secretary, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. A. J. Balfour, M.P., and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P.

8. "That a petition embodying the resolution, and similarly signed, be presented to both Houses of Parliament, and that the Committee on the state of the country be empowered to send a deputation to wait upon the Prime Minister and other members of the Legislature, and speakers to address public meetings in Great Britain, and in such other ways as they may deem advisable to oppose the passing of the Home Rule measure."

*Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, March* 16*th,* 1893.

### *UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (of Scotland).*

"That we utter our strong protest against the Home Rule Bill now before the House of Commons. Whilst giving all credit to Mr. Gladstone for his efforts to reconcile the Nationalists of Ireland to the British Empire, and to bring about religious equality, we believe that the Government proposed to be established in Dublin would be certain to endow the Roman Catholic Church and schools, and greatly to intensify the antagonism now existing between the two peoples inhabiting Ireland."

*Resolution adopted at a meeting of the Presbytery of Ireland of the United Presbyterian Church (of Scotland), February* 28*th,* 1893.

### *THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.*

"Considering the grave nature of the present political crisis, we, the Executive Committee of the Congregational Union of Ireland, respectfully urge the members and adherents of our Churches to consider whether it is not their duty as Congregationalists, as well as citizens, to protest against the Government of Ireland Bill now before the country, and for this purpose we beg leave to submit the following petition for your approval:—'We, the undersigned members and adherents of the Congregational Churches of Ireland, view with serious misgivings the proposals embodied in the

Government of Ireland Bill, and are of the opinion that in the event of its becoming law serious injury would be inflicted upon many of the prosperous and loyal sections of the community. This being our firm conviction, based upon intimate acquaintance with the actual conditions of life here, we earnestly appeal to our brethren in England, Scotland and Wales, to do all in their power to avert the danger which threatens us.' "

*Resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the Irish Congregational Union, March 28th,* 1893.

### *THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.*

"To our fellow-members of the Religious Society of Friends in Great Britain.

"We earnestly appeal to you, our fellow-members in Great Britain, to consider your responsibilities in relation to the 'Government of Ireland Bill' now before Parliament. Although we believe that we represent almost the entire weight of opinion in our society in Ireland, we consider it more consistent with the rights of the small minority who think differently from us, not to use the official machinery of the society in order to express our views, and we therefore adopt the present means of stating our carefully considered and deliberate judgment that this measure if passed into law, will of necessity be extremely injurious to the moral and material prosperity of this country.

"We view with increasing concern and apprehension the results which we believe must follow if the interests of the Society of Friends, as well as those of other Protestant bodies in Ireland are placed under the control of a separate legislature, dominated in political matters by clerical rulers, whom experience has shown to be frequently unmindful of the claims of equal civil and religious liberty, and of whose modes of action the events of recent times in Ireland do not enable us to take a more hopeful view. We believe that these apprehensions are shared by many Roman Catholics of all classes, who equally with ourselves object to the proposed legislative changes. We look on the so-called safeguards which have been introduced into the bill, with a view to the protection of the rights of minorities, as almost, if not wholly, illusory.

"In many former times of trouble and danger the members of our society in Ireland have been enabled to live amongst their

neighbours in peace and goodwill to all men. We, in this generation, are attached and loyal citizens of the United Kingdom, in which we and our fathers for nearly a hundred years have had our birthright. Living thus under the free and equal administration of laws enacted by the United Parliament and carried out by an Executive responsible to it; actuated by no party spirit or sectarian prejudice, but with earnest desires for the peace and prosperity of all around us, we yet cannot ignore many facts and circumstances of which our friends in England are necessarily unaware, and we are solemnly convinced that our rights and liberties, both civil and religious, and those of our fellow-countrymen in Ireland, of all conditions and of all religions, cannot be securely guaranteed, as they now are, under the new and unprecedented arrangements proposed to be made.

"We claim from our fellow-members in England an earnest and candid consideration for this appeal, which we make, not only on our own behalf, but, as we believe, in the true interest of our countrymen of all creeds and all classes in Ireland, and we ask that, believing in the sincerity of our convictions and the disinterestedness of our motives, you should lend us your aid in opposing by all suitable means the enactment of a measure the result of which, in our judgment, cannot fail to be disastrous to Ireland, and must tend to perpetuate and intensify the strife and discord which we have so long lamented and which we earnestly desire, as far as in us lies, to mitigate and to allay."

(The total membership of the Society of Friends in Ireland, including children of all ages, is about 2,600. Of this number about 910 consist of children and young people under sixteen years of age, and of Friends who live in foreign countries, or are otherwise non-resident. Of the remaining 1,690, comprising adults of both sexes, and young persons over sixteen years of age, 1,376 signatures are appended to the foregoing address. Some Friends were also unable to sign it owing to illness, absence from home, and other causes.)

### *THE SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.*

"We the Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters of the University of Dublin, declare that we are faithful and devoted subjects of the Queen, and claim it as our birthright to live under the British Constitution, to which we are ardently attached, and to be subject only

to such laws as are passed by the Imperial Parliament; and we, therefore, adopt the following petition to the House of Commons:—

"'We, the Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters of the University of Dublin, petition your honourable House not to assent to the Bill for the Government of Ireland now before you; inasmuch as we are convinced that, if passed into law, it would be disastrous to Ireland, injurious to Great Britain, and most dangerous to the interests of the Empire.

"'That we believe that the guarantees which the Bill professes to contain for the rights of the minority are altogether illusory, and that, if carried into effect, it will produce a widespread sense of insecurity in relation both to property and to religious liberty, and, instead of promoting peace and harmony, will deepen the existing divisions between the several classes and creeds in Irish society.'"

*Resolutions adopted by the Senate of the University of Dublin, March 9th,* 1893.

### *THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS*

"That we protest against the passing of the Government of Ireland Bill now before Parliament, as, should it become law, it would seriously injure the College, and be injurious to the interests of its fellows and licentiates, inasmuch as—Firstly, that it imperils the existence of the Charter and of the college; secondly, that the property of the College, exclusive of its buildings, being secured by mortgage on lands, its value will be depreciated; thirdly, that the moneys provided for medical charities (including poor law, medical and sanitary services), amounting to about £100,000 a year, appear to be totally unprovided for; fourthly, that the Bill makes no provision for the registration of the members of the medical profession under the General Medical Council, or for the control of that Council over medical education in Ireland. That, as a result, it is to be feared that students intending to practise outside Ireland, will no longer be educated at home, or take their diplomas from the Irish licensing bodies."

*Resolution adopted at a meeting of the Fellowes of the Royal College of Surgeons, March 18th,* 1893.

### *THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS.*

"That this College protest in the strongest manner against the Bill introduced into the House of Commons, entitled, 'A Bill for the Government of Ireland,' believing that were it to become law it would be injurious to the interests of the College."

*Resolution adopted at a meeting of the Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians, March 10th, 1893.*

### *THE GRADUATES OF DUBLIN UNIVERSITY.*

"That the graduates of the University of Dublin desire to express their emphatic protest against the injustice of the clauses in the Government of Ireland Bill, 1893, by which the University of Dublin is left open to spoliation and at the same time deprived of its representation in Parliament.

"That the graduates of the University of Dublin desire to place on record their strong condemnation of the Government of Ireland Bill, 1893, as being certain if passed into law to prove disastrous to Ireland, injurious to Great Britain, and most dangerous to the interests of the Empire.

"That the Graduates of the University of Dublin pledge themselves to use every legitimate effort to prevent the Government of Ireland Bill, 1893, from passing into law."

*Resolutions adopted at Meeting of Graduates, March 10th,* 1893.

### *THE REPRESENTATIVES OF IRISH COMMERCE.*

"The deputation which waits on you to-day consists of representatives of commercial interests in the three Southern Provinces of Ireland, who are united in the belief that the Home Rule Bill now before Parliament will, if passed into law, arrest the growing prosperity of Ireland, which, under the firm rule of the last few years, had been steadily increasing. We represent no separate creed or class, and we desire no ascendency, social or religious. We are all personally concerned and vitally interested in the development of the industries of Ireland. We know that for that development, and for the happiness and prosperity of the Irish people of all classes, a steady and just government, with equal rights and

equal liberties for all, is before all things essential, and we hold, with unhesitating conviction, that the Government of Ireland Bill offers no prospect either of equal liberties or of just and steady government. Into the specific provisions of the measure itself we do not propose to enter. Its whole scope appears to us radically unjust, and certain to promote neither peace nor progress in Ireland. The proposed scheme of a separate Legislature gives enormous powers for mischievous interference with individual and corporate rights qualified only by artificial and impracticable limitations. The special safeguards devised for the supposed protection of minorities seem to us likely rather to intensify and embitter party animosities than to allay them. Much has been done within the last few years, both by Government assistance and by private effort, for the material advancement of Ireland. The effects of these efforts are just now beginning to show themselves, and all classes in Ireland were looking to the future with renewed and, as we believe, with well grounded hope, in which party feeling and barren political agitation were rapidly coming down. The Bill of the Government throws amongst us a new apple of discord, and plunges Ireland again into a state of political and party ferment which cannot but arrest business enterprise in every direction. We find in the Bill no prospect of anything but the perpetuation and intensification of the unsettlement which has so long been a source of shame and sorrow to all true friends of Ireland, and we earnestly trust, not only for the sake of Ireland, but for the sake also of the United Kingdom, of which Ireland still forms an integral part, and of the Empire in which Irishmen, attached subjects of our gracious Queen, and loyal adherents of the Constitution, have been proud to have their birthright, that it may never be allowed to pass into law."

*Address presented to the Unionist leaders by a Deputation of more than fifty of the leading mercantile men of the three Southern Provinces of Ireland on March 10th, 1893.*

### *THE DUBLIN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.*

"Resolved—That the Council of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce strongly protest against the Government of Ireland Bill, 1893, now before the House of Commons, which in their judgment fully bears out the opinion heretofore publicly and repeatedly expressed by the Chamber, that any measure tending to disturb

the Legislative Union at present existing between Great Britain and Ireland would injuriously affect the commercial interests of both countries. That the provisions of the Bill, especially those relating to finance and taxation, are unjust, and would be oppressive, introducing complications and confusion not only into the internal trade of Ireland, but into her commercial relations with the rest of the Kingdom, the effects of which must inevitably prove disastrous to both countries. That petitions be presented to both Houses of Parliament and to her Majesty the Queen, expressing the views of the Council, and praying that the Bill may not be passed into law."

*Resolution adopted by the Council of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, February 27th,* 1893.

### *THE BELFAST CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.*

"We are satisfied with our existing position in the Empire. We find nothing whatever in the laws which is not capable of being rectified where found wrong by the Imperial Parliament, in which our interests are linked to corresponding interests in Great Britain. We have no other desire than to continue, on equal terms, citizens of the United Kingdom, and we earnestly protest against the degradation with which we and our country are threatened."

"We conclude by re-stating, as broadly and firmly as possible, our opinion that the circumstances of Ireland—the peculiarities of its population—its poverty and absence of natural resources—render the experiment of autonomy exceptionally dangerous, and we anticipate from such an experiment absolute disaster; that the Bill as drawn is radically and incurably unjust; and that, should it become law, the result would be a blow as deadly to Irish commercial interests as were the measures framed centuries ago intentionally to ruin Irish trade."

*Extracts from a report of the Council adopted by the Belfast Chamber of Commerce, March 17th,* 1893.

### *THE DUBLIN STOCK EXCHANGE.*

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

"The humble Petition of the members of the Dublin Stock Exchange,

"Sheweth—That your petitioners are of opinion that the 'Bill to amend the provisions for the Government of Ireland,' now before your honourable House, will, if passed into law, be disastrous to the trade and commerce of this country; credit will be destroyed, and all enterprise paralysed.

"The pursuance of their ordinary avocation places your petitioners in a position to form a just and reasonable opinion as to the effect of this measure upon the very large amount of capital—almost entirely Irish capital—embarked in the various commercial, industrial, and financial undertakings in Ireland.

"Your petitioners can testify that immediately previous to the introduction of this measure these undertakings generally had reached a degree of credit and prosperity never before surpassed, but the publication of the conditions and full text of the aforesaid Bill created an intense feeling of alarm amongst holders of all classes of securities in Ireland, resulting in a depreciation in their market value to the extent of several millions sterling. This unrest has since, to some extent, been temporarily allayed by the opinion gaining ground that the measure may not become law.

"Your petitioners include men of various religions and political opinions, who could not possibly have joined so universally in this petition had not their experience so seriously impressed them with the dangers to be apprehended from the passing of a Bill so framed as that now under consideration.

"Your petitioners, therefore, pray your Honourable House not to pass the said Bill, which they believe, while causing disaster to the merchant, the manufacturer, and the capitalist, will bring distress upon all classes of society through the length and breadth of this island.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

*Petition signed by 63 out of the 66 Members of the Dublin Stock Exchange.* (*See Irish Times, March 18th*, 1893.)

### *THE BELFAST LINEN MERCHANTS.*

1st. "We hereby earnestly and deliberately confirm after seven years of additional knowledge and experience of the circumstances and needs of Ireland the resolution unanimously adopted at the special general meeting of this association held on 5th May, 1886, viz:—'That our National interests are identical with those of

England and Scotland, and that no greater measure of self-government is desirable for Ireland than for the other portions of the United Kingdom.'

2nd. "We heartily and fully endorse the report on the Government of Ireland Bill adopted by the Belfast Chamber of Commerce at the extraordinary general meeting held on 17th inst., and declare our solemn conviction that, as conclusively shown by that report, the proposed legislation would prove disastrous to the manufactures, trade, and commercial credit of Ulster, and that our particular branch of industry, which occupies the leading position in the province, would be seriously, if not fatally, injured thereby."

*Resolutions adopted by the Linen Merchants' Association, March 20th*, 1893.

## *THE GRAND JURIES OF IRELAND.*

As the Grand Jury of every county in Ireland has passed a resolution protesting against the Home Rule Bill, it will be sufficient to quote as instances—

I. THE GRAND JURY OF THE COUNTY OF CORK:—

"That we, the Grand Jury of the County of Cork, assembled at the Spring Assizes of 1893, hereby record our protest against the Bill at present before Parliament for the purpose of establishing Home Rule in Ireland; that we believe that such a Bill, by the withdrawal of Imperial credit and capital from the country, which has obtained over £300,000 in grants and loans in the last thirteen years for county purposes, would prevent the development of our resources, would necessitate enormous taxation, would plunge the country into anarchy and bankruptcy, and would be hostile to the best interests of Ireland; and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, to Lord Salisbury, to the Right Honourable John Morley, and to the Right Honourable A. J. Balfour."

II. THE GRAND JURY OF THE COUNTY OF GALWAY:—

"We, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County of Galway, assembled at the Spring Assizes, 1893, hereby record our protest against the Government of Ireland Bill now before Parliament, or any legislation that proposes the establishment of a separate Par-

liament for this country. We believe that the proposed safeguards in the Bill are not safeguards against eventually crushing the loyal and law-abiding minority, and that if it is passed it will work the ruin of our country socially and commercially; and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, the Duke of Devonshire, and the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour."

N.B.—During the month of March, 1893, the number of meetings held in Ireland to protest against the Home Rule Bill was

**207**

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# MR. GLADSTONE

## (IN 1871)

ON

# HOME RULE.

**Addressing an Aberdeen audience on 26th September, 1871, on the question of Home Rule for Ireland, Mr. Gladstone said:**

"My Lord Provost, when you spoke of public affairs, and those subjects which attract the public attention, the very remarkable exhibition of Home Rule, which I have spoken of in the County of Aberdeen, reminds me of another cry for Home Rule which is now raised across the Channel in Ireland, and which, I own, I find it is not so easy to deal in a satisfactory manner. I am not quite certain what is meant in Ireland by the cry of Home Rule. I am glad to know from the mouths of those who raised that cry what it does not mean; they have told us emphatically by their principal organs that it does not mean the breaking up into fragments this United Kingdom. (Applause.)

## A UNITED KINGDOM IN HEART AND LAW.

"Well, that, after all, is a most important matter. **This United Kingdom, which we have endeavoured to make a United Kingdom in heart as well as in law**—(applause)—**we trust will remain a United Kingdom**—(loud applause); and although, as human beings, the issues of great events are not in our hands, but are directed by a higher power, yet we intend, and mean every one of us, both high and low, not those merely who meet within this Hall, but those who crowd the streets of your city and every city from the North to the South of this island—**we intend that it shall remain a United Kingdom.**"

## THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT HAS REFUSED NOTHING.

"We are told that it is necessary for Ireland to close her relations with the Parliament of this country, and to have a Parliament of her own, although always speaking under the conviction—let me do the promoters of this movement the fullest justice—always speaking under the conviction, as they most emphatically declare, and as I fully believe them, that the union of the Kingdoms under Her Majesty is to be maintained, but that Parliament is to be broken up. Well, now, we shall say to this learned gentleman (Mr. Butt), Why is Parliament to be broken up? **Has Ireland great grievances? What is it that Ireland has demanded from the Imperial Parliament and that the Imperial Parliament has refused?** (Cheers.)

## NO CASE FOR HOME RULE.

"It will not do to deal with this matter in vague and shadowy assertions. I have looked in vain for the setting forth of any practical scheme of policy **which the Imperial Parliament is not equal to deal with, or which it refuses to deal with, and which is to be brought about by Home Rule.** So far as my research has gone—and I confess it is not extensive—we have not had the advantage of hearing all that is to be said. I have seen nothing, except that it is stated there is a vast quantity of fish in the seas that surround Ireland, and that if they had Home Rule they would catch a great deal of these fish. (Much laughter and cheers.) But there are fish in the sea which surrounds England and Scotland. England has no Home Rule, and Scotland has no Home Rule, but we manage to catch the fish. (Cheers and laughter.)

## VICTIMS OF POLITICAL DELUSION.

"Unhappily, my Lord Provost, it has been one consequence of the policy towards Ireland in former times, that those principles of self-reliance, those powers of local action, that energy and public spirit which are the inherited

possessions of this country, have been steadily enfeebled and crippled in the sister island, and therefore it is that these things which, in this country, every day and every month that we live, the various classes and the various communities are doing for themselves, the Irish people have not learnt in the same way to do. But I am bound to say that they have not had the same opportunity of learning in the same degree to do for themselves, and hence they are liable to become more or less the victims, from time to time, of this or that political delusion. (Applause.)

## "THERE IS NO SUCH GRIEVANCE."

"You would expect when it is said that the Imperial Parliament is to be broken up—you would expect that at the very least a case should be made out, showing there were great subjects of policy and great demands necessary for the welfare of Ireland, which the representatives of Ireland had united to ask, and which the representatives of England, Scotland, and Wales had united to refuse. (Applause). There is no such grievance. **There is nothing that Ireland has asked that this country and that this Parliament has refused. This Parliament has done for Ireland what it would have scrupled to do for England and Scotland.** (Cheers.)

## "A VERY FEEBLE CASE."

"What are the inequalities of England and Ireland? **I declare that I know none,** except that there are certain taxes still remaining which are levied over Englishmen and Scotchmen, and which are not levied over Irishmen; and likewise that **there are certain purposes for which public money is freely and largely given in Ireland, and for which it is not given in England or Scotland.** (Cheers.) That seems to me to be a very feeble case indeed for the argument which has been made, by means of which, as we are told, the fabric of the United Parliament of this country is to be broken. . . .

## "MAKING OURSELVES RIDICULOUS."

"But if the doctrines of Home Rule are to be established in Ireland, I protest on your behalf that you will be just as well entitled to it in Scotland. (Hear, hear.) And, moreover, I protest on behalf of Wales, in which I have lived a good deal, and where there are eight hundred thousand people, who, to this day—such is their sentiment of nationality—speak hardly anything but their own Celtic tongue—a larger number that speak the Celtic tongue, I apprehend, in Scotland, and a larger number than speak it, I apprehend, in Ireland—I protest on behalf of Wales that they are entitled to Home Rule there. (Applause.) **Can any sensible man, can any rational man, suppose that at this time of day—in this condition of the world—we are going to disintegrate the great capital institutions of this country for the purpose of making ourselves ridiculous in the sight of all mankind, and crippling any power we possess for bestowing benefits, through legislation, on the country to which we belong?"** —(Cheers.)—*The Times*, 27th September, 1871.

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**[The speech is a valuable proof of the conviction which Mr. Gladstone entertained of the impossibility of disintegrating the Empire at a time when he saw no advantage to himself from so doing].**

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THE

# IRISH CATTLE TRADE

AND

# HOME RULE.

**THE FOLLOWING LETTER IS WRITTEN BY A VERY EXTENSIVE SALESMASTER IN DUBLIN.**

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH TIMES.

SIR,—I have never in the whole course of my life taken any part in politics, save to record my vote at an election, and if I now enter into the discussion that is so much engrossing the public mind it will be solely and only on an aspect of the case that must of necessity affect all and sundry that in any way get their living by the land. be he grazier, farmer, farm labourer, or artisan—ay, and the shopkeeper, and may I not say, the entire community.

The only industry in Ireland, outside Ulster, worth mentioning is that connected with the land, and that branch of it with which in my business capacity I am more immediately concerned—viz.: the great cattle trade of Ireland.

A few weeks since a deputation of Scotch farmers waited on Mr. Mundella, the President of the Board of Trade. to ask that the existing restrictions on Canadian cattle be removed, and urged that the same facilities should be given to Canada as to Ireland in this respect. Mr. Mundella replied: "You must remember

Ireland is part of the United Kingdom, and therefore is entitled to privileges that we could not think of granting to Canada." Now, sir, it has been the dream of our Nationalist friends to make Ireland a Nation. Let us suppose this dream realised; what will be our position then? We will not be able to consume the cattle we raise then no more than now, but will still be dependent on the great meat-consuming manufacturing centres of England. Suppose a deputation of English farmers should wait on the President of the Board of Trade in London, and persuade him that our cattle are affected with pleuro-pneumonia, and urge in their own interest that an embargo be put on our cattle, or that they should be slaughtered at the port of debarkation, what would be our position if this state of things was brought about? Why, sir, it hardly bears consideration. It would just mean bankruptcy with one fell stroke to the three provinces—Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. Nor is it a far-fetched idea to assume such a contingency. If we set up on our own account, and that we should have to make any protest against such a course of procedure, we might be told by England to mind our own business, and that she was capable of minding hers without any interference or dictation from us.

As I said, I am no politician, but as a plain man of business, and whatever the sentiments on the part of some may be about Home Rule, I say it would be foolish to dissolve partnership with England, or to make a change from a certainty to an uncertainty, or to make any change at all, unless it can be proved to demonstration like a proposition in Euclid that the change will be an improvement on our present position. Otherwise we should not merely be taking a leap in the dark (which in itself would be bad enough), but a headlong plunge into a slough of despond.—

Yours, &c. RICHARD WILKINSON.

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THE RIGHT HON.

# THE O'CONOR DON

ON

# THE HOME RULE BILL.

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It seems to me that a separate Parliament for Ireland can be demanded only upon one or other of two grounds, or upon both—either on the ground of nationality, the political existence of Ireland as a separate nation, or on the ground that purely local affairs will be better dealt with by a local legislature. The first ground is absolutely abandoned by this bill. Ireland can no longer claim to be a nation. Her representatives are called upon, in the first lines of the bill, to relinquish the claim, and called upon to do so for no other practical purpose than to secure this relinquishment and to befool the British elector. The supremacy, "unrestricted and unimpaired," of the Imperial Parliament is the first dose a Nationalist is asked to swallow, and he is asked to swallow it submissively because it is a deceit. The "unrestricted and unimpaired" supremacy of Parliament, if it means anything practical, means the right of Parliament to continue to legislate upon every one of the subjects committed to the Irish Legislature just as it did before. If this supremacy was to be retained as a reality and not a sham, not even a packed convention in Dublin would dare to accept the bill. Even as a sham this declaration must lead to future trouble. It must at some time or another be repudiated; but its acceptance as the starting point of the bill is the abandonment of the first ground hitherto relied upon for the establishment of an Irish Parliament. If we come to the second ground, the utilitarian ground, the advisability of setting up a petty legislature in Ireland, inferior in its powers not merely to those enjoyed by a British Colony, but to those enjoyed by one of the states of the American Union, it seems to me that the proposed legislature, as stated in my letter yesterday, whilst capable of doing any amount of mischief would be impotent for good. Starting with a bankrupt exchequer, forced to live by taxation of capital, it would soon drive all industry, enterprise, and energy out of the country, and nothing would remain to be taxed but the unfortunate holders or occupiers of land, of whose right you so kindly make me the champion.—From the *Freeman* of 17th March, 1893.

# "The House of Commons after Clause 9."

According to Clause 9 of the Home Rule Bill, the House of Commons will in the future consist of 648 members when dealing with Imperial business, and of 567 members when dealing with English, Scotch, and Welsh affairs. If the balance of parties in the next House should be as it is in this, the Liberals would have a majority of 20 on Imperial affairs and would be in a minority of 30 on all English, Scotch, and Welsh business.

# T. W. STEAD

ON THE

# HOME RULE BILL.

*From "Review of Reviews," 15th March, '93.*

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

LONDON, *March* 1, 1893.

**The Future House of Commons.**

This proposal [to retain the Irish Members in the House of Commons] is so utterly insane that it is difficult to realise that it is imbedded as an integral part of the Home Rule Bill, which represents the last word of the collective wisdom of the Cabinet after seven months in office and seven years in opposition. But it is no mere nightmare of politics, it is an indisputable fact. The ninth clause of the Home Rule Bill provides quietly but effectually for the destruction of the only instrument of Government which remains to us for the government of the Empire. The Crown with its spectral prerogatives hovers like a disembodied ghost over the throne of the Tudors and the Plantagenets. The House of Lords has dwindled to a mere rusty vacuum brake of intermittent and uncertain application. The House of Commons, the heir of all the authorities and of all the orders, alone stands between us and anarchy. From General Election to General Election the House of Commons is a visible, tangible, measurable entity, with a unity of personality and a continuity of resolution which alone renders it possible for the Government of the Queen to be carried on. But as a mere corollary to the establishment of local self-

government among five millions of Irishmen—one million of whom repudiate the gift as a curse—**Mr. Gladstone incidentally proposes to render the House of Commons impossible as an instrument of government.** The provision that the House of Commons in the future shall no longer be a compact and homogeneous body, but shall contain eighty members in it but not of it, who shall sometimes vote and sometimes be forbidden to vote, destroys the stability and equilibrium of the Governing Chamber, and renders impossible the Government of the British Empire.

Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in Politics.

It is impossible to discuss a proposal to paralyse the whole Imperial Government as if it were a detail of a Bill setting up local legislature in Ireland. Outside Bedlam there can be found no such personality as the House of Commons will be after this proposal is carried into effect. It will be a double-souled, double-minded entity, of uncertain resolution, and with no continuity of thought or purpose, but which can always be guaranteed to undo to-morrow what it has done to-day, and to stultify itself by arriving at absolutely contrary decisions. **Applied to the present House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone would have a majority of about twenty when any measure was under discussion that could by any pretext be regarded as Imperial, but on all the great vital questions of English, Scotch, and Welsh reforms he would be in a minority of about thirty.** Thus, Mr. Stevenson's familar romance of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde will be realised in the House of Commons of the future, with the difference that whereas Dr. Jekyll was never Mr. Hyde except when he pleased, no one will ever know when he calls upon this new monster of Mr. Frankenstein Gladstone's creation whether he will be received by the Liberal Dr. Jekyll or the Conservative Mr. Hyde.

Buying diamonds too dear.

**It passeth the wit of man to devise arrangements for separating local from Imperial questions in the deliberation of the House of Commons.** So it would seem. Therefore, taking leave of his wit,

Mr. Gladstone seems to have taken counsel of his folly, and we have his great career marred by such a suicidal fatuity as this. For on this point there must be no misunderstanding. If Home Rule can only be purchased by mutilating or dementing the House of Commons, then the British electors will have none of it. You can buy even diamonds too dear. And the most enthusiastic of British Home Rulers may well pause before consenting to burn down the Imperial Parliament in order to roast Paddy's pig. If Mr. Gladstone cannot contrive to erect a subordinate Parliament at Dublin, and at the same time leave intact with all its powers, prerogatives, and members the Imperial Parliament at Westminster, then the task will have to be entrusted to other hands, or Ireland will have to go without Home Rule. The *sine quâ non* of Home Rule is that nothing shall be done to impair either the moral authority or the executive efficiency of the House of Commons. That assembly is to us what the autocracy of the Tzar is to the Russians; what the Temple on Mount Zion was to the Jew; what the Papacy is to the Roman Church. It is the palladium of our liberties; the central citadel of our privileges; the throne of our Imperial democracy. No profane Uzza, be he ever so zealous for Home Rule, shall be suffered to lay hand on that sacred ark.

**The Hole in the Hull of the Ship.**

The House of Commons, as we now know it, as an assembly with an assured majority supporting a Ministry with a settled policy, Imperial and British, will be destroyed by Mr. Gladstone's Bill as it now stands as effectively as the Parliament of King James would have been if Guy Fawkes had not been discovered in time.

**How it would work.**

This is not metaphor. It is simple, sober, serious fact. Look at the way in which the scheme would work out. Suppose that the Home Rule Bill had been passed as it stands, and that Mr. Gladstone, "cursed with the burden of a granted prayer," were beginning to carry on the government of this Empire on the new conditions. **The House of Commons would then consist of 648 members when dealing with**

**Imperial questions, and of 567 members when dealing with legislation for England, Scotland, and Wales.** On the Queen's Speech in the larger House Mr. Gladstone would have a working majority of 20. The moment he began to legislate, he would be confronted by a solid majority of 30. The larger Imperial House would approve of his legislative programme on a vote of confidence by a majority of 20, and then the smaller British House would throw out, one after the other, every measure in that programme which could not by hook or by crook be labelled Imperial by a majority of 30. Here would be, not one House, but two Houses; not one majority but two majorities, and these on opposite sides. Everything would be in a condition of unstable equilibrium. The two Houses would be inextricably intermixed, until, as in a dissolving view, no one could tell 'tother from which. And this is the latest outcome—the mature fruits of the constructive statesmanship of our age. Since the *Liberum veto* which destroyed Poland, no such lunatic device was ever proposed for the undoing of an Empire.

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# DUBLIN STOCK EXCHANGE AND THE BILL.

**The following Petition has been presented to the House of Commons by members of the Dublin Stock Exchange. The Society is composed of 66 members. Sixty-three have signed the Petition, one is abroad, and two have declined to sign.**

## TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

**THE HUMBLE PETITION of the Members of the Dublin Stock Exchange,**

**Sheweth—**

That your Petitioners are of opinion that the "Bill to amend the provision for the Government of Ireland," now before your Honourable House, will, if passed into law, be disastrous to the trade and commerce of this country; credit will be destroyed, and all enterprise paralysed.

The pursuance of their ordinary avocation places your Petitioners in a position to form a just and reasonable opinion as to the effect of this measure upon the very large amount of capital—almost entirely Irish capital—embarked in the various commercial, industrial, and financial undertakings in Ireland.

Your Petitioners can testify that immediately previous to the introduction of this measure, these undertakings generally had reached a degree of credit and prosperity never before surpassed, but the publication of the conditions and full text of the aforesaid Bill created an intense feeling of alarm amongst holders of all classes of securities in Ireland, resulting in a depreciation in their market value to the extent of several millions sterling. This unrest has since, to some extent, been temporarily allayed, by the opinion gaining ground that the measure may not become law.

Your Petitioners include men of various religions and political opinions, who could not possibly have joined so universally in this Petition had not their experience so seriously impressed them with the dangers to be apprehended from the passing of a Bill so framed as that now under consideration.

Your Petitioners therefore pray your Honourable House not to pass the said Bill, which they believe, while causing disaster to the merchant, the manufacturer, and the capitalist, will bring distress upon all classes of society through the length and breadth of this island.

And your Petitioners will ever pray.

George Symes, *President*
J. M. Murray, *Vice-President*
Wilfred Fitzgerald
John Low
Thomas P. Hayes
H. M. Cairnes
E. D. Kelly
R. Naish
A. C. Burrows
William Craig Murray
John J. Crowe
R. A. C. McM. Smyth
J. Hume Dudgeon
R. Manifold
Frank Dillon
John F. Hogan
William Searight
George Drury
R. B. Boyce
H. C. Bloxham
Joseph Bewley
W. W. Goodbody
A. H. Hynes
Thomas J. Carolin
R. W. Exshaw
W. H. Wilson
Victor Manly
John Macdougald
Joshua D. Chaytor
Lawrence A. Waldron
Richard Quain
Joseph Manly
Jonathan Goodbody
J. R. Brown
W. F. Henderson
Graves S. Eves
J. A. Wilson
Theodore R. Webb
H. M. Wright
J. N. Boyland
Maziere Johnston
Hugh McKean
James Merriman
J. G. Powell
Arthur Manly
James M'Cann
H. M. Barton
Frank Synnott
Richard Pim
Michael Dillon
Anthony W. Molony
J. Hall Todd
J. D. Carnegie
James F. Wright
George Watson
J. William Copland
W. H. Cordner
H. Dudgeon
Trevor N. Smith
James O'Donnell
H. J. Namer
Henry J. Dudgeon
Frank Perry

## SUMMARY.

The Society is composed of 66 Members; 63 have Signed, and 1 is absent.

# IRISH BAPTISTS

ON

# THE HOME RULE BILL.

*Irish Times*, 18th March, '93.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH TIMES.

SIR,—I have always strongly deprecated the intervention of priest or parson in political matters, feeling that time and energy spent in such a department of life must necessarily lead to the neglect of other responsibilities deliberately undertaken as between a pastor and his congregation. In this special crisis, however, of national history, **I dare not longer remain silent,** more especially as that silence has been already interpreted in certain quarters across the Channel as involving an assent on my part to the principles of Mr. Gladstone's Government of Ireland Bill.

Now, as an Irishman, born and bred in the Emerald Isle, around which all my ambitions and affections twine, not as an alien, Orangeman, Tory, or "anti-Irishman," but as a patriot, Nationalist, and Radical, I feel constrained to utter a solemn protest against my Nonconformist brethren aiding and abetting a measure, **which if carried will embroil more than ever the British Parliament in continual strife concerning Irish matters, will tend to the establishment of ultramontane ascendancy, emphasise the religious antagonisms so strained at present in Ireland, and necessitate increased taxation if not indeed commercial bankruptcy, and above all lack that element of finality which can alone restore confidence to the minds of capitalists and employers.** Dr. Clifford (for whose large heartedness and intellectual power I have the greatest respect and admiration) may claim to speak for English Baptists in favour of this abortion of a Bill, but surely without undue egotism, more weight attaches to the candid verdict of a resident Irishman.

In three vitally important particulars the Bill fails utterly.

1. **It will not free England from Irishmen and Irish measures in the House of Commons.** With the vicissitudes of political parties in Great Britain, and the constant minority appeals from Ireland to London, together with the well nigh impossible adjustment of rival financial claims, as regards the revenue, post office, &c., the partnership between the two nations so weakened must lead inevitably to endless strife and complications, while it will be just strong enough to maintain an irreconcilable and ever growing new Ireland party, who will never rest content until its total dissolution.

2. **It will not satisfy Irishmen.** A mongrel scheme, giving to this country an enlarged County Council, hemmed in by restraints and vetoes, which if real, rob the Bill of any merit, and if unreal, are not the production of an honourable statesman, cannot and will not satisfy our National aspirations. Our claim is—cement the Union, make it real and thorough, by abolishing the Lord Lieutenancy, by appointing judges and other officials, not as heretofore on the ground of party services, but of intelligence and sterling merit. Make Ireland what she never truly has been, an

integral part of the Empire, and following the evolution of a true democracy consolidate instead of disintegrate; or else give us back in its integrity our Nationality. Let the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland be re-established—treat us not as children, but as men and brothers, and if no longer equal partners in the great trading concern of England, Ireland, and Co., let us start unfettered as honest friendly rivals in a business of our own.

3. The financial clauses of the Bill are ungenerous and dishonest to Ireland. Space will not permit detailed proof of this assertion, but a calm perusal of Sir Joseph Neale M'Kenna's speech at the great National Convention held recently under the presidency of Mr. John E. Redmond, M.P., will demonstrate the fact. The depreciation of Bank and Railway Stock and other securities, over five million pounds sterling in a fortnight, is surely a startling pronouncement concerning the fiscal demerits of the Bill, which can hardly be due to "hysterical Orangeism," while the marked and immediate rebound in prices at the very postponement of the second reading is equally significant.

From my fellow-countrymen I have no fear of persecution and could trust my liberties, civil and religious, to the free and general impulses of Irishmen like Col. Nolan, Mr. Redmond, &c., who have risen above the thraldom of clerical intimidation. Yet, at the same time, it is useless to disguise the fact that they at present form but a small though ever growing minority of the Roman Catholic majority. **In many quarters an intolerant priesthood is still dominant, which would crush out, mercilessly, Parnellites as well as Protestants.** Time alone can rectify this evil. Till then, however, that is no idle menace which echoes from Ulster Unionists, for, deplorable though such a conclusion be, bloodshed and sectarian bigotry, postponing the healing of our National divisions and sorrows another century, would be almost certain in the present strained relationship of parties, while thoughtful men who review the future from a mere commercial standpoint, when they see Messrs. Healy, Sexton, and Dillon (Mr. Gladstone's three most loyal and leading Irish supporters), incapable of averting a daily paper from the rocks of social and financial failure, may surely awaken a measure of sympathy from English business men when they exclaim—**"Are these men capable of governing a nation?"**

Yours, &c.,

HUGH D. BROWN, M.A., B.L.,

Pastor of Harcourt Street Baptist Church, Chairman Irish Baptist Home Mission; President Irish Baptist Training Institute, &c.

Oakland, Rathgar,
St. Patrick's Day, 1893.

# English Workingmen, Read this.

## Opinion of a great Irish Contractor on the Home Rule Bill.

## THE HOME RULE BILL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH TIMES.

SIR,—On the 1st inst. I wrote suggesting that accountants from Dublin, Cork, Belfast, and London should be appointed to investigate and officially report on the financial position we would be placed in if the present Home Rule Bill passed.

The Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of Dublin was good enough to write in support of my suggestion, and in every quarter I heard of its approval, but no steps have been taken to carry it out. This I regret, feeling satisfied that such an independent report would have much greater weight than any individual or isolated criticism, and would have the effect of thoroughly opening the eyes of all sections of the community, irrespective of religion or politics, to the danger they are in, and the utter ruin that would follow the passing of such an Act. When such an authority on finance as Sir Joseph Neale M'Kenna designates the Act as a fraud and a swindle, and when other members of the National party condemn it in like manner, there can be little doubt that thorough investigation is necessary to show whose opinion is correct.

With your permission, sir, I will lay before the country some figures in connection with my particular business of railway construction, with the view of showing how enormously we gain in this country by our connection with England in the development of

our resources, and which would be entirely lost if the present Bill became law. The figures I give are actual, and represent the expenditure made by me between the years 1887 and 1893. During this period I completed nine railways, situated in the Counties of Cork, Kerry, Kildare, Mayo, and Galway, at a net cost of £645,459.

Of these railways, £445,459 were built on share capital. Where was that capital found? In London. Not £10,000 of the entire sum was found in this country, though, when the railways were constructed, and all risks over, the Irish public largely invested in these shares, but it was English capital that originally ran the risk, and found the sovereigns to develop this Irish resource.

The first railway I built was the Cork and Muskerry, capital £60,000 in shares. The company tried to raise the money, utterly failed, and ultimately I took up the project. That was in 1887. After I took the contract I found it impossible to place the shares here or in London, for at that date these Irish securities would not be looked at in England, and I found that unless I could get assistance from the English Treasury, the railway would have to be abandoned, though partially constructed. I had many interviews with Mr. Jackson, the then Financial Secretary to the Treasury, with the result that Mr. Goschen lent £20,000 to assist the project, which sum has since been repaid, and the railway become a great success.

That was in the year 1877. In that year I could get no English capital for railway construction, but during 1888-9, the country having improved, its securities commanded the attention of the English capitalists, with the result that, on the 7th of October, 1889, a wealthy London corporation entered into a deed with me, by which they undertook to supply me with £1,002,000 for the construction of railways in this country.

These are facts which speak for themselves, and show the utter folly of any proposed enactment that would cut off from us a wealthy partner, who is prepared to supply capital for the development of our resources, if we by our actions show that we are fairly entitled to her confidence.

I think no stronger evidence of this can be given than the above figures, which show that prior to 1887 capital was not obtainable

in England, but that the improvement of the country during the years 1888 to 1893 was such that confidence was restored, and capital followed.

I am now engaged in projects amounting to £814,000, on which large sums in the shape of promotion expenses have been expended. Later on the capital to carry out these projects will be required. Where is it to come from? I may tell the labourers, the artizans, the shopkeepers, and the farmers of Ireland, amongst whom this vast sum will be spent, that it must, like the £445,459 I have already spent amongst them, be supplied by the English capitalist, and without his aid this further sum of £814,000 will not be expended in the country.

But I am told the Bill will be amended in Committee. I could understand that argument if it was capable of being amended, but the foundation is so radically defective, that no sound superstructure could be placed thereon. Meantime the bare discussion of its details is ruining the prospects of the country, as evidenced by the enormous fall in all securities, and the permanent injury that will result to this country's credit by the passing of the second reading of such a Bill will, to my mind, be such that the Irish members may well pause before inflicting an injury that may be permanent, by even discussing a measure that bears on its face fraud and ultimate bankruptcy of the country.

There are few men in Ireland who have a better opportunity than I have of knowing the real feeling that exists in connection with this measure, and I can unhesitatingly state that it is one of distrust and disapproval amongst all sections of the community, and its withdrawal would be universally hailed with satisfaction. They say, and properly so, give us a good Home Rule Bill that will benefit the country, and not a fraudulent one that will lead to our bankruptcy.

So far I have written from an Irish point of view, but let me add that the idea that prevails in England that the passing of this measure will rid them of the Irish difficulty, is a most absurd and fallacious one. Such a measure, in consequence of its injustice, would ultimately make a rebel of every man in the country. For some few years the Northern and Southern difficulties would fully occupy the attention of her Majesty's Government, but the issue, to my mind, would ultimately resolve itself into a united appeal for

Repeal of the Union. And so far as I am personally concerned, I would unhesitatingly support Repeal of the Union as the only remedy for the injustice that would be inflicted on Ireland by England, by the passing of such an iniquitous measure as the present one.—Yours, &c.,

ROBERT WORTHINGTON.

40 Dame Street, 20th March.

**If the Home Rule Bill passes all capital will be driven out of Ireland.**

**All commercial and industrial enterprise will cease.**

**Where will the Irish Workingman look for Work?**

# IN ENGLAND.

**ENGLISH WORKINGMEN, DO YOU WANT THIS? IF NOT, VOTE AGAINST THE BILL.**

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# AN IRISH TENANT'S PRIVILEGES.

THE privileges of Irish Tenant Farmers are of gradual growth, and date from various Acts of Parliament. They have, however, in recent years, been largely extended by six great measures:—(I.) the Land Act of 1870; (II.) the Land Law Act, 1881; (III.) the Land Purchase Act, 1885; (IV.) the Land Law Act, 1887; (V.) the Land Purchase Act, 1891; and (VI.) the Redemption of Rent Act, 1891. It will, then, be convenient to consider these various privileges in chronological order.

27/6/'93.

## I.—PRIVILEGES ACQUIRED PRIOR TO 1870.

**No Tenant can be evicted for non-payment of rent UNLESS ONE YEAR'S RENT IS IN ARREAR.** (Landlord and Tenant Act, 1860, sect. 52.)

**Even when evicted for non-payment of rent—**

A Tenant can RECOVER POSSESSION within six months by payment of the amount due, and in that case

The Landlord MUST PAY to the Tenant the amount of any profit he could have made out of the lands while the tenant was out of possession. [11 Anne, c. 2, sect. 2; 8 Geo. I., c. 2, sect. 4; Act of 1860 (23 & 24 Vict. c. 154), sect. 70.]

**The Landlord must pay HALF the Poors-Rate—**

If the Government Valuation of a holding is £4 or upwards. (Poor Relief Act, 1843, sect. 1.)

**The Landlord must pay the ENTIRE Poors-Rate—**

If the Government Valuation is under £4. (Poor Relief Acts, 1838, sect. 74; 1849, sect. 11.)

## II.—PRIVILEGES UNDER THE ACT OF 1870.

**A Yearly Tenant who is disturbed in his holding by the act of the Landlord, for causes other than non-payment of rent, and the Government Valuation of whose holding does not exceed £100 per annum, must be paid by his Landlord not only—**

(*a*) Full compensation for all improvements made by himself or his predecessors, such as unexhausted manures, permanent buildings, and reclamation of waste lands; *but also as—*

(*b*) Compensation for disturbance, a sum of money which may amount to seven years' rent (Land Act, 1870, sects. 1, 2, and 3.)

NOTE.—Under the Act of 1881, the Landlord's power of disturbance is practically abolished.

**A Yearly Tenant, even when evicted for non-payment of rent, must be paid by his Landlord—**

(*a*) Compensation for all improvements, such as unexhausted manures, permanent buildings, and reclamation of waste land. (Sect. 4.)

**And when his rent does not exceed £15 he must be paid in addition—**

(*b*) A sum of money which may amount to seven years' rent, if the Court decides that the rent is exorbitant. (Sects. 3 and 9.)

NOTE.—Until the contrary is proved, the improvements are presumed to have been made by the tenants. (Sect. 5.)

The tenant can make his claim for compensation immediately on notice to quit being served, and cannot be evicted until the compensation is paid. (Sects. 16 and 21.)

**A Yearly Tenant, even when VOLUNTARILY SURRENDERING his farm, must either be paid by Landlord—**

(*a*) Compensation for all his improvements; or be
(*b*) Permitted to sell his improvements to an incoming tenant. (Sect. 4.)

**IN ALL NEW TENANCIES—**

**The Landlord must pay HALF the County or Grand Jury Cess,**

If the valuation is £4 or upwards,

**The Landlord must pay the ENTIRE County or Grand Jury Cess,**

If the value does not exceed £4. (Land Act, 1870, sects. 65 and 66.)

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## III.—PRIVILEGES UNDER THE ACT OF 1881.

**The Act of 1870 mainly conferred two advantages on evicted Tenants—**

(*a*) Full payment for all improvements;
(*b*) Compensation for disturbance.

**The Act of 1881 gives three additional privileges to those who avail themselves of them—**

**1. FIXITY OF TENURE—**

By which the tenant remains in possession of his land FOR EVER, subject to periodical revision of his rent. (Land Act, 1881, sect. 8.)

NOTE.—If a Tenant has not had a fair rent fixed, and his Landlord proceeds to evict him for non-payment of rent, he can apply to the Court to fix the fair rent; and meantime the eviction proceedings will be restrained by the Court. (Land Act, 1881, sect. 13.)

**2. FAIR RENT—**

By which any yearly tenant may apply to the Land Commission Court (the Judges of which were appointed under Mr. Gladstone's administration) to fix the fair rent of his holding The application is referred to three persons, one of whom is a lawyer, and the other two inspect and value the farm. THIS RENT CAN NEVER AGAIN BE RAISED BY THE LANDLORD. (Land Act, 1881, sect. 8.)

NOTE.—Even these judicial rents have, in years of comparative depression, been VARIED IN THE INTEREST OF THE TENANT. (Land Act of 1887, sec. 29.)

**3. FREE SALE—**

By which every yearly tenant may, whether he has had a fair rent fixed or not, SELL HIS TENANCY TO THE HIGHEST BIDDER whenever he desires to leave. (Land Act, 1881, sect. 1.)

NOTE.—There is no practical limit to the price he may sell for, and 20 times the amount of the annual rent has frequently been obtained in every province of Ireland.

Even if a Tenant be evicted, he has the right either to redeem at any time within six months, OR TO SELL HIS TENANCY WITHIN THE SAME PERIOD TO A PURCHASER WHO CAN LIKEWISE REDEEM, and thus acquire all the privileges of the Tenant. (Land Act, 1881, sect. 13.)

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## IV.—PRIVILEGE UNDER THE LAND PURCHASE ACT OF 1885.

If a tenant wishes to buy his holding, and arranges with his landlord as to terms, he can change his position from that of a perpetual rent-payer into that of the payer of an annuity terminable at the end of 49 years, the Government supplying him with the entire purchase-money, to be repaid during those 49 years at 4 per cent. This annual payment of £4 for every £100 borrowed covers both principal and interest. Thus if a tenant already paying a statutory rent of £50 agrees to buy from his landlord at 10 years' purchase (or £1000), the Government will lend him the money, his rent will at once cease, and he will pay, not £50, but £40 yearly, for 49 years, and then become the owner of his holding, free of rent. It is hardly necessary to point out that, as these 49 years of payment roll by, the interest of the tenant in his holding increases rapidly in value. (Land Purchase Act, 1885, sects. 2, 3, and 4.)

## V.—PRIVILEGES UNDER THE LAND ACT OF 1887.

**This Act gives Tenants the following privileges:—**

**1. IT ALLOWS LEASES TO BE BROKEN.**

All leaseholders whose leases would expire within 99 years after the passing of the Act have the option of going into Court and getting their con-

tracts broken, and a judicial rent fixed. No equivalent power is given to the landlords. (Land Act of 1887, sects. 1 and 2.)

NOTE.—This will affect nearly 150,000 leaseholders in Ireland.

**2. IT STAYS EVICTIONS, AND ALLOWS RENT TO BE PAID BY INSTALMENTS.**

In the case of tenants whose valuation does not exceed £50, the Court before which proceedings are being taken for the recovery of *any* debt due by the tenant is empowered to stay his eviction, and may give him liberty to pay his creditors by instalments, and can extend the time for such payment as it thinks

## PRIVILEGES UNDER THE LAND PURCHASE ACT OF 1891.

**Under this Act (which also provided a further sum of £33,000,000 to assist tenants in purchasing their holdings)**

*Evicted Tenants* were empowered to arrange with their landlords for the purchase of the holdings from which they had been evicted, the State providing the purchase money, repayable as in the Act of 1885. (Land Purchase Act, 1891, sect. 13.)

## PRIVILEGES UNDER THE REDEMPTION OF RENT ACT, 1891.

**Under this Act—**

Tenants holding under long leases not within the Act of 1887 can require their landlord *to sell* them their holdings *at a price to be fixed by the Land Commission*, who provide the purchase-money, as in the last cited Act; and if the landlord refuses to sell, the Land Commission must fix a *fair rent* on the holding, as in the Act of 1881. (Redemption of Rent Act, 1891, sect. 1.)

It must also be remembered that the privileges cited in this leaflet, though the most important, are by no means the entire of the legal privileges of the Irish tenant.

Thus it will be seen (to use the words of Mr. Chamberlain), that

**"The Irish tenant is in a position which is more favourable than that of any agricultural tenant throughout the whole of Europe. I will say in any civilized country on the face of the globe. . . . There are thousands and tens of thousands of tenants throughout Scotland and England who would receive as an inestimable boon those opportunities which the Irish tenant so scornfully rejects."**—SPEECH AT HAWICK, *Scotsman*. January 24th, 1887.

In considering these privileges, it must be borne in mind that those conferred by the Acts of 1881 and 1887 COULD NOT HAVE BEEN GIVEN UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

# Naas National League.

*Extract from the President's Speech, reported by Kildare Observer, March 11th, 1893.*

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Now, there is one matter in connection with this Home Rule Bill which, I think, has, to a certain extent, been lost sight of by our own representatives in Parliament, and has been more or less kept in the back-ground, and that is the fact that **from beginning to end of that Bill there is no provision whatever for the protection of civil liberty.** It is quite unnecessary, I think, to remind the members of this branch of the events which have taken place in Ireland during the last two years. We have all seen with amazement and sorrow the great organizations of the **Catholic Church turned into a tremendous political engine for enforcing the views of the clergy and suppressing and crushing out those who venture to dissent from them** and maintain their opinions. (Hear, hear.) We have seen that not content with the tremendous power which such an organization, when it becomes a political organization, must possess, both for its numbers, its distribution over the country, the knowledge of its members, and for their character and position—I say that not content with the tremendous influence which is given to them by these means, they have gone further and have used their **religion, which is so dear to us as Catholics, and for which our fathers suffered,** as a weapon to enforce their political views and to **crush out the opinions of those who ventured to differ from them,** reckless of the injury which might be done with those weapons when applied to such a purpose as that. Well, gentlemen, it is idle for us to shut our eyes to that fact, and **it is useless to tell us we shall be able to protect ourselves** in the future from influences such as that unless there is some protection given by this Bill. It is there perfectly plain that if this Bill should pass into law in the present sessions of Parliament that the whole power and patronage of the country would be in the hands of the M'Carthyite members, that is to say, the men who

had not scrupled to make use of these means to which I have alluded for the purpose of getting themselves into the positions which they at present occupy. And it may reasonably be anticipated that these same influences which have been used in the past will continue to be used in the future, and it is idle to expect that these men should themselves cast away the ladder by which they have climbed into their present position. * * * We have seen that in the County Meath no less a person than Dr. Nulty himself when the election contest was approaching there * * * delivered a political manifesto called a pastoral in which he laid it down that no man could be and remain a Catholic so long as he elected to cling to Parnellism, and he hinted in no obscure language that the dying Parnellite at the last awful moment when the soul is about to part from the body might call for the administrations of his Church, and call for them in vain. Could anything be imagined more terrible than to tell men that if they persisted in holding the political opinions in which they believed they could no longer remain members of the Catholic Church. And when that language was used by one occupying the position of Dr. Nulty, you can easily imagine the language which was used by the lower order of the clergy throughout the country —I mean the curates and those who do not occupy as high a position as Dr. Nulty.

# ROMAN CATHOLIC OPINION OF HOME RULE.

Mr. E. O'Ryan, Larne Harbour, speaking at the recent Unionist meeting in Larne, said—I come forward as a Catholic of the Church of Rome to protest from my innermost heart against Home Rule—(cheers)—and I do protest, not only for myself, but also on behalf of many of **my co-religionists that dare not speak,** because **if they did speak, their lives might not be worth an hour's purchase,** not being situated, as I am, in the midst of a loyal, law-abiding population. (Renewed cheers.) We, loyal Roman Catholics, think that all Ireland requires is a final just settlement of the land question, and a fair, reasonable measure of local self-government. Beyond that there is only one thing for us to pray for, and it can only come from heaven—namely, fair weather and good crops. (Hear, hear.) Nobody denies now that for centuries England did not act fairly towards Ireland, but it is also an undoubted fact that for several generations past England has been doing all the good she could for Ireland, and none have more reason than the Roman Catholics of Ireland to be thankful for that good. (Cheers.) The Church of Rome enjoys at the present moment in Ireland an amount of freedom that is denied to her in many parts of the Continent—in France, for instance, which is often called by Roman Catholics the eldest daughter of the Church. You will be, perhaps, surprised to hear that in Republican France at the present moment the chapels of convents are closed for all purposes of public worship by order of the Government. Such a thing is quite out of the question in this country. **We, loyal Roman Catholics, are convinced that Home Rule would be the ruin of Ireland** in particular, and of the British Empire in general, which would find itself deprived in the course of a few hours of a Constitution, the workmanship of centuries, and the admiration of the whole nineteenth century civilization. (Cheers.) **We, loyal Catholics, could never submit to Mr. Gladstone's ticket-of-leave men placed in power over us in this country,** and **rather than submit to them we are prepared for the worst, and ready, if need be, to die with the words "No surrender" on our lips.** (Prolonged cheers.)—From *Irish Times*, 20th March, 1893.

# ROMAN CATHOLIC OPINION

ON

# HOME RULE.

## CARDINAL LOGUE'S ADDRESS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH TIMES.

SIR,—May I ask you to kindly insert a few remarks of mine bearing on some words which fell from his Eminence Cardinal Logue, in reply to an address presented to him in the vestry by the Armagh Cathedral Committee.

His Eminence is reported to have said that "It had gone so far with Irish Catholics that you find them attending at meetings where they have their ears attuned to the music of Kentish fire, and listening to cries and signals that have been the signals of the persecution of their fellow-countrymen for years."

If that has been so, it is indeed deeply to be deplored. But the corollary is this—that Catholics must have an independent organisation of their own, a Catholic organisation. But then says his Eminence :—"If these Catholic gentlemen wish they have a perfect right as politicians to oppose this bill, but let them leave the question of their religion on one side." Catholics, therefore, according to the logic of Cardinal Logue, may be Unionists. Yes, the Cardinal concedes us so much ; but they may not stand on "Protestant platforms, or have platforms of their own!" For they must "leave the question of their religion on one side."

The Cardinal further urges, "They have no reason in the past, and no reason in the present, to fear that the interests of their religion will not be sufficiently safeguarded by those to whom Almighty God has committed it bv the head of the Church and Clergy of Ireland."

When crime and outrage disfigured the country, when the most foul assassinations were of daily occurrence, when Martin was butchered on the steps of the Presbytery, when the Plan of Campaign and boycotting scourged rich and poor, when the Rescript was laughed to scorn by Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien, where were the denunciations by Bishops?

Oh, it is so easy to sit upon a small body of men! It is dangerous to grapple with the masses.

Surely we have as much right—*to say the least of it*—to object to a bill which might, if passed, make Michael Davitt Prime Minister of Ireland, as the Cardinal and Bishops have to follow the lead of the men who piloted the Land League, of the men who defied the Pope!

The Cardinal may say hard things about us. Thank God he may not say that we work in harmony with the hill-side men, with the physical force party, with the Radicals and Atheists of England.—Yours, &c.,

GASTON MONSELL.

Tervoe, March 20th, 1890.

# THE CAPITAL OF ULSTER.

## Its Growth and Prosperity.

TO those who still attempt to argue that the Irish question is a political and not an economic one, Belfast is an eyesore and a grievance, for, by the very fact of its existence, it constitutes a standing contradiction to their theories. That a provincial town, remote from the great centres of coal and iron, should thrive and prosper during the very period when we were assured that, from political causes, Ireland was bound to decay, would in any case be provoking. But Belfast has not merely held its own as an Irish town; it has taken its place as one of the great world-centres of industry and commerce, challenging the supremacy of the Clyde in ship building, and of Belgium and France in linen weaving, holding its own with all comers in a score of smaller industries, and attaining the position of the third Customs port in the United Kingdom. It is true that from time to time an attempt is made to ascribe a political origin to the prosperity of the North, on the ground that a couple of centuries ago the Deputy, Strafford, favoured the growth of flax, while English jealousy hampered or destroyed the woollen industry.

### THE FLAX SUPPLY.

But this is an argument of the nature of that connecting Tenterden Steeple and Goodwin Sands, for, although it is true that England has favoured linen, and linen has made Belfast, it is forgotten that any other town in Ireland had the same opportunity. In fact, in this as in other matters, any advantage there is lies with the South, where both climate and soil are more suitable to the growth of flax than are those of the North. What was wanted was an agricultural population, industrious and patient enough to grow the crop properly and a city with merchants enterprising enough to manufacture and export it. To this day, although there is practically an unlimited demand for fine flax in Belfast, two-thirds of all the material woven there is imported from Russia, France, and Belgium, because the severer climate of the North of Ireland renders the growth of the finest qualities impossible, while in the South, where as good flax could be grown as in Belgium, the peasants will not take the trouble to grow it, or to acquire the skill necessary for the manipulation of so sensitive a crop. It is pleasant to be able to add that persistent efforts are being made by an association of Belfast merchants to promote flax growing in the South, and that there are good hopes that, in time, a fairly regular supply may be obtained from that quarter. Lecturers and instructors have been sent out, and such of the people as are willing to learn have had the opportunity of developing a branch of agriculture that might transform the face of more than one of the southern counties.

## THRIVING SINCE THE UNION.

Those who endeavour to ascribe the modern prosperity of Belfast to the favouritism of an English Deputy, may, with profit, reflect on the fact that, in 1807, when Strafford had for many a generation been with his fathers, there were only four looms engaged in the weaving of linen in Belfast. No; the city dates its prosperity from modern times, and owes it to simple causes. Belfast has thriven since the Union, and by the Union, and has risen because its people chose to work, and to develop the resources that lay nearest to them, while the rest of the Island has chosen to sulk, has preferred "to weep on and dream on, while the household goes to wreck."

## THE LINEN TRADE.

A few figures taken from the Board of Trade and other official Returns will serve to show the extraordinary strides made by Belfast in quite recent years; a rate of development that suggests comparison with some of the great towns in the Western States of America rather than with our soberer English cities. Let me begin, in a somewhat Irish fashion, with an item that has recently shown a large falling off. The export of linen was less in 1891 than in 1890 by no less than 25,000,000 yards, representing a value of over half-a-million pounds sterling. This, of course, was owing to the M'Kinley Tariff, by which the United States attempted practically to prohibit the import of linen. But the alarming-looking figures must be read with a recollection of the fact that, before the Tariff came into force, the Belfast merchants had thrown every yard of stuff that could be got into the United States, the Custom House officials being engaged in clearing cargoes up till midnight of the day before the rates were raised. But there is no uneasiness about the ultimate result of the struggle. The American climate is a better "Protectionist" in its own way than any tariffs, and nowhere between Canada and Mexico can there be found that peculiar combination of mildness, moisture, and equable temperature which is essential to the growth and manipulation of flax at every stage. Irish linen will again find its way across the Atlantic, all Customs regulations to the contrary notwithstanding.

## SHIPBUILDING.

Steel shipbuilding continues most striking in its rapid increase. Last year 94,000 tons were launched, as against 66,000 in 1890. One firm, the famous builders of the *Teutonic* and *Majestic*, attained their ambition last year by launching 64,962 tons, a figure exceeding that of any other shipyard in the United Kingdom. The industry has spread to Londonderry, where one yard has made a very promising beginning with 11,000 tons. Some idea of the rate of the growth of this industry may be gathered from a glance at the figures of five years ago, when all the Belfast yards together only launched 35,000 tons. It should be added that there are no peculiar local advantages to account for this: every ton of coal and of iron used has to be imported.

## RAILWAY TRAFFIC.

Another very significant increase is to be noted in the railway traffic returns, the three railways centring in Belfast having increased their traffic 9½ per cent. last year, whilst the average of increase all over the United Kingdom in the same period was less than 1½ per cent. One little railway, the Belfast and County Down, actually showed an increase of 50 per cent. in its passenger traffic. It is not surprising, in view of these figures, that a project is on foot for making a great central station in the heart of the city, with through traffic, connecting the three lines, which now drop their passengers at an inconvenient distance. When the further scheme, which enthusiastic engineers believe to be not impossible, of connecting Scotland and Ireland by a tunnel, is carried into effect, London passengers anxious to catch the great ocean steamers will be able to get into a through carriage at Euston, and reach Queenstown, *via* Portpatrick and Belfast, without leaving the train.

## WHISKY AND TOBACCO.

But, to come back from this somewhat distant speculation to the ground of solid fact, pretty well every trade tells the same tale of expansion. Whisky has been comparatively depressed, a fact which has an element of satisfaction. The duty paid last year was £2,247,528, as against £2,128,446 in 1890. Tobacco is rising rapidly, £678,000 being paid in duty on it last year. One well-known firm alone paid £35,000 more in 1891 than in 1890. Aërated waters have become a speciality, and the output is enormous, although there are no official figures to be obtained. Oddly enough, no one has had the enterprise to start a bottle-making establishment, and, in consequence, millions of soda water bottles have to be imported from Germany. The natural harbour accommodation is very bad, and the improving, widening, and deepening of the approaches are being steadily pushed forward. Three and a-half miles of a new deep channel were opened in 1890.

## LOCAL STOCKS.

The steady rise in the value of local stocks of all kinds shows the confidence of the commercial community, and emphasises the lesson taught by the disastrous fall that took place in 1886, when the Home Rule Bill was introduced. Two local Banks declared dividends at the rate of 20 per cent., and other similar concerns are not far behind. When such results are possible under "British tyranny" in Ireland, would it not be well for some of our friends to reflect whether it would not be wiser for the rest of the country to follow the same example, and try the effects of steady industry instead of Constitution-tinkering ?—[*"Standard's" Special Correspondent*, April 20th, 1892.]

## CHAMBER OF COMMERCE REPORT.

At the Annual Meeting of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce on February 18th, 1892, the President (Mr. Mitchell), referring to the great progress of Belfast, said :—

Last year a census of the United Kingdom was taken. The population of our city was returned as 255,896, as compared with 208,122 in 1881, an increase of 47,774, being equal to 23 per cent., a very striking increase, which indicates the rapid prosperity of our city. The inhabited houses in Belfast in 1891 were 46,432, as compared with 34,982 in 1881, and our valuations during last year amounted to £738,404, as compared with £597,913 in 1881. Our population now exceeds that of Dublin, as according to the last census, the population of the metropolis amounted to 254,709 as compared with 249,602 in 1881, being an increase of 5,107, which is equal to 2 per cent. The contributions made by our city to the Imperial Exchequer are to some extent an indication of our commercial prosperity, and Belfast still occupies a very important position in regard to the revenue collected under the Customs Department. The following is a list of the eight principal ports of the Kingdom, as regards revenue, and their collections under that department for 1890, the returns for the past year not being published yet :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| London .. | £9,834,171 | Bristol ... | £1,323,445 |
| Liverpool ... | 3,263,301 | Dublin ... | 904,028 |
| Belfast ... | 2,128,446 | Leith ... | 669,907 |
| Glasgow ... | 1,341,435 | Newcastle | 378,319 |

It will be observed that Belfast comes third on this list, the only ports exceeding her in revenue being London and Liverpool. The customs revenue of our port for 1891 amounted to £2,247,528, being an increase over 1890 of £119,082. If I am correct in my estimate, it follows that Belfast contributes the magnificent sum of over three and a half millions to the Imperial Exchequer. (Applause.) The statistics connected with our harbour give ample evidence of continued prosperity, not only in respect to the increase of shipping, arriving and departing, but also in regard to the increasing business transacted by the Harbour Board. The total tonnage cleared from the port during last year amounted to 1,931,177, as against 1,840,666 for 1890, while the revenue of the port for last year was £121,533. This is an exceedingly satisfactory state of affairs in respect of revenue, when we take into account the fact that a reduction of about 20 per cent. was made some time ago on the dues on goods. This reduction must have caused a decrease of revenue of nine or ten thousand pounds; and yet the total income is as high as last year, and the surplus this year amounts to £25,674, as compared with £25,689 last year. The value of the total property under the jurisdiction of the Belfast Harbour Commissioners now amounts to the enormous sum of £1,360,973.

# BEGONE SAXON.

## MR. HEALY ON LANDLORDS.

Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., at Boston, December, 1881 :—

"We believe that *landlordism is the prop of English rule,* and we are working to take that prop away. To drive out British rule from Ireland we must strike at the foundation, and that foundation is landlordism. We seek no bargain with England. As the Master said unto the tempter when he offered Him the Kingdom of Heaven, 'Begone Satan," so we will say unto them, 'BEGONE SAXON.' "—*Irishman*, 24th December, 1881.

Mr. Healy remained in America for some time after his Boston speech, for we find him speaking at New Orleans early in 1882 :—

"We wish to get rid of British rule in Ireland. Landlordism is the prop of that rule, and it must be abolished. (Cheers.) We are engaged in a great struggle—THE RECONQUEST OF IRELAND."—*United Ireland*, February 4th, 1882.

## THE LEAGUE PROGRAMME.

Mr. Wm. O'Brien, M.P., at Gorey, 23rd August, 1885 :—

"When the complete programme of the Land League is accomplished, landlordism would vanish from the country, and the soil of Ireland would be free, its people owning no master but the Almighty, and owning no flag but the green flag of an independent Irish nation."—*Irish Times*, 24th August, 1885.

## WHAT IRELAND'S GRAND ARMY IS TO DO.

Speaking on 17th June, 1887, Mr. William O'Brien said :—

"I pledged for you to America, and you will redeem the pledge—pledged for you that on this cause will go, and that this grand army of Irish freemen will march unconquered and unconquerable until they have TRAMPLED DOWN in its last ditch ALIEN landlordism and ascendency, and hauled down from its highest pinnacle the last shred of English misrule." —*Freeman's Journal*, June 18th, 1887.

In the end of 1886 we find a somewhat similar declaration as follows ; speaking at Killeagh, 5th December, 1886, Mr. William O'Brien said :—

"Together, please God, we will march on, shoulder to shoulder, until we shall have liberated this land from the two curses of LANDLORDISM AND ENGLISH RULE."—*Freeman's Journal*, December 6th, 1886.

## THE HATED GARRISON.

Mr. John Dillon, speaking at Woodford on the 17th of October, 1886, said :—

"The real barrier between Ireland and her liberty, and the prosperity which always follows in the track of liberty is not England's power so much as the HATED GARRISON which she has set in this country."—*Freeman's Journal*, October 18th, 1886.

## TREAT LANDLORDS AS RATS.

Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., addressed his constituents at Longford on Sunday. the 9th October, 1887, and said :—

"When I go about the country, and when I see the big houses empty and untenanted and rotting, I say to myself, 'Glory be to God that I have lived to see this day.' (Loud cheering.) Now, I would tell Lord Granard's tenants that in dealing with unjust landlords I would feel no more compunction in seeking my own rights than I would in driving a rat out of a haystack. I look upon them exactly in the same light; but of the two the rat is the more respectable animal, because at any rate God made the rat, but the landlord is a human invention. (Laughter.) The rat can eat nothing that he has not stolen; but the landlord could at any rate do a day's work, and very soon I hope to see the College of Maynooth squeezing him out as you would squeeze out a lemon or an orange, and when they throw away the skin I hope to see you give it a kick and send it to its proper place. (Laughter.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, October 10th, 1887.

## MR. DILLON ON THE LANDLORDS.

Mr. John Dillon, speaking at Limerick, November 1st, 1887, said :—

"It was their firm faith that when that struggle for the land was carried to a successful termination, *at the same hour with the disappearance of the* LANDLORDS *the power of* FOREIGN GOVERNMENT *would disappear also, and then their old nation and race would become free and independent again.*"—*Irish Times*, November 2nd, 1887.

This speech was followed by another a few days subsequently (10th November, 1887), at Drogheda, in which he said :—

"Every Nationalist ought to aid in the great effort to break down *the only power in Ireland* which could stand between the people and the control of their own country, and every man, who, for any reason, tried to defend *Irish landlordism*, tried to maintain the power of the landlord party and eviction in Ireland, was an enemy to Irish nationality. (Applause.) IF TO-MORROW THE LANDLORD PARTY WERE SWEPT AWAY, AND THEIR POWER BROKEN, HE SHOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHO WOULD MR. BALFOUR OR THE CASTLE GOVERNMENT LEAN UPON IN THE COUNTRY."—*Freeman's Journal*, 11th November, 1887.

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# Home Rulers on the Police.

## MR. DILLON WILL DISORGANISE THE FORCE.

Not long after the Trevor Hall Convention of the Land League of America on 18th May, 1880, Mr. John Dillon addressed a meeting, at which he said :—

**"It will be our duty, and we will set about it without delay, to disorganise and break up the Irish Constabulary that for the past 30 years have stood at the back of the Irish landlords—bayonet in hand.** The pay of these men, which is taken out of the pockets of the Irish tenants, is voted yearly in the English Parliament, and not an Irish member could be found to protest against it. Let us now see that, instead of the twelve hundred thousand pounds a year, which is devoted to pay the Irish Constabulary, that not one hundred thousand will go for that purpose ; then I would like to see the landlord who would face the Irish tenant ! (Applause.) I tell you that the hour we take away the bayonet of the Irish policeman, that hour the landlords will come to ask us for a settlement of the land question."—*Special Commission Report*, p. 30.

Cross-examined at Cork on 26th March, 1891, Mr. John Dillon was questioned on this matter as follows :—

Mr. Ronan—Did you say in a speech—**"It will be our duty to disorganise and break up the Royal Irish Constabulary ?"**

Mr. Dillon—**Yes, and I trust to do it yet.**

You would break and disorganise the Royal Irish Constabulary? No; I have not the power yet, but when I have the power I trust to do it. —*National Press*, 27th March, 1891.

## WHEN THE POLICE ARE OUR SERVANTS.

At Castlerea on 5th December, 1886, Mr. John Dillon, M.P., stated :—

"I want to say a word of warning to the bailiffs, and all that class of people who will side with the landlords in the struggle this winter in Ireland, and that warning is this, that there is no man in Ireland, England, or Scotland who does not know who will have the Government in Ireland within the next few years. (Cheers.) The little potentates are in their own estimation the Lynches or Macdougalls, who have the police to help them to-day, and who think they can ride over the bodies of our people. I tell these people that the time is at hand, and very close at hand too, when the police will be our servants, when the police will be taking their pay from Mr. Parnell, when he will be Prime Minister of Ireland. And I warn the men to-day who take their stand by the side of landlordism, and signalise them as the enemies of the people, that in the time of our power we will remember them.—*Daily News*, 6th December, 1886.

# MR. O'BRIEN ON THE POLICE.

At Bodyke, on Sunday, 30th January, 1887, Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., made the following statement :—

"I tell you candidly here to-day that though we allow these policemen to withdraw from this meeting, because they were weak—a mercy, which I am sorry to say, that they have never reciprocated to the people—I tell you, and I wish the Government reporter was here to listen to it, that if our people had power to meet them, man to man and rifle to rifle—(prolonged cheers)—in the open field, I, for one, would cut short my speech-making this very moment, and the next speeches that the destroyers of your homes would hear would be the speeches out of the mouths of your guns. (Loud cheers.) We cannot meet them like that. Unfortunately we have not the power ; but we have a weapon to-day before which all the power and pride of landlordism is going down like the walls of Jericho. (Cheers.) It is tumbling down at the shout of an enfranchised and unconquerable Irish nation. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, January 31st, 1887.

# MR. DILLON AS POLICE COMMISSIONER.

On March 13th, 1887, Mr. John Dillon spoke as follows at Tipperary :—

"Believe me they will not be able to do much with their Coercion Act, and I will tell you what is more that there is not a magistrate or a policeman—(loud groans)—don't be so excited against the police, BECAUSE THEY WILL BE ALL WORKING UNDER MY ORDERS WITHIN A YEAR—(great cheering)—there is no magistrate or policeman in Ireland who does not know in his heart that Mr. Parnell will be ruler in this country in a year or two, and DO YOU SUPPOSE THAT THEY ARE GOING TO WORK A COERCION ACT BITTERLY AGAINST US? NOT A BIT OF IT. THEY LIKE THEIR BREAD AND BUTTER AS MUCH AS ANYBODY. THEY KNOW RIGHT WELL THAT IT IS NOT TO THE LANDLORDS THEY WILL HAVE TO LOOK IN THE FUTURE. They know perfectly well now what they did not believe during the last Coercion Act, that since Mr. Gladstone has come round, the cause is going to win, and they know perfectly well, every man of them, that Mr. Parnell will be their master, as he will be the master of this country—(cheers)—within a very short time. Believe me, the Coercion Act will not amount to much. Nobody will be afraid of it, and the only consequence will be we will ask a larger reduction when it comes. I think it would be only fair play that suppose we asked twenty-five per cent. without a Coercion Act, we should ask forty-five per cent. if we got a Coercion Act. (Cheers.) It would be only justice to inflict a fine on a man who behaves badly, and if a landlord of the country behaves badly, I don't see why he should not be fined as well as a poor fellow who would behave himself badly in the street."—*Freeman's Journal*, March 14th, 1887.

# MR. DAVITT ON THE POLICE RUFFIANS.

At Swords, Co. Dublin, on 5th June, 1887, and referring to his visit to Bodyke, Mr. Davitt said :—

"If you could see that as I saw it, oh ! you would not measure your words, but you would wish from the bottom of your heart we had there in our hands the weapons which **England placed in the hands of her armed mercenaries, and we would have taught these ruffians** that the people of Ireland in the year of 1887 had not lost the courage or the spirit of their ancestors. (Loud cheers.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, June 6th, 1887.

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# ENGLISH JUDGES AND HOME RULE M.P.'S

## Judgment of Parnell Special Commission.

*In our judgment the leaders of the Land League who combined together to carry out the system of boycotting were* **guilty of a criminal conspiracy,** *one of the objects of which was (as stated in the second charge) by a system of* **coercion and intimidation** *to promote an agrarian agitation.*

We consider that this charge has been established against the following respondents :—

C. S. Parnell.
*John Dillon.
Joseph G. Biggar.
*Thomas Sexton.
*T. P. O'Connor.
M. Harris.
*W. O'Brien.
*T. D. Sullivan.
*T. M. Healy.
*Tim Harrington.
Ed. Harrington.
*A. O'Connor.
*Jos. E. Kenny.
*W. Redmond.
*J. E. Redmond.
*Justin McCarthy.
J. O'Connor.
*Th. Jos. Condon.
J. J. O'Kelly.
Andrew Cummins.
Jos. P. Cox.
Patrick O'Hea.
*Jeremiah D. Sheehan.
James Leahy.
Edward Leamy.
*John Barry.
*Dr. Tanner.
*Maurice Healy.
Thomas Quinn.
*Danl. Crilly.
Henry Campbell.
*Patk. J. Foley.
*J. J. Clancy.
*J. F. X. O'Brien.
R. Lalor.
Thos. Mayne.
*Jno. Deasey.
*J. C. Flynn.
*Jeremiah Jordan.
W. J. Lane.
*D. Sheehy.
*Donald Sullivan.
C. M. Byrne.
*Michael Davitt.

* The above twenty-seven are now leaders of the Irish Party in the House of Commons.

# MR. GLADSTONE

ON

# IRISH NATIONALISTS.

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WELL, Mr. Holt, you will not repent the trouble you have taken if it assists—if this explanation should assist even in the slightest degree—in establishing deeply and firmly in the mind of the public the true nature of this great issue. It is a great issue: it is a conflict for the very first and elementary principles upon which civil society is constituted. It is idle to talk of either law or order, or liberty or religion, if these gentlemen are to carry through the reckless and chaotic schemes that they have devised. **Rapine is the first object; but rapine is not the only object. It is perfectly true that these gentlemen wish to march through rapine to the disintegration and dismemberment of the Empire, and, I am sorry to say, even to the placing of different parts of the Empire in direct hostility one with the other.**

—*Times*, 28th October, 1881.

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# England's Difficulty, Ireland's Opportunity.

## WHEN ENGLAND IS AT WAR.

Mr. Parnell at Lynn, U.S., 31st January, 1880, made the following statement:—

"They are a defenceless people in Ireland. The right to carry arms is denied, and that birthright of every freeman is punished in Ireland with imprisonment for two years. A large body of constabulary is employed with 30,000 soldiers, and the time may come when Ireland will have a chance. When she (England) is at war and beaten to her knees, the idea of the Irish Nationalists may be realized."—*Special Commission Report*, p. 21.

## MAKING WAR ON ENGLAND.

On 26th January, 1881, Mr. Parnell cabled to Patrick Ford, of the *Irish World*, as follows:—

"Thanks to the 'Irish World' and its readers for their constant co-operation and substantial support in our great cause. Let them have no fear of its ultimate success."

It would seem that from October, 1881, till December, 1883, Patrick Ford suspended his advocacy of the Skirmishing Fund policy, but in December, 1883, he opened an Emergency Fund, the object of which he has thus described in his paper:—

"The object of this fund will be to aid the active forces on the other side in carrying on the war against the enemy. It is unnecessary to enter into details. I can only say in a general way what I believe in myself. I believe in making repisals. 'An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.' I believe that every informer ought to die the death of a dog. I believe that all the material damage possible ought to be inflicted on the enemy, and that the war against the foeman ought to be persisted in without quarter to the end. I believe that England ought to be plagued with all the plagues of Egypt—that she ought to be scourged by day, and terrorised by night. I believe that this species of warfare ought to be kept up until England, hurt as well as scared, falls paralysed upon her knees and begs Ireland to depart from her. This is my idea of making war on England."

## THE PLANT OF AN ARMED REVOLUTION.

The following Clan-na-gael circular to its camps was proved before the Special Commission. It is headed "Brothers," and dated 18th December, 1885:—

"While our objects lie far beyond what may be obtained by agitation, a National Parliament is an object which we are bound to attain by any means offered.

"The achievement of a National Parliament gives us a footing upon Irish soil; it gives us the agencies and instrumentalities of a government *de facto* at the very commencement of the Irish struggle. **It places the government of the land in the hands of our friends and brothers. It removes the Castle's rings, and gives us what we may well express as the plant of an armed revolution.**

"From that standpoint the restoration of Parliament is part of our programme. When this is attained, if agitation will not go further, we will still go on with our forces unimpaired and strengthened. We therefore deem it advisable that you secure the election of as many delegates as is practicable or possible to the Convention of the Irish National League to be held in Chicago."—*Special Commission Report*, p. 116.

## MR. DAVITT DECLARES VENGEANCE.

At Bodyke, June 2nd, 1887, Mr. Michael Davitt said:—

"Our people, however, who so leave Ireland are not lost in the Irish cause, for they will join the ranks of the Ireland of retribution beyond the Atlantic; and when the day shall again come that we have a right to manage our own affairs, the sun may some day shine down upon England when we here in Ireland will have the opportunity of having vengeance upon the enemy for its crimes in Ireland. (Loud and prolonged applause.)" —*Freeman's Journal*, June 3rd, 1887.

## A HUNDRED THOUSAND FIGHTING MEN.

Mr. Arthur O'Connor, M.P., addressing a large meeting at New Jersey on Sunday evening, the 16th October, 1887, said:—

"I know that there are within the United States emissaries of the British Government anxious to earn or prepared to earn, the pay which is drawn from the Secret Service Fund of the Government. If such a man is here I invite him to report that here in public, I state what I know to be a fact, that in whatever war Great Britain may be involved, that whatever power she may have to struggle with, that power can count upon one hundred thousand Irish arms to fight under her flag against Great Britain. (Great cheering.) Does not the Government of the United States know perfectly well that at three days' notice it could have a force, of which one hundred thousand would only be a fraction, who would be willing to serve against Great Britain for the love of the thing, without any pay? (Renewed applause.) And it is not amiss that the Government of England should know it also. (Continued applause.)"—*Irish World*, 22nd October, 1887.

# HOW THE HOME RULE BILL AFFECTS ENGLAND.

1. ***England will not be mistress in her own house.***

   *Because* a Government, which has a sufficient majority to carry a British measure, can be turned out of office by the votes of the eighty Irish members on an Imperial question.

2. ***England will have to pay Ireland's debts if Ireland repudiates them.***

   *Because* clauses 27 and 28 enact that, if Ireland declines to pay the salaries and pensions of the existing servants of the Crown in Ireland, amounting to upwards of £750,000 a year, England must pay them.

3. ***England, in the event of a war, not popular in Ireland, will have to pay Ireland's share of the cost as well as her own.***

   *Because* England will have no power to impose an Irish Income Tax; and she will have no force under her control to collect an increased Excise Duty.

4. ***England will have no power to enforce the payment of Ireland's share of Imperial expenditure, viz., two millions and a quarter.***

   *Because* England will have no police or executive under her control whereby those who won't pay can be made to pay

**5. *England can never decrease the Customs duty on foreign spirits, tea, or tobacco.***

*Because* if England did so, she would diminish Ireland's contribution (the amount of the Customs duties) to the Imperial Exchequer.

**6. *England can never lower the Excise duties on spirits and beer.***

*Because* if England did so she would be bound by clause 10 to hand over to Ireland the amount of any consequent loss, compared with amount obtained by Ireland from these duties on 1st March, 1893.

**7. *England will be unable to prevent smuggling in Ireland.***

*Because* England will have no force under her control to arrest or to execute punishment upon smugglers in Ireland. The Irish Government will have no interest whatever in checking smuggling.

**8. *England will have no means of collecting the interest on the eighteen millions Ireland now owes her.***

*Because* England will have no executive forces under her control to collect the interest payable under clause 16. All the officials at the Irish Exchequer, and all the disposable executive forces, will be the servants of, and in sympathy with, the Irish Government. The situation will be precisely that of a landlord whose tenants refuse to pay rent, except that the Imperial Government can neither put in an execution nor carry out an eviction.

**9. *England may lose the interest upon the money which Englishmen and Scotchmen have invested in Ireland.***

*Because* England will be deprived of all executive control in Ireland ; and she will thus be powerless to resist a " No English Tribute " agitation ; and because Irish securities will be greatly depreciated.

**10. *England will have to pay Ireland seventeen millions.***

*Because* England, under the terms imposed by the Irish Nationalists, pays Ireland half a million a year, which, being capitalised, is seventeen millions. (See clause 30.)

**11. *England may have to pay Ireland the whole of Ireland's police bill—a million and a half per annum.***

*Because* England, as well as making a free gift to Ireland of half a million, stipulates in clause 30, sec. 5, if Ireland fails to pay her share of one million towards the police, England will pay it.

**12. *England's Manufactures may be undersold.***

*Because* although Ireland cannot impose protective duties, she can grant bounties to Irish Manufacturers, thereby enabling them to compete unfairly with English Traders.

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# PERILS OF HOME RULE.

## A SPEECH

DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE

## GENERAL SYNOD OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND,

*On TUESDAY, MARCH 14th, 1893,*

BY THE

**Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF DERRY.**

# Speech of the Bishop of Derry.

The Lord Bishop of Derry, who, on rising, was received with loud applause, said—The resolution which I have the honour and the almost painful responsibility of bringing before this Synod is as follows :—

That we, the bishops, clergy, and laity of the Church of Ireland, in General Synod assembled, view with the deepest alarm the introduction of a measure which is charged with dangerous elements of revolutionary disturbance, destructive of those most sacred bonds by which society is held together, and in reverent maintenance of which empires, nations, and churches can alone look for the blessing of Almighty God. Objecting to the whole tenor and spirit of the Bill on this primary ground, we are strongly opposed to its provisions in detail ; and first :—

As loyal subjects of the great British Empire, we earnestly protest against its threatened disintegration, and call on our fellow-subjects in England, Scotland, and Wales to join us in resisting a measure that must inevitably and irrevocably effect the dismemberment of the Empire, and the consequent ruin of our position and influence among the nations.

My Lord Archbishop, my lords and gentlemen of the laity, the preamble which I read to you, as you will have perceived, states our united objection to this Bill on the primary ground of its general tone and spirit, and then following in regular detail, I have to speak to you, then, upon the first resolution, and in the course of it the chief stress of my argument will be laid upon that which at first sight appears to be not the most important in it. For I shall dwell chiefly upon the claim which we have to call upon the sympathy and the help of our fellow-subjects. (Hear, hear.) But

in the first place I will say a few words upon what is said about the

DISINTEGRATION OF THE EMPIRE.

The constitution—if it is to be so called—which it is proposed to force on us will necessarily be a monster of weakness—(hear, hear)—in one sense. (Applause.) Let me quote to you language which may fairly be called prophetic. It comes from one who used to be thought a great authority by the Liberal Party. They are the words which were uttered by Lord Macaulay—then Mr. Macaulay—on 6th February, 1833. I believe, though I have not looked closely into it, that it must have been in answer to some observation by Mr. O'Connell, which seemed to some an arrangement of the present kind as a possible solution of the situation. What Macaulay said was this—"This dual business was like the twins of Siam in some remarkable points. Each man was the constant plague of the other. (Laughter.) Each was always in the other's way. They were more helpless than most other people, because they had twice the number of hands. (Hear, hear.) They were slower than other people because they had twice the number of legs. Sympathizing only in evil, not tasting each other's pleasures, not supported by each other's ailments, but tormented by each other's infirmites, and certain to perish by each other's dissolution." (Applause.) This prophecy is different from others in the fact that it was entirely and punctually fulfilled. Now, it does not need very much argument to show that a constitution of this kind must, as our resolution says, effect the dismemberment of the Empire, and lead to the lowering of the influence and position of the Empire at large. (Hear, hear.) It is impossible to respect anything that is

NOT RESPECTABLE.

It is impossible to honour anything not honourable, and no rational man could possibly respect or honour the Empire under the baneful power of a constitution like this. (Hear, hear.) There is no safe element in it—no element of finality. Finality,

indeed, is a word unknown by the majority of the members of the party who force it upon us. As far as we are concerned, there will be no finality. You have only to read the fourth resolution to see that, and as far as our countrymen are concerned, they have taken right good care to tell those whom it concerns beforehand that there shall be no finality with them. (Applause.) And then as to the gratitude which this measure is to win for England upon the part of those who are forcing it on us, I wonder if the English people consider what the gratitude may be worth. (Laughter.) I ask them to consider the case of Mr. Parnell—(hear, hear)—the man who did more for them than any other man could possibly have done, upon whom they turned and hounded him down, because they thought it was to their advantage to do so, to force him to go from place to place, after nearly blinding him by their violence. We can only say that at present some little time has been graciously or ungraciously given to us for the consideration of this Bill. Meantime we shall not be idle. We have an active Press to which we owe a deep debt of gratitude. (Hear, hear.) We owe much to the superhuman efforts of the *Daily Express* and *Irish Times*. (Applause.) There is a style of beauty which is artless, and of more than ordinary simplicity, and it loves the sun and the shade, and is sweetly silent until something occurs to loose its tongue. I am afraid this Bill, which appears to have some of this artlessness and simplicity, will be subjected to much publicity between this and Easter week. (Hear, hear.) I shall endeavour to show good reasons for calling upon our fellow-subjects in England, Scotland, and Wales to come to our aid and help, and support us in this great crisis, and I shall address myself to a class of men for whom I have the deepest regard and respect. I mean

THE NONCONFORMISTS.

(Hear, hear.) I shall endeavour to show as far as I can their peculiar inconsistency in their attitude in this matter. Their attitude in voting against us, and helping forward our ruin, is inconsistent with the principles they have always professed.

(Hear, hear.) I should like, in the first place, to point out to the Nonconformists that there is the danger of their acting under misapprehensions. In some quarters it was said that this cry of the loyalists of Ireland was simply a cry of indignation. We have read in a paper which I need not name that that indignant cry was something like that which arose over the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. It is, they say sometimes, the getting up of the Episcopalians, it is they sometimes say the getting up of the Orangemen of Ulster, it is sometimes they say the getting up of the squires who have manufactured it among their unhappy tenants over whom they possess such entire and absolute power—(laughter)—in order to raise this cry. There are others who say that it is the men of Ulster—and they like to saddle the whole thing upon the men of Ulster, as if there are no Protestants in any other part of Ireland—(hear, hear)—and they have invented that witty saying of Ulsteria. I think that our fellow subjects ought to be learning rapidly that it is nothing of the kind. (Cheers.) It is not the voice of the Episcopalians, it is not the voice of the squires—(hear, hear)—it is not the voice of the Orangemen merely—(hear, hear)—it is not the voice of Ulster alone—(hear, hear)—it is not the voice of Protestantism alone—(hear, hear)—it is the exceeding great and bitter cry of civilized humanity. (Applause.) It is the voice of the English settlers, it is the voice of the Scotch settlers, who were deluded into coming over to Ireland; it is the voice of earnest Roman Catholics. It is not a "no Popery" cry. (Hear, hear.) If it were a "no Popery" cry, I for one would not stand upon this platform. (Cheers.) There are many earnest and noble-minded Roman Catholics to whom I could trust anything. (Applause.) There are many of them whom I love. (Hear, hear.) They have prayed for me, and I have prayed for them, and one word disrespectful of them I never will utter. (Applause.) But I tell you what it is—it is the voice of 630,000 churchmen, with some twenty or thirty exceptions; it is the voice of about 550,000 Presbyterians—(applause)—and other forms of Protestantism, and amongst them there are multitudes of

men who, I know, were Mr. Gladstone's warmest adherents up to the last general election. (Hear, hear.) It is the voice of trade—it is the voice of commerce, it is the voice of capital; it is the voice of Chambers of Commerce; it is the voice of our great seat of learning—(applause)—it is the

VOICE OF ALL THAT THINKS AND WORKS.

(Cheers.) I hear a great deal—I have read it in the papers—people in England have spoken to me about the fanatics of Ulster—the fanatics of Belfast I should say. Are the men of Ulster fanatics? (Several voices—"No.") They sometimes, perhaps, will call a Roman Catholic by a nickname that is not quite pleasant. We must excuse them, because they are workmen, you know—(hear)—but they know a thing or two. (Laughter.) I have spoken to them, and I tell you the reason why they hate this Bill. They know the value of trade—(hear, hear)—they know the value of commerce—(hear, hear)—they know the character of the men, some of whom employ so many looms, and others of whom have launched upon the sea vessels like the Majestic and the Teutonic. (Applause.) They know what the meaning of capital is—(hear, hear)—they know that it does not only mean the storage of money that has been amassed by men; they know that it means something more than that—that it means intellect—(hear, hear)—it means conception—(hear, hear)—and they know as surely as the glass falls before the storm, so surely there are signs now which show that capital will leave Ulster. (Hear, hear.) And they know this full well that misery will come to them and theirs—(hear, hear)—that they will not have employment, and will be forced to go elsewhere to seek for it. (Hear, hear.) They know it, they know capital will be driven off, and they know that the shrinkage of capital is the starvation of labour. (Cheers.) "Ulster Bluster," too, is a word which came, I am sorry to say, from the respected descendants of one of the most respected families in Ulster. There is one discovery which I have recently made—it has struck me very much. I really did not know

that amongst the Liberal party there were many political Sangrados who would cure a sick country by blood-letting and superabundant doses of hot water. I did not really know that there were humanitarians who would not for all the world take on their soul the guilt of causing a single drop of blood to be shed for the honour and glory of the Empire, but who are willing to shed whole streams of blood—to

FLOOD ALL ULSTER WITH BLOOD

—(hear, hear)—and all I can say is, that if they goad on the spirits of young and fiery youths, and drive them to excesses, and if the troops of our gracious Queen are compelled to fire upon these men, then I say that every drop of blood that was shed would be upon the head of England—(cheers)—and all the waters of all the seas upon which her navies ride would never wash away the stain. (Applause.) If a man reads history, and there is such a thing as history—(hear, hear)—I suppose, unless it has been abolished by law—(laughter)—there have been two fruitful causes of civil wars—one has been taxation, and the other has been taxation without just representation—(hear, hear)—and without just proportion. (Hear.) Now, surely, this is a lesson to be thought on. (Hear.) The Bill is not yet passed, and if it be passed, let any man read the letter which I saw this morning in the *Times* written by Lord Penzance, and he will see that there are other difficulties yet to be considered. (Hear, hear.) As for those who sneer at the Psalm-singing of Ulster—they are very witty, indeed, in laughing at her piety. A common danger makes men pray in common. (Applause.) To whatever Church we belong we are ready to pray with all those who believe in the living God—upon the deck of the ship which is about to sink. (Hear, hear.) That was, in my opinion, a noble moment when the venerable President of this assembly and the Moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly—(applause)—joined in a common act of prayer before the Belfast Convention, and rolled out that psalm, which passed like a storm from the building in which they were assembled

—(applause)—to the footstool of the most high God. (Hear, hear.) I should have thought that the

DESCENDANTS OF THE PURITANS

were the last men who would have laughed at psalm-singing. (Hear, hear.) These psalm-singing men—their fathers once, I believe, showed in England what the psalm-singing men could do. (Do.) Now, I have spoken of the peculiar inconsistency that there is in Puritan Nonconformists in England, in Scotland, and in Wales treating us as they do. (Applause.) What are their leading principles? I am speaking not of their religious, but of their moral and political principles, as evinced by history. In the first place they have always posed in English history as friends of political liberty. There can be no doubt of that. I believe that the opinions of many religious and good men among the Nonconformists of England—I will mention one especially whom I have not the honour of personally knowing, but from whose writings I have derived as much instruction as from almost any other I have ever read—I mean Dr. Clifford, who is against us,—I fully believe that such men as he have been led astray by applying the analogies of English political parties to political parties in this country. Among what I may, without offence, call Celtic politicians, there is no disposition to give and take, no nice adjustment, no compromise, no giving a little to get a good deal for the welfare of the community altogether. To secure a Conservative minority, a decent minority in Ireland under the new Bill, if it ever came into force, would be a very hard thing; but this Bill, as we all know, intensifies, amplifies, increases, and swells out this difficulty into impossibility. It condescends to jerrymander, it draws mendacious maps. The political victim is taken, strapped down tightly by both his arms and both his legs, and then put on the table and a pitch plaister is clapped over his mouth. It is a sad thing to say, but he will have no access to those two extraordinary chambers, which are to stand for the Lords and Commons. In old

times old-fashioned Englishmen and Irishmen—your ancestor, my Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Gough, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Wolseley, and Lord Roberts, and many others—thought themselves honoured by being elevated to the peerage. What a grand thing it will be for Irishmen to be elevated to the Chamber of Snobs! (Laughter.) If the Bill were a fair Bill would not the University of Dublin have had members assigned to it? (Hear, hear.) But we find nothing of the kind, and one knows what excuse will be made. I would pledge a great deal if I were a betting man, which I am not—(laughter)—that it will turn upon the one man one vote principle—that splendid principle, so elastic—a thing to make one blush, to think of one man having more than one vote, but not to have the faintest blush to think that

ONE MAN IS TO HAVE 10,000 VOTES IN HIS POWER.

(Applause.) The Nonconformists of England have proved themselves to be the friends of a Liberal University Education. When I was a young man at Oxford no Nonconformist was allowed to come as a student within the walls of the University. The University of Dublin was much more liberal at that time. (Hear, hear.) The Nonconformists stormed the key of the position—they insisted that round the demands of conscience a sacred fence should be made, a sacred circle should be drawn, and that what a man believed or did not believe, or the things that lie behind the veil should not be permitted to interfere with his God-given intellect receiving the best instruction which universities can afford. (Hear, hear.) We have here a time-honoured University, the glory of this land—(applause)—one of the few things that have thoroughly succeeded in Ireland, and yet you will hear arguments afterwards that will prove to you—Lord Ashbourne has proved it—that forfeiture and alienation are within the four corners of that Bill. (Applause.) The master of the eighty slaves—(hear, hear)—has shown that he covets the very site on which the University of Dublin stands. If this change ever takes place, in the day when the

University of Dublin becomes something else, history will have to be excised from its curriculum. There will be no history then in the University of Dublin—history is such an inconvenient thing —(laughter)—and young men are so curious, and it might bring them into contact with some inconvenient facts, might tell them that there is such a thing as Teutonic Christianity as well as Latin Christianity. (Hear, hear). It might lead them to know that there have been times when the hypnotized patients of superstition have awakened from their slumbers, and turned upon the hypnotiser and thrown him down stairs. (Applause.) These Nonconformists of England and Scotland and Wales, then, are inconsistent in leaving a

LIBERAL UNIVERSITY TO BE DEMOLISHED,

and another of a different character to be substituted in its stead. I will just make another remark. It may not appear to be germane at first, but I think it will be found to be so. The Nonconformists have always had a conscience, which seemed to be peculiarly sensitive upon the question of electoral purity. They are haters of bribes. Should they be accused of being bribed? (Hear, hear.) Reflect for one moment. What is bribery? Bribery is the spirit of simony: it is political simony; it is getting a man to smother conscience for the sake of gain, to keep it conveniently suppressed for days. Mr. Gladstone is so shocked with the conception of bribery that he published a remarkable letter in which, speaking of the means by which the Union had been secured, he spoke not of the blackguardism of Pitt, personally, but of the blackguardism by which the Union was carried. If you look at the question calmly and dispassionately, is there not something in degrees of guilt about bribery arising from the source from which the bribery may happen to come? If I want to get into power, and put my hand into my pocket and give out money I am guilty of bribery. It is a wrong act against a sensitive conscience. Again, I may put my hands, if I am a Minister, into the exchequer of my country. That is a degree worse. It is only at all justified by a statesman thinking that he sees an overwhelming reason for it, and I do not

argue whether Pitt was or was not justified, though I think it probable that he was. Walpole said in his day that every man had his price, and I have heard eminent Liberal members say that it was the vilest, most sordid, and most satanic principle that they had ever heard of. Every class has its price is a later version; but then classes, you know, are composed of individuals, and then this bribery of classes is bribery in the highest degree. The only word to express this sort of bribe—it occurs in Burke, I think; it is an ugly word—the word is bribe-pander. (Hear.) Pander is an unpleasant word. The man who condescends to awaken the lust of covetousness in classes and conditions of men, who procures objects for the concupiscence which he has evoked among masses of people is

A BRIBE-PANDER.

(Applause.) I no more call Mr. Gladstone a bribe-pander than Mr. Gladstone called Mr. Pitt a blackguard. I am only speaking of their policy. (Applause.) I would say to my Nonconformist friends, if I could address them, "Mr. Gladstone, his party, and his policy comes before you with the biggest bribe in his right hand that ever was offered to the sons of men." If one's indignation did not rise, I think one could hardly help smiling. Perhaps this assembly would excuse me if I remind them of the passage in the "Fortunes of Nigel." King James the First is speaking of his son, who, perhaps, was not famous for sincerity, and of his favourite, who was not famous for regularity of life. "I heard," he says, "baby Charles and Steeny laying down Delgaoud's duty to gingling Geordie. Man it was grand to hear baby Charles on the guilt of dissimulation, and Steeny lecturing on the turpitude of incontinence." (Laughter and applause.) When the mists have cleared away, and when the policy of Mr. Gladstone comes to be compared with Pitt's, I feel perfectly sure that the word blackguard will not be used, because even if our language go on increasing at the rate of some thousands of words in the century there will scarcely be a word, but there may be a word to express the character of the conduct which tries

to corrupt the virginity of soul of one of the honestest peoples under heaven. (Applause.) But then they might say, "Ireland blocks the way, and until we have settled matters we cannot expect the disendowment." A terrible price to pay, the agony of their kith and kin, and ruin to the Empire, and yet there is one argument which I must put before you. If this Bill come into force, every man in his senses acquainted with Ireland knows that the voluntary Churches in this country will be wiped out. Now, the greatest argument for Voluntaryism is the success of voluntary efforts. (Hear, hear.) It is the only argument that has ever had the least real weight with me. I am a friend of the Established Church, and I confess to a fear that the argument will fail, but it is at least an argument which any honest man can use with pride, and which it takes a wise man to answer. Mr. Gladstone speaks a great deal. (Laughter.) In introducing another Bill some years ago he professed some desire to have an honourable regard for the civil servants of ours who "in rendering service to the Empire were placed in relations more or less uneasy to popular feeling;" and then he goes on, "And with what, under this new Constitution, will be in all probability the dominant influence in that country." I ask your attention for one moment to these points. He says, "a new constitution." Therefore, he admits that he is beginning on a totally new principle. And then he says, "What will probably be the dominant influence?" I suppose that most of you at times have been struck by that subtle principle of association in the human mind which makes the words that convey the same idea produce different effects on the one person. I remember being told by Archbishop Whately that he knew old ladies who considered that there was a great difference between taking tartar emetic and antimonial wine—(laughter)—though the chemist will tell you that the constituents of both are the same. So it is with other words. Ascendency is an unpleasant word, the tartar emetic—and

DOMINANT INFLUENCE

was substituted—antimonial wine. (Applause.) Would you

rather be under the ascendency of certain people or under their dominant influence? If human words convey anything this new Constitution is the words, "a new ascendency." (Applause.) Mr. Gladstone disestablished our Church. He did one thing after another to cut down the Upas tree of the old ascendency, and he now comes, and, for once in a way, he plants a new tree of ascendency. (Applause.) Can inconsistency go beyond this? I heard an old gentleman say many years ago that one of the most striking things he ever heard was when he heard the great O'Connell, standing on the hill of Tara, after Catholic Emancipation had passed. The great orator lifted up his hands to heaven, and he said, "The shackles have been stricken from my hands, but the mark of the fetters is still upon my wrists." But the shadow of the fetters still glooms over us, and when this new ascendency is fastened upon us, where will be the O'Connell to free us from them? (Hear, hear.) Now, I will say to all thinking men in the United Kingdom, and especially to the Nonconformists, "Help us, help us, as the friends of liberty in the past, as the friends of purity of election." I will put it on another footing. I have none of the airy asceticism of the late convert to temperance, Sir William Harcourt. (Laughter.) But as friends of temperance, I call on them to help us in the work. (Hear, hear.) The Bill

STAGGERS UNDER WHISKEY

in its financial proposals. (Hear, hear.) It smells of whiskey, and the snake bite of National bankruptcy is to be doctored by doses of National drunkenness. (Applause.) Yes, I would say to them not to support the spirit of excessive faction in alliance with that of revolution. (Hear, hear.) But great would be his guilt, and terrible and dark will be the shadow of your shame, if it should happen that the great betrayal should be accomplished, and that great betrayal shall be followed by a great fall—the fall of an empire, and the isles will shake with the sound of it. (Applause.)

# Priestly Dictation.

The following is an extract from the *Irish Daily Independent* of March 14th, 1893:—

Very recently the Most Rev. Dr. Nulty expressed in public his regret that politics had divided the people of his diocese into antagonistic parties. Dr. Nulty did not, at the same time, withdraw the political proclamation which he issued last year in the form of a Pastoral. His clergymen, taking their lead from him, have acted in the manner that has rendered Meath Elections a subject of reproach to Irishmen throughout the world. They are now going much further. Apparently swollen with the arrogance of conquerors, they seem to be entering upon a warfare of extermination against all who do not agree with their peculiar whims. Here is a letter which one of them has addressed to a Catholic Guardian:—

The Palace, Mullingar, 26th February, 1893.

My Dear Mr. ——— I am writing you a short note with reference to the guardianship of ——— Division during the ensuing year. Some time ago your action as Poor Law Guardian for the division did not by any means give satisfaction to the great bulk of your electors. The priests of the parish here, as well as the priest of Ballynacargy, were very much disappointed with you.

Unless we get an assurance from you in writing at once that you will not vote for the cause of faction in future, either in connection with the giving of the printing contract to the *Examiner*, or **the opposing of any Catholic question that may come before the Board of Poor Law Guardians**, we will consider it our duty to have a candidate nominated in opposition to you.—Faithfully yours,

J. Drum, Adm.

It is really difficult to conceive that any clergyman could wilfully compose such a letter. But there it is! Father Drum, writing from The Palace, Mullingar, gives this Catholic guardian of the poor a clear intimation that he will be opposed as an enemy of the Church unless he pledges himself to join the Federation, and to help the holy movement for the ruin of the *Examiner*. He must not vote except as Father Drum pleases, or "We" of The Palace will consider it our duty to select an opposition candidate! Talk of mediæval tyranny! The despotism which every country curate is now attempting to set up on his own behalf might become more galling than any but the worst excesses of the old feudal lords.

# CIVIL WAR!

## Mr. Gladstone on the result of Home Rule in Ireland.

"My firm belief is that the influence of Great Britain in every Irish difficulty is not a domineering and tyrannising but a softening and mitigating influence, and that were Ireland detached from her political connection with this country, and left to her own unaided agencies, it might be that **the strife of parties would then burst forth in a form calculated to strike horror through the land.**"—*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. clxxxi., p.* 721.

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"We are all, gentlemen, every man, woman, and child among us, convinced that it is the will of Providence, *that these islands should be bound together in a United Kingdom:* and from one end of Great Britain to the other, I trust there will not be a single representative returned to Parliament, *who, for one moment, would listen to any proposition tending to impair—visibly and sensibly to impair—the unity of the Empire.*"—Midlothian Speeches, 1885.

# IRISH UNITARIANS'

AND

# NON-SUBSCRIBING PRESBYTERIANS'

# MANIFESTO TO BRITISH NONCONFORMISTS.

A largely-attended meeting of Unitarians and Non-Subscribing Presbyterians of Ireland was held in Belfast on 30th May, 1892, for the purpose of adopting a series of resolutions, addressed to their co-religionists in England and Scotland, against the establishment of a Home Rule Parliament and Executive in Ireland.

Mr. John Rogers presided, and in opening the proceedings said —The resolutions to be submitted to you will be spoken to by two gentlemen well qualified to do so, and it is therefore unnecessary for me to refer to them. They are addressed to our co-religionists in England, who are usually supporters of Mr. Gladstone's policy, and who are generally ignorant of the conditions which prevail in Ireland, but are content blindly to follow where he leads. The appeal addressed to the Nonconformists at the other side of the Channel by the Presbyterian, Methodist, and other Non-Episcopal Ministers of Ireland has, I am glad to see, produced much effect, and its statements are so unanswerable that Mr. Gladstone has declined to discuss them, an action on his part which has produced much unfavourable comment among his supporters. (Applause.) Surely it is not too much to hope that the appeal to the Unitarians of England will not be passed by unheeded when they know that it proceeds from those who, always excepting this question of Home Rule, are animated by the same sentiments as they are, and who, being on the spot, are better judges of the situation than they can possibly be. It has been the custom of Gladstonian speakers and newspapers to represent any demonstration opposed to Home Rule as proceeding from assemblies

of Orangemen, and as being the outcome of Orange intolerance and bigotry. It would require a very great perversion of fact to characterise the present meeting as having anything in the nature of Orangeism in its composition. The Unitarian Body has ever been the foremost in support of every truly Liberal reform, and its members have suffered much in the past for their advocacy of unpopular opinion. Before 1886 there were no more earnest followers of Mr. Gladstone than the vast majority of the Irish Unitarians. We heartily supported the removal of the disabilities of our Roman Catholic countrymen, which were so oppressive in the early part of this century, and are still willing that they should enjoy every right and privilege that we ourselves possess. Our endeavours have always been to advance the cause of civil and religious liberty, and we hold that no man should suffer by reason of the creed he professes. We have advocated the reform of the land laws, and all the other great Liberal measures with so many of which Mr. Gladstone's name is associated. We are to-day no less liberal than we have ever been, but we believe that a Government which would be entirely controlled by men of one faith, who more than all others are under the guidance and control of their priests, would establish an ascendency much worse and more intolerable than those to which we were formerly opposed, and which we assisted to destroy. (Applause.) We have been called by Mr. Gladstone degenerate sons of rebel sires. Our forefathers risked their lives and property in opposition to oppression and wrong, and under similar circumstances I am quite sure we, their descendants, would not be more backward. The conditions are, however, entirely different. Every man is now equal in the eyes of the law, and the land laws, the great source of all the trouble that has disturbed this unhappy country, are at present the most liberal in the world. The establishment of a Home Rule Government, however carefully safeguarded it might be, would be subversive of the happy state of things with which the people of this province at least are quite contented, and under which the industries of the whole country are prospering with the protection of just laws and their firm and equal administration. We wish merely to be let alone—(loud applause)—claiming no exceptional privileges for ourselves, and we are determined, in case of need, to join our brother Protestants in resisting by every means in our power any attempt to sever the bonds which bind us to the great Empire of which we form a part, in whose triumphs we have had a share, and of whose traditions we are justly proud. (Prolonged applause.)

Mr. James Davidson (Comber) then submitted and moved the adoption of the following resolutions :—

That this Committee, representative of the Unitarians and Non-Subscribing Presbyterians of Ireland opposed to Home Rule, desire,

in this grave crisis of their country's history, to address their co-religionists throughout Great Britain and Ireland, and to bespeak their friendly consideration of the following resolutions :—

### *AN ALIEN ASSEMBLY.*

That any scheme of so-called Home Rule would be to them and to over a million and a quarter of the people of Ireland the very reverse of self-government, inasmuch as it would be government by a Parliament in Dublin, the permanent majority of whose members would be alien to them alike in sentiment and interests, and imbued with all the narrow prejudices inseparable from Provincialism ; so that only under the ægis of that broader representation, provided through the one United Parliament, can the civil and religious liberties of every sect and section of the people of this divided country be amply secured.

### *BOYCOTTERS AND CAMPAIGN POLITICIANS.*

That we contemplate with the gravest distrust any proposal to place our liberties, our homes and industries, the education of our children, and the best interests of our country at the mercy of politicians responsible for the terribly coercive cruelties of boycotting and the Plan of Campaign, and who themselves would inevitably be dominated by an ecclesiasticism whose baneful record may be found in the annals of every age and of every country where its political influence has been paramount.

### *A NEW AND WORSE ASCENDENCY.*

That this is no unreasoning fanaticism, but the deliberate conviction of an admittedly fair-minded community, whose members in the days when religious disabilities did exist in Ireland stood always by the side of their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, but who, now that every vestige of ascendency, either civil or religious, has been swept away by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, are as determinedly opposed to the setting up of a new and worse ascendency under a Parliament in Dublin.

That these are no idle fears, the words and actions of Archbishop Walsh, of Mr. Timothy Healy, of Mr. Dillon, and other leaders of the Nationalist parties incontestibly prove.

### *ULSTER INDUSTRIES.*

That the industries which have made Ulster especially prosperous and contented would be crippled and depressed by Home Rule, as evidenced by the fact that the mere shadow of its approach six years ago suddenly depreciated the value of shares in the local banks and railways of Belfast alone by over a million sterling, which depreciation entirely passed away as soon as confidence in the maintenance of the Union was restored ; and now these very shares command a market value much greater than before the depression.

### *ANARCHY.*

That Home Rule, therefore, would not be a "Message of Peace," but would impede the healing influences of recent legislation, and prove a "sword" driven into the heart of our distracted land, plunging our beloved country into a state of even greater anarchy than that from which it has at length most happily emerged,

### *ONLY DESIRE AN EQUAL FOOTING.*

That, while opposed to what is called "Home Rule," we strenuously advocate the extension to Ireland of a similar form of "Local Government" to that which has been given to England and Scotland, and when that is passed we shall enjoy every privilege now possessed by our fellow-subjects in the sister island, while continuing to be represented on an absolutely equal footing in the one and undivided Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland.

### *THEIR INALIENABLE BIRTHRIGHT.*

That in this one Imperial Parliament the million and a quarter of the people of Ireland who are opposed to Home Rule have an inalienable birthright, of which their co-partners therein cannot justly deprive them, much less force them to accept a political servitude they would naturally repudiate.

### *PART AND PARCEL OF THE EMPIRE.*

That we, then, as members of a Free Church, who, in common with our co-religionists in England, Wales, and Scotland, have ever stood up for the civil and religious liberty of every class and sect of the people, implore our fellow-electors in this great crisis to see that their votes are cast for the Union, thereby ensuring the maintenance of these glorious principles in Ireland, and leaving us, as we now are, part and parcel of the one United Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, and equal inheritors of that magnificent Empire which Irish soldiers and Irish statesmen have contributed to build up.

Rev. William Napier moved the adoption of the resolutions. He said they would never consent to support a principle that would allow them to be trampled upon by the powers of men whose conduct or misconduct they had witnessed with shame and pain for months and for years. If they had any grievances or disabilities they would be amply dealt with by such a Local Government Bill as had been introduced by the present Government, with some necessary amendments.

The resolutions were supported by Mr. Richard Patterson, J.P.; Mr. H. D. Ward, J.P.; Rev. J. A. Crozier, Mr. George Andrews, Mr. Thomas Andrews, Comber; Mr. S. C. Davidson, and others, and unanimously adopted.

A vote of thanks to the chairman terminated the proceedings.—*Irish Times*, 31st May, 1892.

# *"The Baptist"*

## ON THE DUTY OF

# ENGLISH NONCONFORMISTS.

UNDER the head "Surrender and Despair," the following article appears in *The Baptist*, of April 8th, 1892, the organ of the Baptist Denomination :—

Home Rule for Ireland must needs be a prominent feature at the impending General Election, but it is becoming increasingly doubtful whether it will form the one plank upon which Mr. Gladstone and his followers stake their political fortunes. The humour of the electors, gauged by the experienced judgment of old Parliamentary hands, is the factor that will doubtless determine that point. Meanwhile, one thing is certain : the Irish Question grows in gravity in proportion as, aside from the attitude of mere partisanship, we come to examine and reflect upon its moral and religious issues. The cheap and delusive banter about stirring sectarian animosities dare not deter

### CHRISTIAN VOTERS

from the duty of looking facts in the face, and particularly of weighing probabilities and possibilities concerning the effect of proposed legislative measures upon the work and prospects of any section of the Church of Christ.

Mr. Gladstone's name is recognised by cute politicians as one to conjure with in dealing especially with English Nonconformists. We are even being twitted about the elasticity of the "Nonconformist Conscience," which could, in recent years, wink at "wholesale lying, flagrant dishonesty, and murder," carried on under the auspices of Irish political associations, although we have raised a righteous storm against the personal immorality of certain individual leaders. Whatever semblance of truth may underlie these charges at least forms a reflection upon our traditional jealousy for right and truth, and therefore forcibly appeals to our spiritual instinct when determining

### OUR DUTY AT THE NEXT POLLING BOOTHS.

Not only the immediate interests of Ireland, but our national honour and destiny are dependent upon the decision to be then

made. That we write, therefore, under a sense of grave responsibility, unaffected by mere party claims, goes, we trust, without saying.

In suggesting serious doubt about the wisdom of conceding the plain and recently-reiterated demand of the Irish Parliamentary party, as Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt leave us to infer they are prepared to do, it is, perhaps, sufficient answer to any reflection upon our motives to remind our critics that our doubt has been all along shared by such distinguished Liberals as John Bright, Charles Haddon Spurgeon, Dr. McLaren, Dr. Donald Fraser, Dr. Dale. Dr. Allon, Revs. W. McArthur, W. M'Cullogh, Edward White, Arthur Mursell, and many others. These honoured brethren, more jealous for the triumph of principle than of party, have, with unvarying consistency, continued, from the moment when Mr. Gladstone's remarkable

## HOME RULE PROPOSAL OF 1886

saw the light, and was so quickly demolished, to protest against the grievous wrong and obvious ill-consequences of any such measure. Mr. Spurgeon did not hesitate to say in writing that he considered the whole scheme "as full of dangers and absurdities as if it came from a madman." He declared the plan to be clearly unworkable. "We cannot," he added in a later deliverance, "look forward with any complacency to Ulster loyalists abandoned, and an established Irish Catholic Church, and yet they are by no means the greatest evils which we foresee in the near future should the suggested policy ever become fact." New and significant emphasis is given to the honest and unbiassed opinions of such men as

## MR. SPURGEON and MR. BRIGHT,

who, instead of recanting their belief, seem to have tenaciously held it until death sealed their testimony—by the events of the last few days.

English, Scotch, and Welsh Nonconformists would be false to their fraternal professions if they refused calmly to ponder the solemnly urgent manifesto and appeal now addressed on behalf of almost every one of the 990 non-Episcopal ministers in Ireland to their brotherhood within the United Kingdom. They state that the events which have occurred in Ireland since 1886 have strengthened them and their churches in their resolute opposition to a Dublin Parliament, where it is plain, from recent internecine struggles between the

## PARNELLITES AND ANTI-PARNELLITES,

that the tremendous influence of the priesthood would be paramount. "The effects of such clerical interference in the sphere of politics in other countries confirm us in the judgment that under a Home Rule Government the interests and liberties of the Irish

people, and especially of Irish Protestants, would be insecure. The struggle between Catholics and Protestants would be intensified, and the eventual result would be the all but certainty of civil war of a most sanguinary character." The memorialists—for such in the most real sense they are—declare Mr. Gladstone's scheme to be degrading to them as citizens, as well as dangerous to

**THE INTERESTS OF THE EMPIRE,**

and they conclude in the following importunate terms:—"We claim the aid of our brethren in England and Wales in our resistance to Mr. Gladstone's policy—a policy which we hold to be one of surrender and despair; and we appeal with the utmost confidence to the descendants of the Nonconformists of 1662 to put an end at the coming General Election, for at least a generation, to attempts such as Mr. Gladstone has made to disintegrate and destroy the unity and glory of the Empire and our Queen." This remarkable address is signed by N. M. Brown, D.D., R. J. Lynd, D.D., John James M'Clure, Presbyterians; George Cron, Independent; William Usher, M.D., Baptist; and Wesley Guard, Methodist.

We learn by way of explanation of these names that Dr. N. M. Brown is the Moderator (or chairman) for the present year of the General Assembly—the Supreme Court—of the Irish Presbyterian Church, which numbers almost half a million of the people of Ireland. He is a Radical, and is and was a tenant-righter long before the majority of Nationalists had dreamed of such a thing as tenant-right. Dr. Lynd is an ex-Moderator of the General Assembly, and probably the most eloquent non-Episcopal minister in Ireland. He has been a Liberal all his days. Mr. Wesley Guard is an eloquent Wesleyan Methodist, and is representative of the Methodist community. **Dr. Usher is the well-known Baptist pastor of Belfast, and is certainly entitled to speak for our Baptist community.** Mr. Cron is an Independent minister of repute in Belfast, and Mr. M'Clure is Secretary of the Presbyterian Representative Association, and famous for his thorough knowledge of Irish affairs.

To whatever shade of party politics our readers may belong we can do no other than urge upon them

**THE IMPERATIVE CHRISTIAN DUTY**

of pausing to weigh arguments from brethren with whose supreme objects the glory of God and the highest welfare of their country and their fellow-men they are necessarily in accord. Political prejudices and passions must be ruled out of court. These Irish representatives of our own religious kin are one with us also in Liberal sympathies. They have proved this by a valorous struggle throughout the century, side by side even with their Catholic countrymen, for equal civil and religious rights; but they foresee

that, unless their British Nonconformist brethren intervene, they are doomed by way of melancholy reward to spend the twentieth century in a hopeless struggle against a new ascendency — an ascendency stained with robbery, violence, cruelty, and blood.

To the *Contemporary Review* for April Mr. R. T. Reid, Q.C., M.P., contributes an article on

**"FORMS OF HOME RULE."**

He traverses, from Mr. Gladstone's point of view, well-worn ground, and at last makes the naïve general confession that "If Home Rule is to be given at all, it must be in such a form that the British Parliament, while retaining its inalienable supremacy, should leave Ireland really to manage her own concerns." But he omits to state that the venerable ex-Premier has himself failed to produce even the darkest outline of any reasonable and workable plan on these lines, and has, in fact, acknowledged that any such plan "it passes the wit of man to conceive." Either we must close our eyes to history, as well as to the condition of all Rome-ridden countries to-day, or we must acknowledge that dominant priestism is everywhere the curse of the age—a vast system for crushing religious liberty, and an engine for destroying every man's inalienable right of individual conscience. So that the conclusion of our Irish Nonconformist brethren is incontestably established; it is not the wild imagination of fevered alarmists, but the timely warning of faithful warriors in the battle of the Lord, when they describe the political horizon as betokening nothing less than "surrender and despair."

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# Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P.

Addressing an English audience at Denbigh, on 26th October, 1888, MR. T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P., Ex-Lord Mayor of Dublin, Patriot and Parnellite Poet, delivered himself as follows :—

"I tell you that strong as the name of England stands, and proud as the people of this island may be of their great and their successful history, they will be prouder men, and the fame and glory of England will stand before the world when the settlement of which I speak will be achieved, more high, more grand, more glorious than ever it has been before." (Prolonged applause.)—*Denbighshire Free Press*, 27th October, 1888.

Lest the people of England should be misled by this humbug, we quote a poem from the pen of Mr. Sullivan, which shows what he thinks of "the fame and glory of England," and the way in which he reads the "great and successful history" of the British Empire. We wonder how the English people, to whom the ex-Lord Mayor is so very kind, will feel when they read his expressions about their country, in the following poem :—

ENVIOUS, SPITEFUL, SELFISH, HEARTLESS, SMOKY, SOOTY, STUPID, AND PALTRY LITTLE ENGLAND.

"'Neath Russia's glorious banner
We hasten to the war ;
*To lead our conquering* legions
*We've Russia's mighty Czar.*
We'll face all toil and danger,
And count our pains no loss,
Till floats above, the Crescent,
The Standard of the Cross.

*Envious little England*
Thinks to say us nay ;
But *spiteful little England*
Shall never stop our way.

"Across the Russian Danube
We heard our brothers' cries,
We saw above their dwellings
The lurid flames arise.
Shall we not stay this ravage
By brutal Moslem hordes ?
*Make answer Russia's cannon !*
*Flash out bright Russian swords !*

*Selfish little England*
Thinks to say us nay ;
But *heartless little England*
Shall never stop our way.

"Look up, ye trembling peoples!
Your years of woe are o'er;
You'll bear with Turkish buffets
And Turkish lusts no more.
Behold the light of freedom
Shines from our Northern Star,
The sword and shield of justice,
Our Heaven appointed Czar!

*Smoky little England*
Thinks to say us nay,
But *sooty little England*
Shall never stop our way.

"England fears for India,
For there her cruel work
Was just as foul and hateful
As any of the Turk.
But when God sends us thither
*Her rule to overthrow,*
With fearless hearts rejoicing
To work His will we'll go.

*Stupid little England*
Thinks to say us nay;
But *paltry little England*
Shall never stop our way.

This reference to Ex-Mayor Sullivan would not be by any means complete if we did not mention that *it was after* the appearance of "Paltry Little England" that Mr. Sullivan *lunched at Hawarden and dined at Dollis Hill with Mr. Gladstone;* and was the favoured recipient of *Mr. Gladstone's congratulations* on the advancement of his "principles" at a meeting at the Chester Railway Station.

## HOW HE REFERS TO LORD SPENCER.

Mr. Sullivan when speaking in England is careful to explain that his feelings and sentiments have all undergone a wonderful change, and that now he is full of admiration for everything and everybody whom he formerly abused and hated, and who have since come to think as he does. However, Lord Spencer seems to be an exception from the Parnellite Poet's good will. Mr. Sullivan's latest edition of poems contains the following verses, entitled "Foxy Jack." Foxy Jack, it should be explained, is the gentlemanly way in which the poet refers to John Poyntz, Earl Spencer. The verses were written in September, 1884, in reply to the noble Earl's speech at Gowran, county Kilkenny, in which he said the Irish People "should not be deluded into believing that they were to get any more concessions. They must be content with the enormous concessions that have been made." Mr. Sullivan answers "Foxy Jack" in the following doggerel:—

Ye agitators
And Land League traitors,
Your rebel colours you must haul down;
Since the Lord-Leftinnant
Set up his pinnant
At young Lord Clifden's near Gowran town:
He said the Land Act
Was such a grand Act
That you'd get no more on your present tack;
But I'd like to know, boys,
Who cares a sloe, boys,
For the silly sayin's of Foxy Jack.

No, boys; while Erin
Is sadly bearin'
A single link of oppression's chain,
Our proud endeavour
Will be for ever
To end her grief and to ease her pain.
We'll give our nation
Its rightful station,
Despite each tyrant and slavish hack,
Each vain romancer
And Castle dancer—
And there's our answer to Foxy Jack.

## HE TELLS TRUTH BY STEALTH.

"Let not the English Liberals, however, deceive themselves. If they have a notion that by making *partial concession* to Irish claims, and especially to the Irish National Claim for self-government, they can once more attach to themselves the great body of Irish Parliamentary Representatives, let them at once dismiss it from their minds as a gross delusion. . . . . We shall not respect partial concessions, and *most assuredly we will not be induced, by the grant of some of our rights, to cease working for the remainder.*"—*Nation*, 25th October, 1879.

## HIS TRUE SENTIMENTS REGARDING "THINGS ENGLISH."

The following references (extracted from Mr. Sullivan's paper the *Nation*) deal, of course, with the different reverses which attended the British troops in Afghanistan and Zululand ten years ago.

"It was a *most brilliant affair*, cleverly planned, and thoroughly executed. *It is only English armies that are so squelched.* The soldiers of other nations, by a combination of bravery and skill, are able to bring themselves honourably out of almost any predicament.—*Nation*, 15th February, 1879.

"*We are glad* whenever we see the fulfilment of the Scripture promise that those who unjustly draw the sword shall perish by the sword. *The punishment of robbers and murderers should always give satisfaction to honest men,* and for that reason the recent events in Afghanistan have had in this country quite a reassuring effect. —*Nation,* 20th Dec., 1879.

"*And now the news reaches us, gladdening every honest heart, that one of the most signal defeats ever inflicted on British arms* in any part of the world has just been inflicted on them by Ayoub Khan —*Nation,* 7th August, 1880.

"The heir of the Napoleons has perished in Zululand. As far as can yet be seen, the event reflects the deepest discredit upon the British . . . . *It is certain that none other than British soldiers could have been guilty of such a disgraceful flight.*—*Nation,* 28th June, 1879.

"The British, in fact, seem to be in mortal terror of Zulus, the mere shadows of whom are often enough to drive the gallant fellows away *frightened almost out of their lives.*—*Nation,* July 5th, 1879.

"*The Robber Army* will continue in Zululand, and Irishmen have the gratification of knowing that the Parliament of the English is becoming as useless to themselves as it is to us, and that *our arm is long enough to work hurt and harm on the enemy in at least some parts of the world.*—*Nation,* June 7th, 1879.

"The operations of the invaders, the English forces, are those of *ruthless plunderers and cut-throats.*—*Nation,* 3rd January, 1880.

"The world would continue to believe that he (General Roberts) has been in command simply of a *corps of hangmen.*—*Nation,* 21st February, 1880.

"*Brag, bluster, and bloodshed,* were always dear to the English mind."—*Nation,* 13th March, 1880.

## PREACHING THE CREED OF BOYCOTTING.

The following speech of Mr. Sullivan's was quoted at the State Trials in Dublin, in 1881 :—

"If you stand to each other like brothers, follow the advice that has been given you here to-day, leave those farms to grow thistles and rushes, and if anyone is base enough to go in on them, shun him. (A voice, 'Shoot him.') Let him be as an outcast amongst you, and his life will be a life of shame, and a life of misery; and the shame will attach not only to himself, but to his children and his children's children."—Speech at Ennis, 19*th September*, 1880.—Official Report, *Queen* v. *Parnell*, p. 143.—(*See* Report of Trial.)

## HE WANTS REPEAL AND NOTHING BUT REPEAL.

Speaking at Mullingar, on 1st June, 1884, Mr. Sullivan is reported to have said :—

"They would never lay down their arms till the full measure of their rights was conceded. . . . Again, it was said that as soon as the National Party got 80 or 90 Parnellites into Parliament, the next thing would be the *repeal of the Union*. ('Hear, hear.') To those who made that objection, he would reply, '*Right you are old boy.*' (Cheers and laughter.) And the National Party would never rest content till they achieved for Ireland its full measure of National rights, and got back once more for their country a native Parliament in the Irish capital, to take charge of the interests and watch over the destinies of the Irish people." (Loud Applause.)

## HE GLORIES IN ANNOYING ENGLAND.

At the Central Branch of the National League in Dublin, on 18th January, 1887, Mr. Sullivan, M.P., who was warmly cheered, said he would trespass on their attention for only a short time. The chief thing that induced him to intrude himself upon their

notice was that he wished to hand in a couple of sovereigns which he had received from a gentleman in America for a special purpose. The money came from Mr. John A. O'Reilly, of Syracuse, New York, and the letter is dated the 23rd December. He says—**"Appropriate it to anything or whatsoever will give the British Government two pounds worth of annoyance and punishment."** (Loud laughter.) He (the Lord Mayor) did not exactly know what the subscriber meant by satisfaction of his money. He thought that it ought to be something connected with the Plan of Campaign. (Hear, hear.) *He would make the National League the custodians of it for the present*, and they *would see afterwards the best means of applying it.*—*Freeman's Journal*, 19th January, 1887.

## RECENT SPEECHES ON SEPARATISM.

Were the people likely to surrender the cause for which Grattan strove and for which **Tone died?** (At Waterford, 9th Sept., 1888.)—The *Nation*, 15th September, 1888.

The Irish people were never before so united as they were at the present moment. They had an educated people at home who had drunk in the teaching of Thomas Davis, of John Martin, and of John Mitchell, and on their cause would go. They had educated the English people, **and he thought that they had established a right to a larger and a wider scheme of Home Rule for Ireland than was originally proposed by Mr. Gladstone.** (At Phœnix Park, Dublin, 16th September, 1888.)—*United Ireland*, 22nd September, 1888.

## A NOBLE (?) BOAST.

"We have revolutionised the relations between these two classes in Ireland—the Landlord and the Tenant." (At Drogheda Convention, 7th November, see *Dundalk Democrat*, 9th November, 1889.)

## "GOD SAVE IRELAND."

The late Mr. John Bright, M.P., replying to a correspondent in April, 1888, said :—

"It is a song (God save Ireland) written obviously to glorify the men guilty of the Fenian outrage and murder committed in Manchester, on the 18th of September, 1867. I am not sure that the author of the song was not present; at least three Members of Parliament are reported to have been present, one of whom, the member for Huddersfield, was, or is, or is expected to be, or aspires to be, one of the whips of the present Opposition, and of the new Government which the disappointed and the hungry are so anxiously looking for.

"I will not reason with the three members or the expectant whip. I know their case, and they know it. But I may reason, not with your frantic public meeting, but with the thoughtful and moral men who were in former days many, and who, I hope, are now not a few among the electors of your once honoured constituency. Are they prepared to glorify the actors in the Fenian outrage of 1867? Will they join in singing the praises of the men of whom even your editor says, 'They rightly paid the penalty of the homicide of which they were guilty.'?"—The *Times*, April 11th, 1888.

The following are two of the verses of Mr. Sullivan's Song which Mr. Bright referred to :—

High upon the gallows tree
Swung the noble-hearted Three,
By the vengeful tyrant stricken in their bloom;
But they met him face to face,
With the courage of their race,
And they went with souls undaunted to their doom.
"God save Ireland!" said the heroes:
"God save Ireland!" said they all:
"Whether on the scaffold high
"Or the battle-field we die,
'Oh, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!"

Never till the latest day
Shall the memory pass away
Of the gallant lives thus given for our land:
But on the cause must go,
Amidst joy, or weal, or woe,
Till we've made our isle a nation free and grand.
"God save Ireland!" say we proudly;
"God save Ireland!" say we all;
"Whether on the scaffold high
"Or the battle-field we die,
"Oh, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!"

*December 7th*, 1867. "National Songs," by T. D. Sullivan, M.P.

This Song has now become the Irish Home Rule "National Anthem," and is sung at all public assembles in place of God Save the Queen.

# MR. SULLIVAN
ON THE
# REMOVAL OF LOYAL EMBLEMS
FROM
# THE MANSION HOUSE, DUBLIN.

Commenting on the incidents of a banquet given by the Lord Mayor, Mr. John O'Connor, of Dublin, to Mr. C. S. Parnell and other members of his Parliamentary party in September, 1885, the *Nation* newspaper, of which

**Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P.,**

was the *Editor*, *Proprietor*, and *Publisher*, says (5th September, 1885) alluding to the omission of the toast of the Queen and the removal of V.R. from the canopy over the seat of the Lord Mayor:—

"The banquet in the Mansion House on Tuesday is likely to become historic. . . . The banquet was also notable as marking the first complete break with the past traditions of the official residence of the Chief Magistrate of Dublin, and the inauguration within its walls, as it were, of the National *regime* of to-day.

"A very significant change, for instance, was made in the Mansion House toast list, **from which all royal and 'loyal' toasts were, for the first time, completely absent**, and on which the sentiment placed first was one that had never before been honoured at a public entertainment in the same place, viz., 'Ireland a Nation.' Another circumstance of similar significance was the substitution in the gas device over the canopy in the Round Room of a harp and shamrock for the well-known letters V.R. **The Lord Mayor, in fact, did not leave a trace of British rule in the hall, even the familiar 'Union Jack' having had to give way to the Irish, American, and French Flags. . . . . The inference inevitably suggested to us is, that if all traces of British rule were swept out of the country as well as out of the Mansion House, similar peace would prevail everywhere else in the island."**

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Mr. T. D. Sullivan was elected Lord Mayor of Dublin the following year.

**Perhaps Mr. Sullivan will state whether during that year the toast of "the Queen" was proposed at the Mansion House, or any of the Loyal Emblems restored.**

# HOME RULE *OR* TEMPERANCE?

BY

E. MACDOWEL COSGRAVE, M.D.

*President Dublin Total Abstinence Society.*

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As one who has always looked upon the advancement of temperance as the most important requirement for the greater happiness and prosperity of our country, and who has never allowed party politics to dominate this belief, I venture to lay the following remarks before the temperance workers of the United Kingdom and to ask their careful consideration, and, if they think well of it, their aid.

No great change can be effected without bringing others in its train, and it often happens that the importance of the great change and the strong feelings *pro* and *con* that it excites, so fill men's minds that the secondary consequences are for the time overlooked. When the great change is effected the secondary changes are noticed, and the lost chances of avoiding the consequent evils are deplored.

The Government of Ireland Bill is a case in point; most of the discussion is devoted to the main question, but there are other important questions involved, of which one of the most urgent is what effect the passing of the present Bill would have on the progress of temperance reform in Ireland.

I want to leave aside the general question of whether or no a Home Rule Bill should pass, and merely to consider the present Bill from a temperance standpoint. If it is to pass, temperance workers of all politics should insist upon its being passed in such a form that it will not hinder temperance reform. As at present drawn I believe it aims

a fatal blow at temperance work in Ireland, and I want to show this in a few plain words and to call upon all temperance workers to unite in urging upon their representatives the alteration of the Bill in this particular.

Clause X. (which is given in full at the end) is the one which affects temperance; it states that the Customs (comprising tea, tobacco, and foreign spirits) are to be kept for Imperial purposes, whilst the Excise on articles consumed in Ireland (in addition to Stamps and Income-tax) is to be kept for Irish purposes. This simply means that every glass of whiskey consumed in Ireland will be worth so-much to the Irish revenue. In short, the chief means Ireland will have of keeping up the revenue, and the source of three-fifths of her revenue, will be consuming whiskey—the Bill weds us to whiskey and provides for no divorce.

Consuming whiskey in Ireland to keep up Ireland's finances savours too much of the people on a barren island who "made an honest but precarious livelihood by taking in each other's washing," but we know that Chancellors of the Exchequor cannot always care for the future in the effort to make ends meet, and the home revenue from whiskey, even if it impoverishes the people and increases the charges for pauperism and lunacy, will enable governments to pay their way and so will not be discouraged.

Mr. Gladstone offers Ireland no chance of keeping her head above water except by drinking whiskey. Money is wanted—she must drink whiskey; expenditure exceeds revenue—she must drink more whiskey; and the most financially prosperous period of government in Ireland will be that during which most whiskey is consumed. This is a consummation no temperance worker—no matter what his politics—can conscientiously permit.

Under the present Imperial arrangement a lessened consumption of alcohol does, of course, mean a loss of revenue, but even if no drink was consumed, and £34,000,000

was lost to the revenue, the cost of the drink—some £141,000,000—would be set free for the purchase of other things so that increased customs would result. As arranged by the present Bill, if the Irish excise is lessened, and the Irish customs raised, Ireland will lose and England will gain, so that Irish temperance workers might then be justly accused of wanting to rob Ireland and benefit England.

Another serious point is that the people will know that when they consume tea and tobacco they are paying to Great Britain, but when drinking whiskey they will be supporting the National finances. Again, a consummation no temperance worker can conscientiously permit.

Even the redress of increasing the Excise and so gaining the same revenue from a diminished consumption is not permitted, as, if the rate be increased, Ireland is to pay over the increase to Great Britain, so that an increase of the rate would be of no advantage to Irelend.

Surely if—as I strongly believe—Local Option is required for Great Britain, it is also required for Ireland, but this Bill, if passed, will make it impossible. No matter how strong temperance feeling in any locality may be, no Irish government ruling the country on the financial lines laid down by Mr. Gladstone, can allow the sale of spirits to be checked. The finances are too inelastic; any check to the sale of whiskey would mean simply that salaries and so forth could not be paid.

When the Bill was introduced I laid the above points before the Temperance Societies with which I was connected, and in several cases, after careful consideration of the Bill and its bearing on temperance reform, resolutions were passed; the following deserve careful attention :—

The Council of the Dublin Total Abstinence Society established in 1836, and having for its object "To promote

the social and moral well-being of the community without distinction of creed or politics," passed the following :—

RESOLVED :—" That this Society, while expressing no opinion on the political aspect of the Irish Government Bill, desires to point out that according to Clause 10, it is provided that the chief source of Revenue for Ireland shall be derived from the duties of excise, and that any future increase in these duties shall be paid into the Exchequer of the United Kingdom ; and that this Society enters its protest against any such arrangement as would interpose fresh obstacles between the Irish people and that temperance legislation which is their most pressing social need, and calls upon all temperance reformers in the United Kingdom to use their influence with Her Majesty's Government to alter a Clause, which as it stands is calculated to strengthen the chief source of our want and vice and crime."

The Church of Ireland Temperance Society issued the following appeal :—

"On behalf of a Society which numbers over one hundred thousand Members, we earnestly make this appeal to all Members of the House of Commons who desire to promote the cause of Temperance. We address it, more especially, to those who have been returned by the votes of the Temperance Party, in Great Britain, but represent constituents who were unacquainted, till now, with the provisions of the Home Rule Bill. Some of these affect most seriously *the very issue on which they gave their votes.*

"We call your attention to the clauses relating to 'Finance,' and to the Prime Minister's introductory speech in elucidation of them in the ' Bill for the Government of Ireland.'

" We are firmly persuaded that your constituents who are in favour of Temperance Reform will not expect you to

support these clauses which, yet, appear almost inextricably wrought into the Bill.

"For you will see that, under these financial provisions, the Revenue of the Irish Exchequer is made to depend mainly upon Ireland's Excise Duties.* Why else is it that Ireland is not included in Sir William Harcourt's 'Local Veto' Bill? It is a cynical mockery to say that 'an Irish Legislature can pass such measures for itself.' Clause 10, sub-section (*b*), appears to forbid this. But, even if possible, is it likely that a government which will be forced to rely for its resources on the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor would introduce or carry any real measure of Temperance Reform? Will it have Local Option? or Popular Veto? or Limitations of Licences? or even Sunday and early Saturday closing? Will any Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer be willing to cripple the supplies on which the solvency of the country will be forced to depend?

"Most earnestly we ask you to save us from clauses which will, of necessity, prove fatal to the interests of Temperance in this country, and compel an Irish Government to draw its financial life from what will be to the nation itself a source of demoralisation, degradation, and death.

"Let us remind you that the Sunday Closing Bill for Ireland, originally passed under a Conservative Government, has been 'continued' under both Liberal and Conservative Administrations; and do not, we pray you, abandon us who led for you the van, and bore the brunt of battle in that reform.

"Let us remind you that the extension of the Sunday Closing Act to the *whole* of Ireland, and the enactment of

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* "NOTE.—Excise furnished to the Imperial Revenue in 1891-2, 25¾ millions out of 91¼ millions—that is a good deal less than *one-third*; whereas under the Home Rule Bill, Excise duties would contribute to the Irish Revenue not less than *three-fifths*."

the Saturday Early Closing Bill has been *resisted by many Irish members;* and let us earnestly repeat and impress upon your minds our grave apprehension that all progress of Temperance Reform in Ireland will, by the proposed financial clauses, be rendered, humanly speaking, impossible.

"On behalf of the Council and Members we are authorised to make this earnest appeal for your sympathy and intervention in this grave matter."

The United Temperance Council (composed of delegates from the Dublin Temperance Societies) passed the following :—

RESOLVED—"That this United Temperance Council, embracing all shades of political thought, without expressing any opinion upon the principle of the measure, notice with regret that, under the terms of the Government of Ireland Bill introduced into Parliament, it is intended to raise the larger portion of the revenue of the proposed new Government from the liquor traffic."

The Dublin District Independent Order of Rechabites have resolved to hold a Special Meeting to consider Clause X., if the Bill passes the second reading.

For over fifty years temperance workers have made many sacrifices for the sake of their opinions. I would venture to ask for one more. I would ask the Local Option party, not to allow Ireland to lose the benefit of their work, but to insist that the Temperance Legislation promised in one paragraph of the Queen's Speech shall not be taken away from part of the Kingdom by another paragraph. Local Option should be applied to the entire United Kingdom, or, at any rate, no financial arrangement should be permitted which would prevent its extension to Ireland.

I would appeal to all temperance workers not to allow a clause to pass which would check temperance work in Ireland. The early temperance workers in Ireland, aided by the untiring labours, personal influence, and devoted love of Father Mathew, made Ireland sober, prosperous, and nearly free from crime. We are earnestly striving to lift her again to the proud position so rapidly attained in Father Mathew's time. Will Great Britain, whose temperance pioneers were so encouraged and aided by the marvellous success of the Irish movement, not only abandon us to the power of drink, but absolutely forge chains to make us powerless in its grasp? No! I cannot believe it; it is want of thought, not want of heart, and if our friends in Great Britain once realise what Clause X. means, I feel assured they will rise up and oppose it.

In laying this matter before temperance workers, I must make a short personal statement to justify my appeal. I am an abstainer of many years' standing, and have held many offices in Temperance Societies in England and Ireland. At present I have the honour to be President of the Dublin Total Abstinence Society, and of the Irish Branch (Central) British Medical Temperance Association, and P. D. C. R., I. O. R. I earnestly hope that this appeal and the convictions expressed in the above resolutions will not be neglected by temperance workers, and that they will not allow Ireland to be handed over to her greatest enemy—Drink.

E. MACDOWEL COSGRAVE.

CLAUSE X. OF THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL IS AS FOLLOWS:—

(1.) *On and after the appointed day* there shall be an Irish Exchequer and Consolidated Fund separate from those of the United Kingdom.

(2.) The duties of *customs* and *excise* and the duties on *postage* shall be imposed by Act of Parliament, but subject

to the provisions of this Act the Irish Legislature may, in order to provide for the public service of Ireland, impose any other taxes.

(3.) Save as in this Act mentioned, all matters relating to the taxes in Ireland and the collection and management thereof shall be regulated by Irish Act, and the same shall be collected and managed by the Irish Government and form part of the public revenues of Ireland: Provided that—

(*a*) *the duties of customs shall be regulated collected, managed, and paid into the Exchequer of the United Kingdom as heretofore;* and

(*b*) all prohibitions in connexion with the duties of excise, and, so far as regards articles sent out of Ireland, all matters relating to those duties, shall be regulated by Act of Parliament; and

(*c*) the excise duties on articles consumed in Great Britain shall be paid in Great Britain, or to an officer of the Government of the United Kingdom.

(4.) Save as in this Act mentioned, all the public revenues of Ireland shall be paid into the Irish Exchequer and form a Consolidated Fund, and be appropriated to the public service of Ireland by Irish Act.

(5.) *If the duties of excise are increased above the rates in force on the first day of March, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three, the net proceeds in Ireland of the duties in excess of the said rates shall be paid from the Irish Exchequer to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.*

(6.) If the duties of excise are reduced below the rates in force on the said day, and the net proceeds of such duties in Ireland are in consequence less than the net proceeds of the duties before the reduction, a sum equal to the deficiency shall, unless it is otherwise agreed between the Treasury and the Irish Government, be paid from the Exchequer of the United Kingdom to the Irish Exchequer.

# A SPEECH

DELIVERED BY

# Mr. John Atkinson, Q.C.

*(Ex-Attorney-General for Ireland),*

AT

# BELFAST,

*24th May, 1893.*

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The Right Hon. JOHN ATKINSON, Q.C., who was received with cheers, said—The resolution I have been asked to submit for your approval runs as follows:—

"That we declare our unabated attachment to the Crown and Constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, under which our country has greatly prospered, and Irishmen of all creeds and parties enjoy equal justice and freedom; and we further record our determination to maintain that Constitution in all its integrity, believing as we do that by that means alone can permanent prosperity and true liberty be secured in our beloved country."

This resolution expresses a sentiment and a belief, and records a resolve. It is the sentiment and it is the belief, I think, of everyone in this country, of whatever classes or creed, who respects the law—who loves liberty, equality, or justice, and neither lusts for place or power, nor longs to possess himself of his neighbours goods. (Hear, hear.) It is the sentiment, I am convinced, of everyone who does not seek for privilege or ascendency for any class or creed—and of everyone, too, who is animated by a pure, a worthy, or an enlightened patriotism. (Hear, hear.) And the resolve it records is the resolve of men whose stock, despite all that may be said, and justly said, of Ireland's wrongs and miseries in by-gone times, are in the main the authors of everything which has raised her from barbarism, civilized her, enriched her, established organized society, or secured for her, while she had it, independent national life. (Cheers.) Of men, too, the forefathers of many of whom showed that they knew how to struggle, and, if need be, to die for the rights and privileges of freemen. (Cheers.) Moreover, these opinions and resolves of ours are not based upon blind, unreasoning passion or prejudice, or formed to promote selfish or unworthy aims. They are founded upon reason, knowledge, the lessons of history, the experience of our daily lives, the true perception of the wants and interest of our country. (Hear, hear.) This

cannot be too often proclaimed. Parliamentary government in Ireland was emphatically the institution of the colonising race. If we look back we find failure written large across its history. Whether subordinate or supreme, the Parliament was the Parliament of one class and one creed—the Protestant landed gentry of Ireland. I do not refer to the Parliament of James II. While it was subordinate, it was untouched by that elevating and liberalising influence which the conduct of great and varied affairs, and the direction of a wide and

## *IMPERIAL POLICY*

exercises on all assemblies. Its views were contracted to the narrow measure of its condition, and its legislation reflected and embodied the provincial passions and prejudices which encircled it until it sank to the state in which Grattan described it as "a squabbling, fretful sectary, perplexing her little wits, and firing her little statutes, with bigotry, sophistry, disabilities, and death." (Hear, hear.) Well, while it was independent, though the eloquence and brilliancy of its debates must win one's admiration, the divergence of views between it and the British Parliament on Imperial questions, made it a danger to the Empire. (Hear, hear.) And its efforts to protect the Protestant ascendency, of which it was the defence and expression, and to prevent the establishment of Roman Catholic ascendency on its ruins, obliged it to resist those imperious demands for Parliamentary reform, which the spirit of the time was daily making with ever increasing force, until at last, after three disagreements with the English Parliament, which only accident saved from being open ruptures, a bloody rebellion, and the accumulation of a debt which threatened national bankruptcy, it ceased to exist with the approval of the vast majority of the bishops, clergy, and laity of the Roman Catholic religion, who despaired of their receiving from it that emancipation which the Union has, though tardily, yet fully secured to them. (Hear, hear.) Well, the Parliament proposed to be established, will have the inherent defect of its predecessors. Not only will it be a Parliament practically of one class and of one creed—but it will, in addition, be what they were not—the pliant instrument of a priesthood, which, in the exercise of political power, has ever been the foe of liberty and light—(cheers)—will be animated by a passion for revenge, and greed for the property of others, to which they were strangers—(hear, hear)—will be returned by and represent, in overwhelming preponderance, the most ignorant, dependent, uninstructed, and inexperienced section of the community, and will have a control over the Executive authority which they never possessed. Whether nominally subordinate or not, it will be really independent. It has been well said that a Legislature with unlimited powers of discussion, and limited power of legislation, only acquiesces in its position, while it is not only weak, but conscious

of its weakness. It will assuredly struggle to free itself from its fetters. The presence of the Irish members at Westminster will afford the opportunity—the sale of their parliamentary support, the means to get rid of all restrictions. (Hear, hear.) Our choice lies then, not between Union and a separate and independent Ireland, in which we, having only to cope with our fellow-countrymen, would approach the struggle with the utmost confidence, but between the Union and a Government, with all the powers of separate independence without its risks, a Government, aided in its oppression, and protected in its tyranny by British soldiery, encouraged in its abuse of power by the consciousness of security, restrained by no apprehensions of successful revolt, disciplined by no fear of retribution, and so far as the conduct of the leaders in this agitation, and the doctrines which they have preached enable one to judge, animated by no genuine love of liberty or sense of justice, hungry for plunder, thirsting for revenge, and maintained in absolute, permanent, and unquestioned supremacy and power, by the influence of an intolerant priesthood, and the ignorance and cupidity of a subservient peasantry. (Cheers.) It is not denied that injustice, and wrong to, and oppression of

*THE LOYAL MINORITY*

are possible under such a Government. The ballot-box and the division lobby would be no protection to us, because we would be in a permanent minority. (Hear, hear.) But we are asked to believe that the injustice and oppression will never come because the Nationalist members promise that they shall not. We have no faith in such promises. (Hear, hear.) They bind nobody, can be enforced against nobody—(hear, hear)—and are of the same character as those given many years ago, which were soon disregarded, and are now, by the Nationalist leaders, under precisely similar conditions, described as a greater disgrace to those who accepted than to those who gave them. We have, moreover, the utmost difficulty in believing that even those who now exhort us to rely upon these promises have any confidence in them themselves. No, we think this Bill is not the growth of confidence or credulity. (Hear, hear.) That is the pretence. Its real parents, as far as the Government are concerned, are political cowardice and political ambition, and Professor Tyndall has drawn out for us its genealogical tree. Well, I do not think I exaggerate when I say that there is scarcely any settled and civilized form of Government in the world under which the Unionists of Ireland would not prefer to live than under that which this Ministry proposes to set up—(hear, hear)—because we know well that the form of Government proposed will be the Government of the Land League in reality, though not in name. The majority in most constituencies will be the members of the Land League, the Cabinet will be the Executive Council of the Land League, the policy will be the policy of the Land League.

(Hear, hear.) Well, we have some experience of the Land League. (Hear, hear.) We know it has been proved that extermination was its object—plunder, terrorism, and crime its methods of action; and that the moonlighter and assassin were in effect its executive officers. (Cheers.) And disbelieving, as we do, in the miraculous in politics, we rely more on St. James than on Saint Gladstone or Saint Morley, and are convinced that "a fountain doth not send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter." (Cheers.) Well, we should hold to the Union as against the new form of Government, even if the Union had been to a large extent a failure. But we emphatically deny that it has been a failure at all. (Hear, hear.) We say that on the contrary the Union has been a success —a greater success than any form of Government which has ever existed in Ireland, or, as far as one can see, which can be established there. (Hear, hear.) Everyone must regret that the noble policy conceived by the genius of Pitt was thwarted, and the great measures planned by him, of which the Union was but one, were so long delayed, for much of the misery and suffering and discontent of Ireland is due to that delay; but in the main they have been carried, and to them have been added so many sound reforms that it may be justly and truly said the Imperial Parliament has in little more than the last half century effected in Ireland a beneficent revolution. (Hear, hear.) The last two contributions to the Statute Book, calculated to further and complete that revolution, are the work of Lord Salisbury's Government, and in a great degree the work of one, of whom, in the presence of

***OUR NOBLE GUEST,***

I forbear to say all that I could desire—(cheers)—or to attempt to express in adequate terms, even if I had the power, the feelings of admiration, respect and affection for, and gratitude to him which fill the hearts of Unionist Ireland to-day—(hear, hear)—manly Mr. Balfour. (Cheers.) A statesman who not only showed he had the courage and resolution, and resource to grapple with and suppress anarchy, re-establish order, and restore liberty, but who, having

> "A tear for pity, and a hand
> Open as day for melting charity,"

sought to devise for and apply an effectual and permanent cure to the want and misery which stunts the bodies and blights the lives, withers the hopes, and paralyzes the energies of a large portion of the population of the distressed districts of Ireland. (Cheers.) I am sure he wants no recompense for that, save that which comes from the proud consciousness of good work well done. (Hear, hear.) But it may be some gratification to him, and those connected with him, to learn what I have been assured of by several who ought to know, that from many an humble—and in the past too often famine-stricken—home, when night falls and darkness enshrouds it, grateful prayers for him go up to the Father who

seeth in secret, and can hear, however faint they be, those voices of the night. (Hear, hear.) But this is not all; unlike the much-praised Mr. Drummond, who contented himself with only contributing an aphorism to the relations of landlord and tenant, Mr. Balfour has laid broad and deep the foundations of a satisfactory system of land ownership in Ireland, a system capable of large expansion, and which, if honestly worked and developed, is, I believe, calculated to solve the main difficulty of Irish government, and slowly but surely bring quiet and contentment to Irish life. (Cheers.) But if the Imperial Parliament has not removed every real Irish grievance, and carried every measure for her real benefit and advancement, we know that it can, and we are willing that it should, do so. We can say now, as Mr. Gladstone said in 1871, "Why is Parliament to be broken up? Has Ireland great grievances? What is it that Ireland has demanded from the Imperial Parliament that the Imperial Parliament has refused? I have looked in vain for any scheme of practical utility which the Imperial Parliament is not able to deal with, or refused to deal with, and has been brought nearer by Home Rule." And we contend that before the Union is broken up one should look, not only at the things it has done, but especially at its capabilities and powers for good government now, and not at its delays or omissions in the past. Reforms may have been defective, but they were well intended, and either have been or can be perfected. The redress of wrongs may have come tardily, but it has come surely. (Hear, hear.) Even in the three Southern provinces nobody can contend that since that wreck of all things—the famine of 1848—the standard of comfort amongst the peasants has not been greatly raised—that their condition has not been vastly improved, and probably as much material progress made as in any country in Europe in the same time, considering the position of things from which it started. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Gladstone himself, at Leeds, in 1881, said—"I do not believe there is a labouring population in all Europe which, in the course of the last twenty years, has made a progress equal to that of the labouring population of Ireland. Let me look at the farming class, which constitutes the great body of the nation. Forty years ago the deposits in the Irish banks, indications of their savings, were £5,000,000. There are now of deposits, which represent almost wholly the honest savings of the Irish farmers, £30,000,000. If I am to speak of moral progress, I say it has been remarkable. These are indications of real progress—they are encouragements to persevere, to fall back upon that stock of patience by which it is that a nation grows great, and when it has grown great, keeps its greatness." Well, Mr. Gladstone must have either been mocking the "babes and sucklings" in their misery then, or he is misrepresenting the condition of things now. Well, here in the North, in this great manufacturing city, the centre and the heart of the enterprise and industry of the counties of Down and Antrim, the Lancashire of Ireland, the eye rests everywhere on those great

factories and counting-houses, docks, and establishments which are not only monuments of your wealth, energy, and progress, but witnesses of the worth and excellence of that form of Government under whose laws and administration you have enjoyed the commercial freedom, security and order which have made that progress possible, by enabling everyone amongst you to employ his energies in whatever direction he considers best, and in peace to reap the fruits of his labours. (Cheers.) Yes, Belfast and the manufacturing towns which cluster around it are the material proofs of the success of the Union, while the spirit and resolution which animates your sons, and the loyalty and contentment which exists amongst you, are the moral and spiritual proofs that under it you have breathed the air of freedom and enjoyed the blessings of a just, a generous, and an equal rule. (Hear, hear.) If the other parts of Ireland have not advanced as rapidly as you have done the fault is not in the laws or form of government. These were the same for both. But we are told that even if all this be so it is apparently not enough. Irish disaffection must have an opportunity of experimenting. It must be allowed to try its hand at creating what never has existed in the world's long history—a self-governing community of the Irish race. What matter is it that though they have been wanderers, they have never, even under the most favourable circumstances, formed a colony, never founded a state, never collectively shown any capacity for self-government in any quarter of the world. Yet we Unionists are to be handed over to be governed by the agitators of Ireland. And to what end? Not to secure better laws, or a purer or more efficient administration, or a sounder commercial policy, or extended personal and political freedom. Not at all; that is scarcely pretended. It is to be done to gratify, it is said, an undying national sentiment. Well, what is that national sentiment? It has been my good or evil fortune to have been obliged to read nearly all the speeches made by the leaders of this agitation during the period of ten years from 1878 to 1888, and I can say, without fear of successful contradiction, that the inducements invariably held out to bring recruits to their standards and fill their coffers with American gold were other and far different. They were such as these:—Mr. Healy, on the 4th of March, 1882, told his hearers in America that "This agitation was a movement to win back from England the land of Ireland which was robbed from the people of Ireland by the confiscating armies of Elizabeth and Cromwell"—including in that, of course, the Plantation counties which the industry of

*THE NORTHERN SETTLERS*

has changed from barrenness to fertility. (Cheers.) Mr. Dillon, in December, 1886, promised the peasants that when they came out of the struggle they would remember who were their friends and who were their enemies, and would deal out their rewards to the one and their punishments to the other. Mr. Davitt, on the 12th

May, 1885, begged that you—the Protestant population of the North—might be left alone to him and his associates, in order that they might make short work of you West Britons, as he styled you. (Laughter.) I somehow think that in this he has reckoned without his host. (Cheers.) The *Freeman*, before 1886, then the organ of the League, assured its readers that the Irish difficulty arose from this, that the Irish were Christians and the English were not Christians. These are but samples. And the chief work to which all the leaders exhorted was to drive out from Ireland the English landlord garrison, and with it English rule. Thus revenge, rapacity, bigotry, sectarian hate, were then the feelings and passions which were appealed to, and what was held up as the chief merit of self-government was that it would afford the means of gratifying them. Are these the national sentiments for which we are to be sacrificed? They are evidently those most dwelt on. The idea that after all these teachings we Unionists should under Home Rule receive, either from the teachers or the taught, justice or toleration, we think cannot be, and is not honestly entertained by any rational man. (Hear, hear.) With those who express it, that idea we believe it is, and must be, either an hypocrisy or an infatuation. We are not ashamed of our mistrust. With all these forewarnings, we say confidence would be insanity. We have no fear at all of the alleged censure of the civilised world, because we find that in May, 1884, Mr. Gladstone—who always claims to have the civilised world in his confidence—after he had persecuted, imprisoned, and denounced those very men whom he now seeks to put in authority over us, in the debate on the Franchise Bill, used these words—"I say that England fifty years ago stood in the face of the civilised world as a culprit with regard to Ireland. I say that the civilised world has now entirely changed its judgment." Can it be possible that the civilised world is as great a political apostate as himself, and changes its judgment so readily to suit his convenience? No; as regards this censure of us, read for the civilised world the

*ENEMIES OF ENGLAND*

—(hear, hear)—and you will be nearer the truth, but, however he may desire their approval, we are content that those enemies should ever be our detractors and our foes. We only strive for justice, for equality, toleration, but we are too quick-witted and sagacious either to be deceived by the pretences or cajoled by the lectures and exhortations of political renegades into acceptance of this iniquity, Home Rule. (Hear, hear.) And the lessons your fathers taught you must be forgotten, the spirit and courage which they have transmitted to you must be dead, the energy which has built up around you your magnificent prosperity must be paralysed before you can be coerced into meek submission to the tyranny it involves. (Cheers.) Loving peace as we do, for

*pax est tranquilla libertas*, anxious for progress, and ready to promote all rational reforms as we are, we earnestly trust that the time may never come when we shall have to fight with weapons other than argument and demonstration. Thanks to the exertions of those able and valiant defendants of their own country's honour, and their and our country's cause—to whom we are full of gratitude, for we owe them an inestimable debt—the leaders of the Opposition. We are assured that England and Scotland are shaking off the fascination in which some of their people have been spellbound, and are daily awakening to the gravity and baseness of what they are asked to do. In that lies our safety. (Hear, hear.) Should, however, the hour unhappily ever come when we shall be abandoned by those to whom we are bound by the ties of race and creed, by the common devotion to great principles and the common attachment to a Constitution, of which both we and they are justly proud, we are not likely to forget that slavery, whether under class or king, is the most pernicious of all evils that can befall us, and that, as Milton has said, "Men of most renowned virtue sometimes by transgressing most truly keep the law." And I have no doubt that in that hour of dire extremity the scattered Loyalists of the South and West, of whom I am, to a certain extent, a representative here to-night, will neither desert nor be deserted, but be at one with you in sympathy and aim. They will be together with you in action, prepared to share in your fortunes, in your triumph, or defeat. From all these ills the Union has in the past protected, and, if maintained, can in the future protect us; and it is, therefore, with the utmost confidence I propose for your acceptance the resolution I have read. (Cheers.)

# Parliamentary Representation of Ireland.

# PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION OF IRELAND.

The population of Ireland is, according to the Census of 1891, 4,704,750, of whom 1½ millions, according to all competent authority, would represent the Unionists. If representation was divided according to population the Unionists should have 33 or 34 of the 103 seats, instead of which they have only 23. The reason is because the constituencies are jerrymandered.

According to the Summary published with Philips' Simplex Chart of Election Results, 1892, the population and number of electors per seat in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, respectively, are as follows:—

| | No. of Seats | Population, Census 1891 | Average Populati'n per Seat | Electors, 1891 | Average Electors per Seat | Percentage Electors to Population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| England ... | 465 | 27,483,008 | 59,109 | 4,553,659 | 9,793 | 16·6 |
| Scotland ... | 72 | 4,025,647 | 55,212 | 593,577 | 8,248 | 14·8 |
| Wales ... | 30 | 1,518,010 | 50,600 | 276,599 | 9,220 | 18·2 |
| Ireland ... | 103 | 4,706,162 | 45,691 | 741,711 | 7,201 | 15·4 |
| Great Britain and Ireland | 670 | 37,732,627 | 56,318 | 6,165,846 | 9,203 | 16·3 |

These figures show at a glance the great over-representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament.

England, with six times the number of electors, and nearly six times the population, has only 4½ times the number of representatives. The population per seat in England is nearly 14,000 more than in Ireland, and the number of electors 2,590 more. In Scotland the population is nearly 10,000 more per seat, and the number of electors nearly one thousand more. And in Wales the population is per seat about 5,000 more than in Ireland, and the number of electors nearly 2,000 more.

As will appear from the tables at foot, 39 of the Irish Constituencies fall below the average (many far below it), in both population

and the number of electors. Nine fall below it in the number of electors, but not in population, and five fall below it in population, but not in the number of electors. The Constituencies of the first class return 35 Nationalists and 4 Unionists, those of the second class, 9 Nationalists and no Unionists, and those of the third class, 4 Nationalists and 1 Unionist. The population of the 21 Unionist seats, omitting the University, is 1,140,430, and the number of electors 181,120, or an average per seat of 54,306 in population, and 8,525 electors, being an excess per seat above the general average for Ireland of nearly 10,000 in population, and over 1,000 in the number of electors.

The Unionist population and electors of Ireland is therefore grossly under-represented, and the Nationalist population and electors over-represented. The scheme proposed in the Home Rule Bill, so far from correcting this injustice and anomaly, perpetuates it so far as the representatives of the Irish Legislative Assembly are concerned, and in the case of the representation in the Irish Legislative Council and in the Imperial Parliament increases and intensifies it. This will appear from tables 2 and 3 at foot.

If the number of Irish representatives be reduced to 80, the average population per seat will be 58,827, and the average number of electors 9,271 approximately. But the County Armagh, with twice the number of electors and nearly twice the population of Meath, has the same number of representatives. Fermanagh, with only 745 electors and 1,579 population less than Meath, has only one representative while Meath has two. Kerry, with 20,793 electors and 178,919 population, has the same number of representatives as Co. Down, with 38,982 electors and 208,886 population. While Leitrim, with 14,869 electors and 78,379 population, has the same number of representatives as Londonderry with 20,845 electors and 118,773 population. Every Unionist County seat, but one, is above the average in both electors and population, and that one Tyrone above the average in electors, and only slightly below, it in population.

If Ireland were divided into equal electoral districts as it ought to be, and could easily be, as appears from table 4 as at foot, the representation between Unionist and Nationalist would be more altered to the advantage of the former.

In the Legislative Council the Unionists will, as far as can be ascertained, have 11 seats out of 48, and of the 80 members to be

returned to the House of Commons, 18 would be Unionists while in the Legislative Council 23 out of 103. As the Unionist population is consequently $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, about one-third of the entire population in numbers, and is possessed of vastly more than one-third of the wealth, it must be greatly under-represented under the present scheme, or indeed any other scheme which does not provide for the representation of minorities. The fact that the Unionist population is, except in the 6 plantations of Ulster, greatly scattered, necessitates the latter. The uniformity, too, of the Irish representation is, as compared with that of Great Britain, most remarkable.

In England out of 465 seats, 234 are county seats and 226 boroughs. In Scotland 39 counties and 31 boroughs. In Wales 19 counties and 11 boroughs. In Ireland 85 counties and 16 boroughs. The rural voter will therefore have absolute power in Ireland.

It might have been expected that some scheme would have been adopted for the representation of minorities. So far from that, however, being the case, the system of representation in both the Legislative Council and Imperial Parliament is specially designed to swamp minorities. Had the counties been divided into single member constituencies it might happen that most of the minority would, in some instances, be resident in one of the divisions, and could thus secure one seat; but as this has not been, but as (contrary to the precedent set in recent years) two or more members have been given to particular counties without any division into districts, and each elector is enabled to vote for as many candidates as there are members to be returned, it necessary follows that a bare majority can secure all the seats in each of these counties. For instance, take a county with an electorate of 43,000, of whom 22,000 are Nationalists and 21,000 Unionists, returning 3 members. Well, if 4 candidates stand, of whom 3 are Nationalists and 1 Unionist, each of the Nationalist candidates can obtain 22,000 votes, because every elector can vote for each of them, while the Unionist candidate can't poll more than 21,000, and must thus be beaten.

A UNIONIST.

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# TABLE I.

(Average, 7,201 Electors; population, 45,691.)

## CLASS I.

| Constituencies. | Electors. | Population. |
|---|---|---|
| Carlow ... ... ... | 7,016 | 40,899 |
| Fermanagh, N. ... ... | 5,919 | 37,756 |
| Fermanagh, S. ... ... | 5,863 | 36,281 |
| Galway City ... ... ... | 1,655 | 16,942 |
| Kerry, N. ... ... ... | 5,786 | 43,559 |
| Kerry, S. ... ... ... | 3,606 | 45,495 |
| Kerry, E. ... ... ... | 5,327 | 44,048 |
| Kildare, N. ... ... ... | 5,901 | 32,191 |
| Kildare, S. ... ... ... | 5,973 | 37,797 |
| Kilkenny City ... ... | 1,639 | 13,323 |
| Kilkenny County, N. ... ... | 5,873 | 35,804 |
| Kilkenny, S. ... ... ... | 6,823 | 38,027 |
| King's County, Birr ... ... | 5,271 | 33,846 |
| King's County, Tullamore ... | 5,203 | 31,562 |
| Leitrim, N. ... ... ... | 6,817 | 40,585 |
| Limerick City ... ... | 4,827 | 45,909 |
| Londonderry City ... ... | 4,202 | 32,893 |
| Longford County, N. ... ... | 4,589 | 26,902 |
| Longford County, S. ... ... | 4,614 | 25,651 |
| Louth, N. ... ... ... | 5,485 | 26,902 |
| Louth, S. ... ... ... | 5,610 | 33,316 |
| Meath, N. ... ... ... | 5,989 | 39,394 |
| Meath, S. ... ... ... | 6,538 | 37,222 |
| Monaghan, N. ... ... | 7,609 | 43,479 |
| Monaghan, S. ... ... | 7,195 | 42,610 |
| Newry ... ... ... | 1,875 | 13,605 |
| Queen's County (Ossory) ... ... | 7,068 | 32,503 |
| Queen's County (Lower) ... ... | 6,244 | 32,136 |
| Tipperary, N. ... ... | 7,035 | 43,009 |
| Tipperary, S. ... ... | 5,542 | 39,914 |
| Tipperary, E. ... ... | 6,785 | 44,751 |
| Tyrone, N. ... ... ... | 6,501 | 42,412 |
| Tyrone, S. ... ... ... | 6,797 | 40,915 |
| Waterford, N. ... ... | 6,641 | 37,435 |
| Waterford, E. ... ... | 6,294 | 33,071 |
| Westmeath, N. ... ... | 5,179 | 33,715 |
| Westmeath, S. ... ... | 5,286 | 31,313 |
| Wicklow, W. ... ... | 5,061 | 30,710 |
| Wicklow, E. ... ... | 4,803 | 31,224 |

## TABLE I.—Continued.

CLASS II.

| Constituencies. | Electors. | Population. |
|---|---|---|
| Cork, W. ... ... ... | 5,854 | 50,686 |
| Donegal, W. ... ... ... | 5,925 | 46,379 |
| Donegal, S. ... ... ... | 6,788 | 46,442 |
| Dublin (St. Patrick's D.) ... | 6,065 | 65,034 |
| Galway (Connemara) ... ... | 5,559 | 50,362 |
| Galway, S. ... ... ... | 6,480 | 46,111 |
| Kerry, W. ... ... ... | 6,074 | 45,814 |
| Mayo, N. ... ... ... | 7,027 | 52,830 |
| Mayo, E. ... ... ... | 7,150 | — |

CLASS III.

| Constituencies. | Electors. | Population. |
|---|---|---|
| Armagh, S. ... ... ... | 7,999 | 43,143 |
| Leitrim, S. ... ... ... | 7,352 | 37,794 |
| Tipperary, Mid. ... ... | 7,299 | 45,208 |
| Tyrone, Mid. ... ... | 8,590 | 43,221 |
| Tyrone, E. ... ... ... | 7,262 | 44,730 |

## TABLE II.

IRISH MEMBERS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

| Constituency. | Number of Members for House of Commons. | Electors. | Population. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Antrim county ... | Four | 36,712 | 204,900 |
| Armagh county ... | Three | 25,571 | 137,471 |
| Belfast borough (in divisions as mentioned below) ... ... | Four | 34,649 | 273,054 |
| Carlow county ... | One | 7,016 | 40,899 |
| Cavan county ... | Two | 20,498 | 247,818—191,932 |
| Clare county ... | Two | 22,159 | 111,679 |
| Cork county (in divisions as mentioned below)... | Five | 59,945 | 123,859<br>96,891 |
| Cork borough ... | Two | 10,276 | 339,744 |
| Donegal county ... | Four | 28,149 | 185,211 |

## TABLE II.—Continued.

| Constituency. | Number of Members for House of Commons. | Electors. | Population. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Down county ... | Four | 38,982 | 208,886 |
| Dublin county ... | Two | 21,688 | 150,215 |
| Dublin borough (in divisions as mentioned below) ... ... | Four | 30,535 | 278,896 |
| Fermanagh county ... | One | 11,782 | 74,037 |
| Galway county ... | Four | 29,005 | 214,356 |
| Galway borough ... | One | 1,655 | 16,942 |
| Kerry county ... | Four | 20,793 | 178,919 |
| Kildare county ... | Two | 11,874 | 70,988 |
| Kilkenny county .. | Two | 14,435 | 75,154 |
| Kilkenny borough ... | One | 1,639 | 13,323 |
| King's county ... | Two | 10,474 | 65,409 |
| Leitrim county ... | Two | 14,869 | 78,379 |
| Limerick county ... | Two | 15,263 | 112,654 |
| Limerick borough ... | One | 4,827 | 45,909 |
| Londonderry county ... | Two | 20,845 | 118,775 |
| Londonderry borough ... | One | 4,202 | 32,893 |
| Longford county ... | Two | 9,203 | 52,553 |
| Louth county ... | Two | 11,095 | 70,852 |
| Mayo county ... | Four | 32,681 | 218,406 |
| Meath county ... | Two | 12,527 | 76,616 |
| Monaghan county ... | Two | 14,204 | 86,089 |
| Newry borough ... | One | 1,875 | 13,605 |
| Queen's county ... | Two | 13,312 | 64,639 |
| Roscommon county ... | Two | 18,922 | 114,194 |
| Sligo county ... | Two | 16,727 | 98,338 |
| Tipperary county ... | Four | 26,661 | 172,872 |
| Tyrone county ... | Four | 29,150 | 171,078 |
| Waterford county ... | Two | 12,935 | 70,507 |
| Waterford borough ... | One | 4,046 | 27,623 |
| Westmeath county ... | Two | 10,465 | 165,628 |
| Wexford county ... | Two | 19,964 | 111,536 |
| Wicklow county ... | Two | 9,864 | 61,930 |
| | Eighty | | |

# TABLE III.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. CONSTITUENCIES AND NUMBER OF COUNCILLORS.

| Constituencies. | Councillors | No. of Ratings* value over £20. | Population. | Electors. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Antrim county ... | Three | 8,104 | 204,900 | |
| Armagh county ... | One | 4,414 | 137,471 | |
| Belfast borough ... | Two | 6,367 | 273,056 | |
| Carlow county ... | One | 2,092 | 40,899 | |
| Cavan county ... | One | 2,611 | 247,818 | |
| Clare county ... | One | 3,361 | — | |
| Cork county— | | | | |
| East Riding ... | Thr | 4,950 | 339,744 | |
| West Riding ... | One | 4,219 | | |
| Cork borough ... | One | 2,597 | 96,891 | |
| Donegal county ... | One | 2,798 | 185,211 | |
| Down county ... | Three | 9,575 | 208.886 | |
| Dublin county .. | Three | 9,653 | 150,215 | |
| Dublin borough ... | Two | 10,110 | 278,896 | |
| Fermanagh county ... | One | 2,891 | 74,037 | |
| Galway county and city ... | Two | 4,327 | 214,356 | |
| Kerry county ... | One | 3,628 | 178,919 | |
| Kildare county ... | One | 3,362 | 70,988 | |
| Kilkenny county ... | One | 5,108 | 118,130 | |
| King's county ... | One | 2,817 | 15,409 | |
| Leitrim and Sligo counties | One | 2,701 | 178,652 | |
| Limerick county and city | Two | 7,405 | 183,563 | |
| Londonderry county ... | One | 4,311 | 151,666 | |
| Longford county ... | One | 1,794 | 52,553 | |
| Louth county ... | One | 2,500 | 70,852 | |
| Mayo county ... | One | 2,196 | 218,406 | |
| Meath county ... | One | 4,885 | 76,616 | |
| Monaghan county ... | One | 2,661 | 86,089 | |
| Queen's county ... | One | 2,907 | 64,639 | |
| Roscommon county ... | One | 2,450 | 114,194 | |
| Tipperary county ... | Two | 8,677 | 172,872 | |
| Tyrone county ... | One | 4,675 | 171,078 | |
| Waterford county ... | One | 4,252 | 98,130 | |
| Westmeath county ... | One | 3,554 | 65,028 | |
| Wexford county ... | One | 5,115 | 111,536 | |
| Wicklow county ... | One | 3,470 | 61,934 | |

* Taken from Parliamentary Returns 7th March, 1893.

# TABLE IV.

Average, 9,271. Population, 58,827.

| Constituencies. | Electors. | Population. | Seats. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Antrim ... ... | 36,712 | 204,900 | 4 |
| Armagh ... ... | 25,571 | 147,471 | |
| Down... ... .. | 38,982 | 208,886 | |
| | 64,553 | 346,357 | 7 |
| Newry ... ... | 1,875 | 13,605 | |
| | 66,428 | 359,962 | |
| Belfast ... ... | 35,149 | 253,055 | 4 |
| Carlow ... ... | 7,016 | 40,899 | |
| Wicklow ... ... | 5,061 | 30,710 | |
| Wexford ... ... | 4,803 | 31,224 | 2 |
| | 16,880 | 102,733 | |
| Cavan... ... ... | 20,498 | 106,679 | 2 |
| Clare, part of ... ... | 17,059 | 114,859 | |
| Galway, including Borough ... | 29,005 | 214,356 | 5 |
| | 46,064 | 329,215 | |
| Cork city ... ... | 10,276 | 96,891 | |
| Cork county ... ... | 59,947 | 339,744 | 8 |
| | 70,223 | 436,635 | |
| Donegal ... ... | 28,149 | 185,211 | 3 |
| King's county ... ... | 10,474 | 65,408 | |
| Queen's county ... ... | 13,312 | 64,639 | |
| Kilkenny, part of ... | 4,000 | 18,000 | 3 |
| | 27,786 | 148,047 | |
| Kilkenny, part of ... | 10,435 | 57,154 | |
| Waterford city and county ... | 16,981 | 98,130 | 3 |
| | 27,416 | 155,284 | |

## TABLE IV.—Continued.

| Constituencies. | Electors. | Population. | Seats. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dublin City ... ... | 30,535 | 278,896 | 6 |
| More of North and South Co. Dublin in City ... ... | 21,688 | 150,215 | |
| Dublin County ... ... | | | |
| | 52,223 | 429,111 | |
| Tyrone ... ... | 29,150 | 171,078 | 4 |
| Fermanagh, N. .. | 5,919 | 37,756 | |
| | 34,069 | 208,844 | |
| Fermanagh, S., part of ... | 2,500 | 15,000 | |
| | 36,569 | 223,844 | |
| Monaghan ... ... | 14,204 | 86,089 | 2 |
| Part of Fermanagh South ... | 3,363 | 11,281 | |
| | 17,564 | 97,370 | |
| Leitrim ... ... | 14,169 | 78,319 | 3 |
| Sligo ... ... | 16,727 | 98,333 | |
| | 30,896 | 178,652 | |
| | 3,000 | 28,000 | |
| | 27,896 | 160,652 | |
| Limerick City ... ... | 4,827 | 45,909 | 3 |
| Clare, part of ... ... | 5,000 | 25,000 | |
| Limerick County ... ... | 15,263 | 112,654 | |
| Londonderry, City and County | 24,947 | 151,666 | 3 |
| Longford ... ... | 9,203 | 52,553 | 2 |
| Louth ... ... | 11,095 | 70,852 | |
| | 20,298 | 123,405 | |
| Meath, part of ... ... | 6,000 | 36,000 | 2 |
| Kildare ... ... | 11,874 | 70,998 | |
| | 17,874 | 106,998 | |

## TABLE IV.—Continued.

| Constituencies. | Electors. | Population. | Seats. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Meath, part of ... ... | 6,527 | 40,616 | 2 |
| Westmeath ... ... | 10,465 | 65,028 | |
| | 16,992 | 105,644 | |
| Mayo ... ... | 32,681 | 218,406 | 4 |
| Sligo, part of ... ... | 3,000 | 18,000 | |
| | 35,681 | 236,406 | |
| Roscommon ... ... | 18,922 | 114,194 | 2 |
| Tipperary ... ... | 26,661 | 172,872 | 3 |
| Wicklow ... ... | 9,864 | 61,934 | 3 |
| Wexford ... ... | 19,964 | 111,536 | |
| | 29,828 | 172,470 | |

NOTE.—Where a number of constituencies are grouped, it would, of course, be necessary to divide them into a number of electoral areas corresponding with the number of members.

# ENGLISHMEN!

**THERE ARE IN IRELAND—**

**Over 600,103 Protestant Episcopalians,**

**„ 445,000 Presbyterians,**

**„ 55,500 Methodists,**

**„ 57,000 Independents, Baptists, Quakers, and all others not Roman Catholics.**

These men, with **hundreds of thousands of loyal Catholics,** are devotedly attached to the maintenance of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. They have strenuously protested against Mr. Gladstone's proposals to set up a Parliament in Dublin, and for doing so they have been denounced by the Fenian newspapers as "Aliens and Foreigners."

# ENGLISHMEN!

Will you suffer these, your loyal Irish friends, to be deserted, and the disloyal set over them?

The above are not to be found in the Province of Ulster only, but are spread over the whole of Ireland. The Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, in addressing the local synod in Dublin said:—

"Remember that there are 100,000 members of the Church within these three dioceses, who are to be regarded as forming a part of the Irish people; **that they are Irishmen by lineage and Irishmen by heart**—(applause)—that they are as enthusiastic in their love for their country as any of those who monopolise the sentiment, but that, just because **they love their country,** they have no sympathy whatever with any of these schemes or theories **which tend to weaken their connection with the British Empire—to undermine that Imperial nationality,** upon the maintenance of which, as they believe, mainly depends the welfare of their native land." (Hear, hear.)—*Dublin Mail*, November 2nd, 1888.

READ THE OTHER SIDE.

# NONCONFORMISTS

OF

# GREAT BRITAIN!

There are hundreds of thousands of Nonconformists in Ireland — Baptist, Congregational, Independent, Methodist, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, etc. **They are all opposed to Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule.** They are passionately loyal to England, and are determined not to submit to a Parliament set up in Dublin, because they know, and every one in Ireland knows, that in the Irish Parliament the Roman Catholic priest will be the ruler, and will certainly have it all his own way; and your co-religionists in Ireland are, **like you,** ardent Protestants, and ardent lovers of liberty.

Would not **you** stand out for your liberty, and your British citizenship, and for the Protestant Religion?

Would **you** submit to be put in bondage under the power of the Roman Catholic clergy?

Can you blame your Irish brethren for feeling as you yourselves would feel?

Will you desert them at this terrible moment, when they beseech of you to **Vote for Unionists only,** and thus save them from the evils they dread?

Is it a sin in them to be loyal to England? Will you desert your Brethren in Faith **just in order to please Mr. Gladstone,** and hand them over to be ground down by a disloyal faction, and crushed under the yoke of the priesthood, which neither you nor your fathers were able to bear?

**AS MEN OF HONOUR,**

**AS ENGLISHMEN,**

**AS PROTESTANTS,**

**CAN YOU DO THIS?**

CONSIDER

AND

**VOTE ACCORDING TO YOUR CONSCIENCE.**

# SCOTSMEN!

**THERE ARE IN IRELAND—**

**Over 600,103 Protestant Episcopalians,**

**„ 445,000 Presbyterians,**

**„ 55,500 Methodists,**

**„ 57,000 Independents, Baptists, Quakers, and all others not Roman Catholics.**

These men, with **hundreds of thousands of loyal Catholics,** are devotedly attached to the maintenance of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. They have strenuously protested against Mr. Gladstone's proposals to set up a Parliament in Dublin, and for doing so they have been denounced by the Fenian newspapers as "Aliens and Foreigners."

# SCOTSMEN!

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The above are not to be found in the Province of Ulster only, but are spread over the whole of Ireland. The Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, in addressing the local synod in Dublin, said:—

"Remember that there are 100,000 members of the Church within these three dioceses, who are to be regarded as forming a part of the Irish people; **that they are Irishmen by lineage and Irishmen by heart**—(applause)—that they are as enthusiastic in their love for their country as any of those who monopolise the sentiment, but that, just because **they love their country,** they have no sympathy whatever with any of these schemes or theories **which tend to weaken their connection with the British Empire—to undermine that Imperial nationality,** upon the maintenance of which, as they believe, mainly depends the welfare of their native land. (Hear, hear.)"—*Dublin Mail,* November 2nd, 1888.

(READ THE OTHER SIDE.)

# PRESBYTERIANS
OF
# SCOTLAND!

There are hundreds of thousands of Protestants in Ireland—Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Baptist, Congregational, Independent, Methodist, Wesleyan, etc. **They are all opposed to Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule.** They are passionately loyal to Great Britain, and are determined not to submit to a Parliament set up in Dublin, because they know, and every one in Ireland knows, that in the Irish Parliament the Roman Catholic priest will be the ruler, and will certainly have it all his own way; and your co-religionists in Ireland are, **like you,** ardent Protestants, and ardent lovers of liberty.

Would not **you** stand out for your liberty, and your British citizenship, and for the Protestant religion?

Would **you** submit to be put in bondage under the power of the Roman Catholic clergy?

Can you blame your Irish brethren for feeling as you yourselves would feel?

Will you desert them at this terrible moment, when they beseech of you to **Vote for Unionists only,** and thus save them from the evils they dread?

Is it a sin in them to be loyal to Queen Victoria? Will you desert your Brethren in Faith **just in order to please Mr. Gladstone,** and hand them over to be ground down by a disloyal faction, and crushed under the yoke of the Roman Catholic priesthood, which your fathers were not able to bear, but cast off at the Reformation?

**AS MEN OF HONOUR,**

**AS SCOTSMEN,**

**AS PROTESTANTS,**

**CAN YOU DO THIS?**

CONSIDER

AND

**VOTE ACCORDING TO YOUR CONSCIENCE.**

# IRELAND UNDER Mr. MORLEY.

# OPINION OF A GLADSTONIAN JUDGE

## WHAT IRISH UNIONISTS HAVE TO FEAR.

At the conclusion of the County Clare Spring Assizes on March 1st, 1893, Mr. Justice O'Brien said:—

"I refrained from making any allusion to certain matters dealing with the administration of the law in this county when speaking to the Grand Jury, because I did not wish in any degree to anticipate what might happen or be supposed to wish to influence the result of the legal proceedings here, but I consider it my duty now to draw the attention of those who are charged with the maintenance of the law and the preservation of life and property and all civil society, to the result of the present assizes, which is, that no kind of security any longer exists for property, for the person or life, so far as it depends on the law in the County of Clare. Seven cases have been tried before me, **representing an infinitesimal part of the crime that has been committed, and with the uniform result that the law has entirely failed to bring the offenders to justice,** in spite of every means that vigilance and care and zeal could use to attain that result. Every kind of argument and appeal has been made to the jurors, made with zeal and earnestness by the court itself, to their reason, to their consciences, to their sense of self-respect and of the common interests of the whole community, to their sense or moral obligations, if such a thing remains, and without the least result. I do not know of myself what is really the cause of or what has led to that state of things. I could hardly suppose the population of this county, or the class from which jurors are taken, are devoid altogether of moral sense, of integrity or propriety, and they

are certainly not devoid of intelligence, as an explanation of what happened, and I am constrained to arrive at the conclusion that it is owing to a certain system of intimidation degenerating every single relation and the whole framework of society in this county, and directed to defeat the administration of the law. It has reached the jury box, it has reached the witness box, it has reached this court, and here with open audacity machinery for the object of false evidence has been exhibited in my own presence, and I understand, and I have reason to know, that even outside means are in use to defeat the result of the law. Even when the law has succeeded, means have been taken by arrangement and by organisation for the payment of fines inflicted for violation of the law to prevent success attending it. In mercy to the jury themselves, to those men who, as I have seen in this court, stand between terrorism and their consciences, although they have exhibited to their humiliation their violation of their duty and of their oaths—in mercy, then, to that class, and for the sake of security of property and life in this county, which are not any longer secure, some means must be found, and I trust will be found, to remove the administration of the criminal law entirely out of this county."

His Lordship's remarks produced a deep sensation in court, and on ceasing to speak he declared the assizes adjourned.

*Irish Times*, March 2nd, 1893.

*** Mr. Justice O'Brien was appointed by Mr. Gladstone in 1882.

# THE IRISH MINORITY.

## NATIONALIST THREATS.

The loyal minority have stood to England and to Englishmen in time of trial and in time of need, confident in the honesty and justice of a great people. For doing so they have been denounced as "foes" and "enemies" to be punished hereafter. This is no fancy rhetoric, but the declaration of men whom Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill will make governors of the island. The following are a few statements:—

## RELENTLESS WAR.

Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN, M.P., at Mallow, December 16th, 1888:—

"That spirit the Irish people and the Irish representatives will have to display to the end . . a spirit of love and gratitude for every friend of Ireland, and of open and relentless war upon our foes."—*Freeman's Journal*, December 17th, 1888.

## MR. DILLON WILL HIT AND HURT.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Thurles Convention, October 25th, 1888:—

"I, perhaps, have an unfortunate turn of mind; but it is a deep-rooted and ineradicable feeling with me, that if I am engaged in a struggle I like to get hold of some weapon with which I can **hit and hurt the enemy**, and I am utterly sceptical of any policy which consists purely and simply in organization and in preparation, and in fine essays and songs, though these also are excellent things in their way."—*Freeman's Journal*, October 26th, 1888.

## DEAL OUT OUR PUNISHMENT.

At Kilmovee, 5th December, 1886, Mr. DILLON said:—

"It is a struggle to undo the system set up in this country by William and Cromwell, and under which the Irish people have toiled for nearly 200 years. . . . . When we come out of the struggle WE WILL REMEMBER who WERE the PEOPLE'S FRIENDS, and who were the PEOPLE'S ENEMIES, and deal out our REWARD to one and our PUNISHMENT to the other. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, December 6th, 1886.

## DASTARDS AND COWARDS TO BE REMEMBERED.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, at Limerick, 20th September, 1887, declared:

"If a man believes in landlordism, believes in British rule, and believes in coercion, let him take his stand in the name of God, but I believe that a man who in a time like this, when the life of a people is struck at, and every man who dares raise his voice on behalf of liberty and the right of the people of Ireland to live in their own farms runs the risk of being run into prison like a common street-walker. I say that a man who stands aside under such circumstances is a dastard and a coward, and he and his children after him will be remembered in the days that are near at hand, when Ireland will be a free nation (cheers); and when every man, and every man's children who have suffered imprisonment or been struck at in the cause of Ireland, will find it to be a mark of honour in those days of our prosperity. (Loud Cheers.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, September 21st, 1887.

## MR. DILLON UNDERTAKES TO MANAGE ULSTER.

At a banquet at Limerick on November 1st, 1887, Mr. JOHN DILLON said:—

"Let the people of Ireland enjoy the rights of every nation that is not born to slavery; let them get arms in their hands; let the young men be enrolled as volunteers like every devoted citizen of a civilized country, and he declared there was no nation on earth that would risk the task of making slaves of that old nation. Was the present condition of Ireland satisfactory? England tried to govern Ireland for eighty years, and had failed, and if the Irish themselves, when they got the management of their own affairs, made a worse hand of Ireland than those masters who had ruled them so long, then he would shake the dust off his feet and bid good-bye to Ireland. **But they would manage their own affairs, and do it well. They would manage the South, and they would also manage Ulster.**"—*Irish Times*, November 2nd, 1887.

## NO MERCY FOR COWARDS OR TRAITORS.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, at the Maryborough Convention, January 15th, 1889, stated:—

"And I say it is my determination—which I have exhibited on more than one occasion, not on many, but on more than one, when the occasion arose—to show absolutely NO CONSIDERATION OR MERCY whatever for the man who basely betrays his neighbours. I will see that he gets no assistance or grant whatever from the National funds, and he can have the pleasure—if pleasure it be to him—of sneaking back into his home a dishonoured and disgraced man with the loss of his money; and from the funds over which I have control not one shilling or sixpence shall he ever get (applause); and when the struggle is ended, and the people of the country have obtained that control over their own affairs which must come very soon, he will be pointed out by his neighbours as A COWARD AND TRAITOR, and he will have the pleasure of seeing the man who has stood firm, and acted honourably by his fellow-tenants, saluted with honour by all who meet him, and that his children after him will be proud to bear his name. (Hear, hear,)"—*Freeman's Journal*, January 16th, 1889.

# THE NATIONALISTS

ON THE

# ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.

**Here are a few statements by Nationalist Members of Parliament regarding the Royal Irish Constabulary, and what they will do with that splendid force when they get the power.**

## ON THE POLICE.

### MR. DILLON WILL DISORGANIZE THE FORCE.

Not long after the Trevor Hall Convention of the Land League of America on 18th May, 1880, Mr. JOHN DILLON addressed a meeting, at which he said :—

"**It will be our duty, and we will set about it without delay, to disorganize and break up the Irish Constabulary that for the past 30 years have stood at the back of the Irish landlords—bayonet in hand.** The pay of these men, which is taken out of the pockets of the Irish tenants, is voted yearly in the English Parliament, and not an Irish Member could be found to protest against it. Let us now see that instead of the twelve hundred thousand pounds a year, which is devoted to pay the Irish Constabulary, that not one hundred thousand will go for that purpose ; then I would like to see the landlord who would face the Irish tenant ! (Applause.) I tell you that the hour we take away the bayonet of the Irish policeman, that hour the landlords will come to ask us for a settlement of the land question."—*Special Commission Report*, p. 30.

Cross-examined at Cork on 26th March, 1891, Mr. JOHN DILLON was questioned on this matter, as follows :—

Mr. Ronan—Did you say in a speech—"**It will be our duty to disorganize and break up the Royal Irish Constabulary ?**"

Mr. Dillon—**Yes, and I trust to do it yet.**

You would break and disorganize the Royal Irish Constabulary ? No ; I have not the power yet, **but when I have the power I trust to do it.**—*National Press*, March 27th, 1891.

### WHEN THE POLICE ARE OUR SERVANTS.

At Castlerea on 5th December, 1886, Mr JOHN DILLON, M.P., stated :—

"I want to say a word of warning to the bailiffs and all that class of people who will side with the landlords in the struggle this winter in Ireland, and that warning is this, that there is no man in Ireland, England or Scotland who does not know who will have the Government in Ireland within the next few years. (Cheers.) The little potentates are in their own estimation the Lynches or

Macdougalls, who have the police to help them to-day, and who think they can ride over the bodies of our people. I tell these people that the time is at hand, and very close at hand too, when the police will be our servants, when the police will be taking their pay from Mr. Parnell, when he will be Prime Minister of Ireland. And I warn the men to-day who take their stand by the side of landlordism, and signalize them as the enemies of the people that in the time of our power we will remember them."—*Daily News*, December 6th, 1886.

## MR. O'BRIEN ON THE POLICE.

At Bodyke on Sunday, 30th January, 1887, Mr. WM. O'BRIEN, M.P., made the following statement:—

"I tell you candidly here to-day that though we allow these policemen to withdraw from this meeting, because they were weak—a mercy which, I am sorry to say, that they have never reciprocated to the people—I tell you, and I wish the Government reporter was here to listen to it, that if our people had power to meet them, man to man and rifle to rifle (prolonged cheers) in the open field, I, for one, would cut short my speechmaking this very moment, and the next speeches that the destroyers of your homes would hear would be the speeches out of the mouths of your guns. (Loud cheers.) We cannot meet them like that. Unfortunately we have not the power; but we have a weapon to-day before which all the power and pride of landlordism is going down like the walls of Jericho. (Cheers.) It is tumbling down at the shout of an enfranchised and unconquerable Irish nation. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, January 31st, 1887.

## MR. DILLON AS POLICE COMMISSIONER.

On March 13th, 1887, Mr. JOHN DILLON spoke as follows, at Tipperary:—

"Believe me they will not be able to do much with their Coercion Act, and I will tell you what is more that there is not a magistrate or policeman (loud groans)—don't be so excited against the police, BECAUSE THEY WILL BE ALL WORKING UNDER MY ORDERS WITHIN A YEAR—(Great cheering)—there is no magistrate or policeman in Ireland who does not know in his heart that Mr. Parnell will be ruler in this country in a year or two, and DO YOU SUPPOSE THAT THEY ARE GOING TO WORK A COERCION ACT BITTERLY AGAINST US? NOT A BIT OF IT. THEY LIKE THEIR BREAD AND BUTTER AS MUCH AS ANYBODY. THEY KNOW RIGHT WELL THAT IT IS NOT TO THE LANDLORDS THEY WILL HAVE TO LOOK IN THE FUTURE. They know perfectly well now what they did not believe during the last Coercion Act, that since Mr. Gladstone has come round, the cause is going to win, and they know perfectly well, every man of them, that Mr. Parnell will be their master, as he will be the master of this country (cheers) within a very short time."—*Freeman's Journal*, March 14th, 1887.

## MR. DAVITT ON THE POLICE RUFFIANS.

At Swords, Co. Dublin, on June 5th, 1887, and referring to his visit to Bodyke, Mr. DAVITT said:—

"If you could see that as I saw it, oh! you would not measure your words, but you would wish from the bottom of your heart we had there in our hands the weapons which **England placed in the hands of her armed mercenaries, and we would have taught these ruffins** that the people of Ireland in the year of 1887 had not lost the courage or the spirit of their ancestors. (Loud cheers.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, June 6th, 1887.

# Irish Roman Catholic Protest against Home Rule.

The following letter and form of petition are being extensively circulated among Roman Catholics in Ireland :—

"TO OUR FELLOW ROMAN CATHOLICS IN IRELAND.

"As a false impression has been created that the contest upon the Home Rule Bill is, in reality, only a contest between a Roman Catholic majority and a Protestant minority, we have thought it right, in order to make their position clear, that Irish Roman Catholic Unionists should have an opportunity of joining in a separate and distinct petition to Parliament against the Bill.

"While deprecating certain anti-Catholic utterances to which the excitement of the moment may have given rise, we are, so far as our objections to Home Rule rest upon purely secular considerations, heartily in accord with our fellow Unionists. More than this, we believe that Home Rule, if imposed upon Ireland, would, under the peculiar conditions of the country, foster a revolutionary spirit disastrous to the true interests of our religion.

"We therefore invite our fellow Roman Catholics in Ireland to join us in signing the petition, a copy of which is appended to this letter. (Signed)

Fingall, Killeen Castle, Co. Meath.
Kenmare, Killarney House, Co. Kerry.
Louth, Louth Hall, Ardee.
Emly, Tervoe, Limerick.
De Freyne, Frenchpark, Roscommon.
Westmeath, Pallas, Co. Galway.
Count de la Poer, D.L., Gurteen, Co. Waterford.
John Harold Barry, Cork.
C. W. Bellew, Dunleer, Co. Meath.
Henry Grattan Bellew, Bart., Mount Bellew, Co. Galway.
J. Ross of Bladensburg, Rostrevor House, Co. Down.
John V. Cassidy, 53 Upper Mount Street, Dublin.
W. H. F. Cogan, P.C., Tinode, Co. Dublin.
F. R. Cruise, M.D., 93 Merrion Square, Dublin.
Stephen de Vere, Bart., D.L., Foynes, Limerick.
Edmund Dease, D.L., Rath House, Ballybrittas, Queen's Co.
Gerald Dease (Colonel), The Abbey, Celbridge, Co. Kildare.
John Arthur Farrell, D.L., Moynalty, Co. Meath.

Taaffe Ferrall, D.L., 73 Merrion Square, Dublin.
Percy R. Grace, Bart., D.L., Boley, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
R. Ashurst Gradwell, Dowth Hall, Co. Meath.
Stephen Grehan, D.L., Clonmeen, Banteer, Co. Cork.
William Kenny, M.P., 35 Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin.
J. MacDermott, J.P., Ramore, Ballinasloe.
Charles Martin, 12 Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin.
Richard Martin, Bart., 81 Merrion Square, Dublin.
Maurice Murray, D.L., Beech Hill, Cork.
Thomas Moore Madden, M.D., 55 Merrion Square, Dublin.
Maurice O'Connell, Bart., Lakeview, Co. Kerry.
Daniel O'Connell, D.L., Derrynane, Co. Kerry.
A. More O'Ferrall, D.L., Balyna, Enfield, Co. Meath.
Philip O'Reilly, D.L., Coolamber, Co. Westmeath.
James Talbot Power, D.L., Leopardstown Park, Co. Dublin.
R. J. Rice, J.P., Bushmount, Lixnaw, Co. Kerry.
John Smithwick, D.L., Kilcreen Lodge, Kilkenny.
Nicholas Synnott, Lincoln's Inn, London.
John Sugrue, D.L., 9 Sidney Place, Cork.
J. H. Talbot, Castle Talbot, Enniscorthy.
John White, D.L., Nantenan, Co. Limerick.
Piers F. White, Q.C., 12 Fitzwilliam Square East, Dublin.
John J. Whyte, D.L., Loughbrickland House, Co. Down.

109 GRAFTON STREET,
DUBLIN.

MARTIN BURKE,
RICHARD FARRELL, } *Hon. Secs.*

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"TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS
OF
THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.
"THE HUMBLE PETITION OF ROMAN CATHOLICS IN IRELAND

SHEWETH—

"That we entertain unshaken allegiance and devotion to the Crown and Constitution under which we live and enjoy full civil and religious liberty.

"That we regard the maintenance of the Union between England and Ireland as a necessary safeguard of that liberty.

"That we believe the establishment in Ireland of a separate Legislature and Executive in the manner proposed in the Government of Ireland Bill recently introduced into your Honourable House would be most prejudicial to our religion, and disastrous to the best interests of Ireland.

"We beseech your Honourable House to reject the said Bill.

"And your Petitioners will ever pray."

# MR. MICHAEL DAVITT,

## The Founder of the Land League, and Separatist Lecturer in England and Scotland.

IT may be well to recall the leading incidents in the trial which ended in the conviction and sentence of **Michael Davitt.**

On the 15th July, 1870, John Wilson and Michael Davitt were indicted at the Old Bailey for "Treason-Felony." No objections were made to the jury panel on behalf of the prisoners. The Judge at the trial was the Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Alexander Cockburn. In the course of the trial the following facts appeared :—

The prisoners, according to the prosecution, had been concerned in forwarding to various large towns in the United Kingdom packages containing arms, chiefly revolvers. These arms were for the most part consigned to fictitious addresses, and the jury were asked to believe that they were intended to be made use of in carrying on the Fenian movement. Evidence was given to show that Davitt had been privy to the projected attack upon Chester Castle, an attack which was happily frustrated by the vigilance of the police.

### THE PEN LETTER.

In the course of the trial a letter was put in by the prosecution. This letter was sworn to be in Davitt's handwriting. It was in the following terms :—

"Glasgow, Wednesday. Dear Friend,—I have just returned from Dundee, which place I have left all right. Your letter of Monday I have just read. I have no doubt but that the account is correct. In reference to the other affair, I hope you won't take any part in it whatever—**I mean in the carrying of it out.** If it is decided upon and you receive *Jem's* and, through him, *Fitz's* consent, let it be done by all means; but one thing you must remember, and that is that you are of too much importance to our family to be spared, even at the risk of allowing a rotten sheep to exist among the flock. You must know that if anything happened to you the toil and trouble of the last six months will have been almost in vain. **Whoever is employed, don't let him use the pen we are and have been selling; get another for the purpose—a common one.** I hope and trust that when I return to *Man* I may not hear that every man, woman and child know all about it **ere it occurred.**

## WHAT THE JUDGE SAID.

This is how the question presented itself to the Lord Chief Justice in summing up the case to the jury :—

"If that letter was to be taken as genuine, did it convince them that it had reference to a Fenian scheme, or to some other measure of the deepest atrocity? It seemed impossible to resist the conclusion, but they must judge for themselves upon that point as men of the world, as men of reason and sense."

The jury did not resist the conclusion. **They found Davitt guilty**, and with their verdict the Lord Chief Justice found no difficulty in agreeing.

In sentencing the prisoners he expressed his opinion that **"Davitt had been convicted on evidence that could not leave the slightest shadow of doubt on the mind of any reasonable man who dispassionately considered it. . . . .** There was one thing he could not help regarding with a feeling of the utmost condemnation and horror, and that was, **that assassination was not considered as a means too desperate or bad to be resorted to when it was found convenient to have recourse to it.** That letter of Davitt's about which the witness Forrester had told a story that no sensible man could believe, showed that there was some dark and villainous design against the life of some man. The letter spoke for itself."

## HIS SENTENCE.

The prisoners were sentenced to fifteen and five years' penal servitude respectively. **Davitt received the longer term.** and the difference in guilt, implied in the judge's apportionment of the punishment, is significant.

In his cross-examination before the Parnell Commission, 2nd July, 1889, Mr. Davitt admitted by "our family" in the letter he meant the "Fenian Brotherhood." "Jem" and "Fitz" were both members of the supreme council of the organization, whose names he declined to give. "The pen we have been using" referred to revolvers. The letter was written to a youth named Forrester, with the object of preventing him carrying out a contemplated assassination. The statement "even at the risk of allowing a rotten sheep to exist among the flock" alluded to the traitor Forrester charged. When Forrester was arrested in a small hotel in Liverpool he attempted to tear the letter up. It was pieced together and produced against him (Davitt) at the trial. Forrester was a Fenian, and arrested in Dublin in 1867 for Fenianism. In his address to the Commissioners (24th October, 1890) Mr. Davitt said, "I asked from that witness box the man who was alone responsible for the plot—which that letter was intended to and

did frustrate—to release him from the usual obligation of silence, and he has not had the courage to confess that 19 years ago I saved him from staining his hands in the innocent blood of a guiltless comrade."

Mr. Davitt's statement is, that he took part in the plot with a view to prevent murder. The reader can believe or otherwise.

## HIS OPINION OF FORD, THE DYNAMITE APOSTLE.

The judges of the Special Commission record :—

Mr. Davitt told us that whenever he went to America after 1878, Patrick Ford's was the first house to which he bent his footsteps upon arriving in New York, and that Ford was a man altogether misrepresented in England, that he (Davitt) knew a large number of people in America and Europe, and that he had yet to meet a better man morally, both **as a Christian and as a philanthropist,** than Patrick Ford. [REPORT, p. 65.]

## THREATENING PUBLIC SERVANTS.

Speaking with reference to the Criminal Law Amendment Bill at Ballymacoda, Co. Cork, on Sunday, the 3rd April, 1887, he said :—

"When this Act adorns the Statute Book of England's Parliament, every man who has helped to pass it into law, **every official who is employed to carry its provisions into operation against the constitutional rights of the Irish people,** becomes an avowed enemy to human liberty—(cheers)—and the man, woman, or child in Ireland that holds converse or intercourse with any such **becomes the aiders and abettors of the assassins of freedom and justice."** (Cheers.)—*Freeman's Journal*, 4th April, 1887.

## THE LAND AND NATIONAL LEAGUES ONE.

Prior to his departure for America he addressed a meeting at Queenstown, in September, 1887, and said :—"What is known in Ireland to-day as the National League is to all intents and purposes precisely the same organization as the Land League, which in 1881 was proclaimed as being a dangerous association. The name of the Land League, it is true, consequent upon the action of the Government of the day, disappeared, but its organization remained."—*Times*, 23rd September, 1887.

## HE VOWS ETERNAL HATRED TO ENGLAND.

In June, 1887, DAVITT spoke at Bodyke in the following terms :—

"I trust that every young man here to-day will have registered in his heart **a vow which I made thirty years ago, to bear towards England** and England's Government in Ireland, all the

concentrated hatred of my Irish nature. . . I . . . and others . . have been preaching to our people for the last six or eight years, 'Do not commit any outrage, do not be guilty of any violence, do not break the law.' I say it here to-day, and I do not care who takes down my words, I am heartily ashamed of ever having given such advice to the Irish people. . . . Would to God we had the means—the weapons by which freemen in America and elsewhere have struck down tyranny. . . . We will make our children . . . swear, as many of us have sworn, to carry on this fight at any cost . . . until Landlord tyranny and English Government are destroyed in Ireland."—*Freeman*, June 3, 1887.

## HOW HE BECAME BANKRUPT.

In July, 1892, Davitt, having been rejected by the Nationalists of Waterford, stood as Anti-Parnellite candidate for North Meath, and was nominated by the celebrated Bishop Nulty, who, a fortnight before the nomination, issued a violent electioneering pastoral, declaring, in his capacity as bishop, that "no well-informed man could remain a Catholic as long as he elected to cling to Parnellism." Backed by the tremendous power of the priests, Davitt was elected, but in the following December he was unseated on petition, on the ground of spiritual intimidation and undue influence resorted to by his clerical supporters.* Having, by the result of the petition, become liable for the costs of the petitioner (Mr. Pierce Mahony), which amounted to £1,800, Davitt sought the protection of the Bankruptcy Court, and by peremptorily stopping a subscription started to defray the costs, he succeeded in throwing on Mr. Pierce Mahony the whole expense of the fight against spiritual tyranny, which the latter had successfully waged.

On October 17th, 1893, Davitt applied to the Bankruptcy Court in Dublin for a certificate of conformity, having failed to pay 10s. in the £, his counsel arguing that he was "not responsible for the bankruptcy." Judge Boyd refused the certificate, holding that Davitt was "directly responsible," and that, having had that "shocking piece of intimidation" (the pastoral) used in his favour, "he went on, not only to his nomination, but through the contest and election subsequently relying upon it, and those gentlemen who were associated with him made use of it to the utmost extent, and he made use of it by adopting it in fighting his battle."—*Irish Times*, 25th October, 1893.

* Both the judges who tried the petition concurred in stating that Davitt had willingly "placed himself in the hands of the clergy to manage and procure his election." For further particulars see Leaflet A 68, "How Mr. Davitt won North Meath."

# RECENT
# Anti-British Statements
## By IRISH NATIONALISTS.

Gladstonian Liberals, when questioned as to the dis-loyal and anti-British utterances of their allies, the Irish Nationalists, invariably reply that they are all ancient history. And that since Mr. Gladstone adopted the Home Rule policy, in 1886, Irish Home Rulers have ceased all such remarks. The following statements by prominent Nationalists since the alleged "Union of Hearts" period are consequently interesting.

Mr. WM. O'BRIEN, M.P., anti-Parnellite, speaking at Dublin after his return from America in 1886, said :—

"They (the English) would send their Sir Redvers Bullers—(groans)—**they would flood the country with their valiant runaways from the Soudan**—(cheers)—and if they had their way they would leave us an island of corpses and desolation. Thank God the day for that kind of thing is gone. They are dealing now not with this small land but with the gigantic Ireland across the Atlantic, an Ireland where the British Coercion Acts never ran—(cheers)—and where a British red-coat never set his foot except to run. (Laughter and cheers.) I will say no more to you now, because I know you are exhausted. (Cries of 'No.') Well, any way, I am exhausted if you are not. I want to say before I retire that these *Irish-Americans are very extreme men. So are we all, I hope, extreme men.* (Cheers.) We are all, I hope, *as extreme as they in resenting and in resisting English rule in Ireland.* (Cheers.) . . This is the message that that great nation of ours across the water bade us bring to you—'Go on as you have been doing. Give a good account of the Churchills—(hisses)—and the Beaches—(hisses)—and the Castlereaghs—(prolonged hisses)—and the Bullers—(hisses)—and all

the rest of the Bull family—(laughter)—who came over here to govern us against our will. Go on as you have been going, and I promise you for all these millions in America that they never will spare their Treasury, aye, and if the chance offers, they never will spare their blood. (Loud cheers.) On and on until this great fight is ended in the happiness and the independence of the bright green land that bore us.'" (Cheers.)—*Irish Times*, September 4th, 1886.

On Sunday, 5th December, 1886, at Inchiquin, Mr. WM. O'BRIEN, M.P., addressed a meeting as follows :—

"They had not entered into the fight without determination to work to the end—aye, and to the death; and they would never suffer so long as there was a pound in the exchequer of the National League, or a dollar among Father Hayes's friends in Irish America."—*Irish Times*, 6th December, 1886.

The reference to Father Hayes's friends is deserving of note. The rev. gentleman, an Irish-American priest, speaking at Youghal on 14th November, 1886, said :—

"We would, if we could, pelt them (the English) not only with dynamite, but with the lightnings of Heaven and the fires of hell, till every British bulldog, whelp and cur, would be pulverised and made top-dressing for the soil."—*Daily Express*, 15th November, 1886.

And it was in the company of this gentleman that Mr. O'Brien appeared on the same platform, first Sunday in December, 1886.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR, M.P., anti-Parnellite, at New Jersey, 16th October, 1887 :—

"I know that there are within the United States emissaries of the British Government anxious to earn, or prepared to earn, the pay which is drawn from the Secret Service Fund of the Government. If such a man is here I invite him to report that here in public, I state what I know to be a fact, that in whatever **war Great Britain may be involved**, that whatever power she may have to struggle with, that power can count upon **one hundred thousand Irish arms to fight under her flag against Great Britain.** (Great cheering.) Does not the Government of the United States know perfectly well that at three days' notice it could have a force, of which one hundred thousand would only be a fraction, who

would be willing to serve against Great Britain for the love of the thing, without any pay."—*Irish World*, 22nd October, 1887.

On 17th August, 1887, the Piscatorial School at Baltimore, Co. Cork, was opened. This flourishing fishing centre practically owes its existence to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts.

"Amongst the guests who attended the ceremony were the Archbishop of Cashel and Mr. Michael Davitt. The latter, on learning that the toast of the Queen occupied its proper place on the toast list, became highly indignant, and refused to identify himself in any way with the proceedings." —*Dublin Mail*, 18th August, 1887.

The Sarsfield (Limerick) branch of the National League held a meeting in the Town Hall on Sunday, the 2nd October, 1887. Mr. Michael Donnelly, T.C., presided, and introduced the Rev. Father O'Leary, from United States, America, who was received with applause.

"He (Father O'Leary) had had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Alexander Martin Sullivan—(hear, hear)—speak at St. Louis. He (Mr. Sullivan) said, you must address England after this manner—*argue with her, reason with her, but at the same time have the hand ready to strike her when you can.* (Applause.) They knew that moral persuasion without a little physical force at the back of it would be very little good. (Hear, hear.) Now, the principle he wished to lay stress upon was this—that while he was sensible of the deep-laid feeling of rebellion, of revolution—what should exist in a healthy Irish people—*God forbid that it should ever be lost.* They would be supplied from America with the sinews of war—he did not mean war—they knew what he meant. *Thiggin thu*, as the saying was. England governed Ireland by perfidy and fraud, and she had no rightful possession of Ireland, even according to the best authority on international law."—*Cork Herald*, 4th October, 1887.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., anti-Parnellite, at Limerick, 1st November, 1887 :—

"It was their firm faith that when that struggle for the land was carried to a successful termination, **at the same hour with the disappearance of the landlords, the power of foreign government would disappear also,** and then their old nation and race would become free and independent again. (Loud cheers.)"—*Irish Times*, November 2nd, 1887.

Mr. W. R. REDMOND, M.P., Parnellite, at Merlin, Co. Cork, 6th November, 1887 :—

"There is at the back of the famous and historical battlefield of the Hill of Oulart a little laneway, and the old people of the country will tell you that in the good old days when our fathers were able to meet force with force, and strike back blow for blow—in those days, they say, **down this laneway they charged a body of insurgent cavalry that sent the yeomen flying before them, and left them on the field.** (Cheers.) I think we ought to feel quite happy that we are afforded a chance of showing the people of the world that **the Irish blood runs the same to-day** as it did in days gone by, and that the Irish spirit is as defiant and brave and determined as ever it was in the long history of our country. (Cheers)."—*Cork Herald*, 8th November, 1887.

Mr. THOMAS CONDON, M.P., was one of the speakers at the M'Carthy Banquet, Cannon Street Hotel, London, on St. Patrick's Day, 1892. Mr. Justin M'Carthy presided. Mr. Condon said :—

"If ever there was evidence of loyalty, devotion and love of the scattered sons and daughters of their grand old land to their mother country, it was evidenced there to-night by the magnificent gathering in **the heart of the enemy's country.** (Cheers.) . . . . He made bold to tell his friends there and across the Atlantic and beneath the Southern Cross that they were not going to give the reply then given, that Ireland was a most distressful country. On the contrary, she stood bold, firm, and erect. (Cheers.) She had broken down all opposition against which she had to contend, she had smashed the greatest powers of the greatest Government that the country had ever seen, and she stood triumphant to-day **with her feet on the necks of her enemies.** (Cheers)."—*National Press*, 18th March, 1892.

# IRISH CATHOLICS

AND

# THE UNION.

THE EARL OF FINGALL, the premier Catholic Peer of Ireland speaking as Chairman of the great Convention of Irish Unionists of the Provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, held in Dublin on 23rd June, 1892, said :—

The occasion of our meeting is of so great moment that I shall not occupy your time with conventional, though unusually appropriate, remarks upon my unworthiness of the honour conferred upon me. I must, however, in my brief opening address be careful to recognise that the selection as chairman of a Catholic and Liberal Unionist has a significance which throws all personal considerations into the background. I hasten on behalf of loyal Catholics and Liberal Unionists to assure our Protestant and Conservative companions in arms that we will stand by them as long as they stand by us. I am not aware that in the southern province of Ireland there has ever been seen an assembly such as I am addressing. Every creed and class, all professions, trades, and occupations, are represented here, each county having sent its proper proportion of delegates duly appointed at meetings of electors. No doubt we shall be told that our coming here is a mere political move, an election device, perhaps, in response to the call of party leaders in England. Accepting the full responsibility of an utterance from the chair, I state emphatically that our action is spontaneous—that this meeting is a strictly Irish convention, that it was not promoted or even suggested by any party or leaders outside ourselves. It is our opponents, and not our friends, who have forced

us to come here and speak out to-night. Having failed by ridicule to discount beforehand the importance of the great convention in Belfast, seeing that the laugh was going to be on the other side, they fell back upon the oft-repeated fiction that outside a small portion of Ulster Unionism was only kept alive by what their leaders have described as a "despicable minority." It may be that we South of Ireland Unionists have ourselves to blame for the apathy with which we have neglected to initiate and maintain an effective political organisation. Organisation, as a friend of mine said the other day to electors in this county, "is the life-blood of political parties." I look upon this gathering as the most important step ever taken by the loyalist party in Southern Ireland, and I am sure there is not one present who does not feel relieved by the consciousness that he is performing a duty which is "better done late than never done at all." I think I may say that the duty which lies before us is two-fold. Firstly, we are to declare in the most solemn manner that we are determined to uphold the Union between Great Britain and Ireland; and, secondly, in order to give effect to our determination, we, without further delay, must strengthen and confirm the bond of union amongst ourselves. So clear is our course with regard to our first duty, and so fully will it be dealt with by the speakers who follow, that not wishing to take up too much of your time I will address myself in my few remaining remarks to our second duty, "the union of Irish Unionists." Five years ago we Liberals joined hands with men to whom we had often been bitterly opposed, and to-night in this same hall we are able to congratulate ourselves on a matured friendship and seemingly permanent alliance. Time has almost obliterated the differences which formerly kept us asunder, and while we Unionists do not claim a monopoly of patriotism, we may at least contrast our behaviour to former opponents with the behaviour of so-called Nationalists to former friends. And, what is far more encouraging, time is dealing with the religious difficulty, with (I use the expression not without sorrow) the religious obstacle to peace in Ireland.

So far as Catholics are concerned I cannot help thinking that if our faith can be said to have any political tendency at all it is rather towards the maintenance of the Union than towards Home Rule. This was illustrated a few years ago when Home Rulers called to their aid the most inhuman political agencies, which the head of my Church was constrained to condemn. Referring to the famous rescript Mr. Gladstone at Clapham on Saturday last used words which throw a strange light upon the connection which it is sought to establish between Catholicism and Nationalism. Mr. Gladstone said—"The whole mass of the Irish Roman Catholics, except a portion of the upper class opposed to Nationalism and to Home Rule—the whole mass of the Irish Roman Catholics, including the clergy and almost every bishop, opposed this rescript and protested, led on by their members of Parliament, that the Pope had no right to dictate to them the course they were to pursue in political concerns." Now, this assertion that the clergy and almost every bishop opposed the rescript is no more true, but of course less capable of immediate and complete refutation than the suggestion made in the same speech as to the bogus signatures of the Irish Nonconformists. As a matter of fact, the rescript, or Papal decree, was promulgated in this very diocese by the archbishop, who ordered it to be read in all the churches. But the quotation I have given you contains one remarkable and damning admission on the part of Mr. Gladstone—namely, that in order to bolster up the Home Rule movement our priests are led in a new crusade against the authority of the Pope by the Irish members of Parliament. It is not for us to inquire whether under Home Rule the priests would dictate to members of Parliament as to their politics, or whether members of Parliament would dictate to priests as to their obedience to the Pope. I prefer to follow the simple instincts of an inherited faith rather than the guidance of even such an intellectual giant as Mr. Gladstone, and thus I come by the belief that the Catholic religion is better safe-

guarded under the protection of the Imperial Parliament than it would be under any form of Home Rule Government which Mr. Gladstone can devise. I shall not dwell further on the sectarian hopes and fears which centre round the great issue that brings us here. But let me point out that our resistance to this threatened destruction of the United Kingdom will become more and more powerful as we grasp the undoubted, but often forgotten truth, that whatever claims individuals may assert neither my creed nor any creed represented here to-night contains any tenets or provisions which either directly or by implication can be held to justify "clerical domination" or "religious ascendency." I have said enough to show that those whom I have the honour to represent are determined in their loyalty to the cause—that they feel honoured by the trust you repose in your new allies—that they are devoted to their Queen, and proud to remain as Irishmen an integral and governing portion of the British Empire. So long as our birthright is being offered for sale to an English party, and the Empire which has risen by union is being hurried along a downward course, we give notice to all who would tamper with our freedom, our fortunes, and our lives, that Ireland will continue to block the way.

# THE REV. NEWMAN HALL, D.D.,

ON THE

# HOME RULE BILL.

## TERRIBLE TO THINK OF!

IN an interview with a representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette,* the Rev. Newman Hall is thus reported as having expressed his views on the "Bill to amend the provision for the Government of Ireland":—

"I very much admire Mr. Gladstone. I have had a friendship of many years with him. Only on the Soudan matter and this of Home Rule have I had occasion to differ from him. And with the affection I feel for him it is a great grief to me. For that reason, because he is a personal friend, and also because I did not wish to act against the main body of Nonconformists, I have held back from taking any public part in this controversy and speaking at Unionist meetings, and then I think a clergyman should keep clear of politics."

"But this interview will be published in the *Pall Mall,*" said I. "Quite so," said he. "I understand that, and I am glad of the opportunity. It has come to me; I have not sought it. But it does seem a pity that when things are going on so nicely in Ireland, when there is a prospect of orderly progress here as well, to throw everything into confusion, and for the sake of this objectionable Bill to run so terrible a risk of civil war!"

"IT IS CERTAIN TO LEAD TO CIVIL WAR."

"My main comfort is that I think it will not pass. As to what would happen then it is **terrible to think of.** I remember driving from the Jubilee ceremony with Mr. Bright, with whom I had many years' friendship. He opened his heart very freely to me, and almost shed tears when talking of Mr. Gladstone and his deep regret at having to differ from him. Mr. Bright used this expression of the Home Rule Bill—'It is certain to lead to civil war; and then he seemed much impressed with the misery it would bring upon Ireland, the impoverishment, and discord, and tyranny."

## ST. PAUL A UNIONIST.

Here Dr. Hall paused, and, looking smilingly across at me, he said—"Do you know, I think **St. Paul** provides a strong argument against Home Rule?"

"And what may that be?" I asked, my curiosity fairly raised to boiling point. "Well," said Dr. Hall, **"he was brought before a Home Rule Court at Jerusalem, and saw clearly he could not have justice at the hands of the bigoted Jews, the dominant religious party, who hated the Christian minority.** His life was threatened, and so the Imperial magistrate sent him under safe conduct to the Roman headquarters to be tried by the Imperial Governor. The Jews demanded he should be sent back to Jerusalem to be tried by Home Rulers. But Paul, **as a citizen of the Empire, claimed Imperial protection from Home Rule tyranny, and said, 'I stand at Cæsar's judgment seat, where I ought to be judged: I appeal unto Cæsar."**

## IRISH PRIVILEGES.

Again Dr. Hall paused, then turning to me he said—"What have the Irish to complain of? They have the same privileges that we have, even **more than we have,** for there is no Established Church there, and they have more favourable land laws, and the criminal laws are the same. The repression of the coercion of citizens for legal actions is the preservation of liberty, and is no more tyranny in Ireland than in England. And if this Bill passes, capital will fly from the country; there will be less employment, and consequently the Irish poor will come over here in larger numbers than ever, and our working classes will suffer."—*Pall Mall Gazette*, April 5th, 1893.

# IRELAND AND QUEBEC.

GREAT interest has recently been attached to the case of Quebec, a province which it is said bears a striking resemblance to Ireland. Mr. Russell and Mr. Blake have both dealt with the case, but Mr. Bompas, Q.C., the Recorder of Plymouth, and a well-known Baptist, tells us his experience, which is remarkable. He has a brother and sister living in Quebec, and a large part of the appeal work from Quebec to the Privy Council passes through his hands. Asked what impression he had derived from this unexampled opportunity of seeing beneath the surface of Lower Canadian life, his reply was startling. Here it is :—

"My impression is that the experience of Quebec proves the fears of Ulster to be well grounded. You have there a Celtic and Roman Catholic majority, and a Protestant Saxon commercial minority ; a local Parliament under control, not usually exercised, of the Imperial Parliament with veto in the hands of the Governor General. The result is that the Protestants just manage by the most strenuous efforts to save themselves from being overwhelmed with disabilities."

Asked whether the priesthood encroaches more and more he replied : "During the last few years—it was four years ago that it occurred in fact—they have incorporated the Jesuits and granted them about £100,000 as compensation for estates which became forfeited at the conquest of Canada from the French. They prefaced their Act of Parliament by a correspondence between the Prime Minister, Mr. Mercier, and the Papal authorities, in which the Prime Minister said that if the Pope would give him permission to sell some Government property which had belonged to the Jesuits before the conquest he would undertake to hold the

proceeds at the disposal of the Holy Father." Mr. Bompas then took his interviewer to the Inner Temple Library, and from the Statutes of Quebec he made a copy of the following letter from Cardinal Simeoni to the Quebec Prime Minister :—

Rome, 1st March, 1888.

I hasten to notify you that having laid your request before the Holy Father at the audience yesterday His Holiness was pleased to grant permission to sell the property which belonged to the Jesuit Fathers before they were suppressed, **upon the express condition, however, that the sum to be received be deposited and left at the free disposal of the Holy See.**

Mr. Bompas's view of Mr. Gladstone is as follows: "I believe in him as a Christian man, but I think he has got so old he has lost his judgment." Many more are certain of it.—*Daily Express*, April 19th, 1893.

# A BELFAST SCOTCHMAN'S OPINION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THF BELFAST NEWS-LETTER.

SIR,—The following is a copy of a letter sent by a Belfast firm to a large manufacturer in Scotland, which probably you will consider worthy of a corner in your paper:—

DEAR SIRS,—I have returned your samples of tweed per Glasgow boat to-night, and in doing so I regret to say I cannot meantime place any orders.

The unsettled condition of Ireland, with the prospects of very serious trouble over this wretched Home Rule Bill, is a sufficient reason for coming to this decision.

I have now been over twenty-four years in Ireland, and up till 1886 was one of Mr. Gladstone's warmest admirers, and so great was my attachment to him in consequence of the many useful acts he has succeeded in passing for the good of these countries that, if this Home Rule Bill was thrown overboard, very probably I should be disposed to again give him my allegiance.

The Belfast Scotch are almost to a man against the Bill, and on Tuesday last 1,800 of them took part in the great Unionist procession. Now, sir, surely the Belfast Scotch are quite as able to judge as to the results of the passing of this Home Rule measure as their countrymen in Scotland; in fact, it is only natural to suppose that they should (and, I affirm, do) know the Irish question infinitely better. However, all through this momentous struggle no sympathy, no support, has been offered or given by the Gladstonian Scotch to their fellow-countrymen here. Blinded by a glamour of selfish party spirit thrown over them by the

evil genius of a great chieftain, they are evidently forgetful of all past history and their obligations to the Irish Presbyterians, and to the very existence of the Protestant faith of the land.

When one is deserted by his own flesh and blood, and looked upon with contempt for having found it necessary to become a Liberal Unionist, as the writer unfortunately experienced in a recent visit to his native place, it is almost beyond endurance, and this, taken in conjunction with one's Irish friends almost crying out in despair at the unjust and unchristian conduct of the Scotch people, has, indeed, made the past few years rather a dark page in my history.

I do sincerely hope that there may be brighter days in store for us all, and that soon—very soon—Scotland may become true to itself, and stand firm in the cause of truth and right, and thereby maintain its grand old historic reputation of the past.—Yours truly,

A PRESBYTERIAN SCOTCHMAN.

*Belfast News-Letter*, April 12*th*, 1893.

# HOME RULE IN SLIGO.

## FATHER KELLY AND A MOB DEFY A HUNDRED POLICE.

ELECTIONS for Poor Law Guardians took place this week in the Dromore West Union. A contest took place between James Ormsby, Esq., of Farrelmacfarrel, Conservative, and Mr. John Moloney, Carrowcur, Nationalist. Feeling ran very high in the division, and the election ultimately resolved itself into a religious question. The parties are very evenly balanced, but on Mr. Ormsby's estate there are a number of Roman Catholic tenants who had given out that they would vote for their landlord. This action roused the hatred of Rev. Mr. Kelly, the parish priest.

Saturday was the day appointed for laying down the voting papers, and District-Inspector Markham, with a force of ten men, went to carry out that duty. Before leaving the barracks Rev. Mr. Kelly informed Mr. Markham there would be opposition in certain cases. The District-Inspector said he would only *allow one person for each candidate to enter the houses and with this arrangement the priest expressed satisfaction, and said it was as much as he could expect.*

*The officer and ten men* left the barrack, and proceeded to the townlands of Belville, Dunneil, and Farrelmacfarrel; *a great mob, headed by the parish priest, accompanying the force.* The mob consisted of about two hundred picked men, some from a considerable distance away, *all armed with stout blackthorns or other sticks.* Nothing of any consequence occurred until the *house of Pat Kilrekil,* Dunneil, was reached. This was one of the voters who had declined to vote for the Nationalist. *When the mob came up to this house, part of them forced their way into it,* along with the police officer, and two men. *Kilrekil was in a very delicate state of health, and when asked by the clergyman for his vote he refused. The old man was at once seized by some of the mob and thrown to the ground. While down, his wrists were pricked with pins and his fingers bitten. District-Inspector Markham, Acting-Sergeant Whitford, and Constable Mulholland, were the only police inside at the time, and they were powerless. They tried to get assistance from the outside, but they found the door completely blocked, and it was impossible for those inside to get out, or vice versa. Kilrekil's son, seeing his father being assaulted, rushed to his assistance, when he was at once set upon by the mob with*

*sticks, and severely beaten and cut about the head.* Ultimately the police outside managed to clear the doorway, and put the mob outside. *Kilrekil's house was from that time until the voting papers were collected under police protection.*

Leaving this house the next place where a paper was to be left was

WIDOW GORMAN'S.

Here again the mob rushed in, and all attempts to leave the paper in possession of the woman failed. During the altercations in this locality, so outrageous did the mob become that Mr. Markham ordered his *men to charge the crowd with their swords and batons.* This had the effect of clearing the place for a moment, when *a consultation took place as to the advisability of drawing off the police until reinforcements could be procured,* but it was thought the worst might now be over, and the next move was to the house of

JAMES M'GEE.

*This tenant had learned what had occurred at the preceding house, and took the precaution of locking his door and refusing admittance at all. Desirous, however, of getting his voting paper, he broke a hole in one of the windows of his house, and requested the police to put it through there. This, it appears, would not have been a legal service, and, after all entreaties to get him to open the door had failed, the police had to march off without leaving the paper.*

THOMAS QUINN'S

was the next house, and he, too, *had locked his door and armed himself behind it with a pitchfork.* The crowd endeavoured to get near the door to break it open, and the police and the mob again came into conflict, when the former were *compelled to draw their batons and swords to clear the ground and repel the attacks.* In the midst of the uproar and excitement, *Rev. Mr. Kelly* kept shouting :—*Go on, boys, and do your best,* or words to that effect. Order was at length partially restored, but *no service could be accomplished.*

The force then moved on to

PAT KILGALLEN'S

where the *door* was again found *locked.* A desperate attempt was here made by the mob to break open the door, behind which *the owner was armed with a pitchfork. All attempts to leave the paper failed,* and the police left and went to Mary Dowd's, where the mob was kept at bay.

By this time the police were getting fatigued, and a halt was made for luncheon. After a short interval the march was resumed, and the house of

JOHN CONNOLLY,

an old man, was reached. Here matters reached a climax. *The occupant refused admission to the mob,* but they were not thus to be

denied, and *made forcible entry into the house. Rev. Mr. Kelly was appealed to to keep his promise, that only one person on his side should enter the house. To the requests of District-Inspector Markham, the priest replied the people had as much right there as the police.* For the safety of Connolly Mr. Markham deemed it expedient to place the old man outside under protection of the police. He was placed close to the wall, with seven armed policemen in front, but so infuriated were the crowd that they seized the swords and the guns and threw them aside in their attempt to get hold of Connolly. Matters now assumed such a serious aspect that *Mr. Markham ordered his men to load their guns. The mob shouted "You can only shoot eight of us, and not one of you will leave this place alive."* Anxious to avoid bloodshed, Mr. Markham *read the Riot Act*, and warned all of the serious nature of any offence they might commit, *Rev. Mr. Kelly shouted to Mr. Markham—"I defy your authority to read the Riot Act. Do your best."* While the Act was being read those in the crowd shouted—

"TO H——LL WITH QUEEN VICTORIA

*and the Riot Act.* Three cheers for Home Rule." Connolly all this time refused to give up to the priest or any on his side the voting paper, while the mob kept shouting, "We'll make him give it up." The priest then asked that Connolly should be given up to him, but Mr. Markham refused. He would, however, *allow Connolly and Rev. Mr. Kelly to consult together* in any of the rooms, so the two entered the byre and were parleying with each other for a quarter of an hour. When they came out Connolly was still refusing to give up the paper. The old man's wife was brought to him to give it up. *She implored him for peace sake to give the paper to Father Kelly*, but her entreaties were of no avail, and his son was next requisitioned, but he had no greater success with the old man. When it was found all had failed, the crowd again shouted—"*We'll* make you give it up." Excitement was still very high, and matters were at a deadlock. Mr. Markham, however, sent a portion of his men round to the next house to serve a paper, and this, as was intended, drew off some of the crowd. *Connolly was then placed under police protection, and for two hours held out*, but ultimately he went and gave the paper to Rev. Mr. Kelly.

The police were, after the battle at Connolly's house, drawn off, and proceedings stopped for the day, until an extra force of police had been obtained. On Sunday and Monday morning a sufficient force had been collected to attempt service, and this was done on Monday forenoon, the mob of the previous day contenting themselves with viewing the doings from afar, keeping well out of danger on the hills and knolls around.

## COLLECTING OF THE PAPERS.

The papers laid down on Saturday fell to be collected on Tuesday. Threats were made to tear up any of the Roman Catholic

papers which were in favour of the Conservative candidate. The police authorities, however, were prepared to put down any attempt to interfere, and by Tuesday morning a force of over one hundred men, with County Inspector Sheehan, District-Inspectors Markham and Moore, was assembled. Collecting parties were sent off in three directions, but *the party told off for Farrelmacfarrel had, in addition to the ordinary force, an extra protective force of twenty men.* The sight of this overpowering force evidently quelled the ardour of the crowd, which this day numbered over a hundred stalwart country lads.

District-Inspector Markham certainly deserves to be congratulated on the tact and coolness displayed under the most trying circumstances, as an unguarded word or a hasty action would most undoubtedly have ended in a regular slaughter on both sides.

The papers, which could not be left on Saturday, but were put down on Monday, were collected on Wednesday. No outsiders put in an appearance.

*The counting of the votes took place at the workhouse on Thursday.*

Mr. MacCarthy appeared to watch the counting on behalf of the Nationalists, and Mr. T. H. Williams acted for the Conservatives. One or two disclosures were made during the enumerating. *Two men on hearing their votes read out, stated, and were prepared to swear, they never signed or put their mark to the paper handed in in their names, and that the papers were taken from them and filled in their absence. It also came out in the counting that a priest went to a rate collector and got him to*

ISSUE A BOGUS RECEIPT.

*for poor rates, in order to enable the voter to record his vote, the priest giving his word he would pay the money afterwards. On examination, the rate-collector stated the fact, and the returning officer refused to allow the vote, whereupon the priest threw the collector the receipt, telling him to go and look for his money from whom he liked.* The result of the election was that Mr. Ormsby was defeated by 17 votes.—*Sligo Independent*, 25th March, 1893.

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Mr. John Morley, M.P., in his place in the House of Commons on the 30th of March, admitted the substantial accuracy of the foregoing statement.

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# Home Rulers on the Loyal Minority.

## RELENTLESS WAR.

Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., at Mallow, 16th December, 1888 :—

"That spirit the Irish people and the Irish representatives will have to display to the end . . a spirit of love and gratitude for every friend of Ireland, and of open and relentless war upon our foes."—*Freeman's Journal*, 17th December, 1888.

## MR. DILLON WILL HIT AND HURT.

Mr. John Dillon, M.P., at Thurles Convention, 25th October, 1888 :—

"I, perhaps, have an unfortunate turn of mind; but it is a deep-rooted and ineradicable feeling with me, that if I am engaged in a struggle I like to get hold of some weapon with which I can **hit and hurt the enemy**, and I am utterly sceptical of any policy which consists purely and simply in organization and in preparation, and in fine essays and songs, though these also are excellent things in their way."—*Freeman's Journal*, 26th October, 1888.

## DEAL OUT OUR PUNISHMENT.

At Kilmovee, 5th December, 1886, Mr. Dillon said :—

"It is a struggle to undo the system set up in this country by William and Cromwell, and under which the Irish people have toiled for nearly 200 years. . . . . When we come out of the struggle WE WILL REMEMBER who WERE THE PEOPLE'S FRIENDS and who were the PEOPLE'S ENEMIES, and deal out our REWARD to one and our PUNISHMENT to the other. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, 6th December, 1886.

## DASTARDS AND COWARDS TO BE REMEMBERED.

Mr. John Dillon, at Limerick, 20th September, 1887, declared :—

"If a man believes in landlordism, believes in British rule, and believes in coercion, let him take his stand in the name of God, but I believe that a man who in a time like this, when the life of a people is struck at, and every man who dares raise his voice in behalf of liberty and the right of the people of Ireland to live in their own farms runs the risk of being run into prison like a common street-walker. I say that a man who stands aside under such circumstances is a dastard and a coward, and he and his children after him will be remembered in the days that are near at hand, when Ireland will be a free nation—(cheers); and when every man, and every man's children who have suffered imprisonment or been struck at in the cause of Ireland, will find it to be a mark of honour in those days of our prosperity. (Loud Cheers.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, 21st September, 1887.

## MR. DILLON UNDERTAKES TO MANAGE ULSTER.

At a banquet at Limerick on 1st November, 1887, Mr. John Dillon said :—

"Let the people of Ireland enjoy the rights of every nation that is not born to slavery ; let them get arms in their hands ; let the young men be enrolled as volunteers like every devoted citizen of a civilized country, and he declared there was no nation on earth that would risk the task of making slaves of that old nation. Was the present condition of Ireland satisfactory ? England tried to govern Ireland for eighty years, and had failed, and if the Irish themselves, when they got the management of their own affairs, made a worse hand of Ireland than those masters who had ruled them so long, then he would shake the dust off his feet and bid good-bye to Ireland. **But they would manage their own affairs, and do it well. They would manage the South, and tney would also manage Ulster**".—*Irish Times*, 2nd November, 1887.

## NO MERCY FOR COWARDS OR TRAITORS.

Mr. John Dillon, at the Maryborough Convention, 15th January, 1889, stated :—

"And I say it is my determination—which I have exhibited on more than one occasion—not on many, but on more than one, when the occasion arose, to show absolutely NO CONSIDERATION OR MERCY whatever for the man who basely betrays his neighbours. I will see that he gets no assistance or grant whatever from the National funds, and he can have the pleasure—if pleasure it be to him—of sneaking back into his home a dishonoured and disgraced man with the loss of his money ; and from the funds over which I have control not one shilling or sixpence shall he ever get—(applause) ; and when the struggle is ended, and the people of the country have obtained that control over their own affairs which must come very soon, he will be pointed out by his neighbours as A COWARD AND TRAITOR, and he will have the pleasure of seeing the man who has stood firm, and acted honourably by his fellow-tenants, saluted with honour by all who meet him, and that his children after him will be proud to bear his name. (Hear, hear.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, 16th January, 1889.

## THEY WILL STRIKE UNITEDLY AND FIRMLY.

"And we counsel 'The Unionist Alliance' and all others concerned not to be too sure that divisions amongst the Irish people have won them the battle. The Irish people have clung to their national hopes through some very dark and trying days, and **when the time comes they will know how to strike unitedly and firmly at the enemies of Irish freedom.**"—*Irish Daily Independent*, March 31st, 1893.

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# MR. GLADSTONE
AND THE
# ENGLISH DEPUTATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY EXPRESS.

SIR,—In replying to the Belfast Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Gladstone compares Ireland with the case of Canada, which he describes as "a correlative and analogous case." He appears to argue that because similar conditions as to there being a division in race and religion exist in both countries, and because the revenue and population are about the same, Ireland should, therefore, become as prosperous as Canada has under self-government. To quote his own words, "With these resources, with this population, with a revenue corresponding to yours, with an internal division of race, language, and religion sharper than exists in Ireland, Canada is happy, is contented, and is prosperous." Now, granting these similarities between the two countries, in what respects does Canada differ from Ireland under Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill?

In the first place, when England gave Canada self-government she did not collar the customs of Canada. On the contrary, she permitted Canada to levy protective duties of from 15 to 30 per cent. on English goods. If Mr. Gladstone gave up the £2,300,000 he intends to take from Ireland in the shape of Customs duties, and permitted Ireland to levy duties on English goods, then there might be some reason in his instituting a comparison between the two countries, but even then he must leave out of sight the fact that Canada possesses millions of acres of virgin soil in the shape of Crown lands, the sale of which constitutes a revenue in itself, that the population of Canada is increasing, while that of Ireland is decreasing. Every emigrant from Ireland to Canada means a loss to Ireland and a gain to Canada of a certain amount of capital.

In the second place it is not difficult to understand why it is that different races and creeds manage to live in harmony under Home Rule in Canada. The Home Rule that exists in Canada is not the Home Rule that Mr. Gladstone proposes to give to Ireland. Owing

to the system of provincial Governments in Canada a large amount of friction that would otherwise arise is avoided. The French Canadian Roman Catholic population is confined to the province of Quebec, which has a Legislature dealing with all the internal affairs of the province. Ontario, the "Ulster" of Canada, has its own provincial Government. If the Protestant population of Ontario were asked to hand over themselves and their industries to be governed by a Roman Catholic majority of French Canadians, how long would Canada be "happy, contented, and prosperous?" Yet Mr. Gladstone would try to blind the British public into believing that the cases are parallel. He could hardly believe that his arguments would be swallowed by the intelligent men of business who formed the deputation from the Belfast Chamber of Commerce.

AN EX-CANADIAN.

—*Daily Express*, Saturday, April 1st, 1893.

# HOME RULE BILL

AND

# IRISH TRADE.

## SPECIAL MEETING OF THE BELFAST CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

## EXHAUSTIVE EXAMINATION OF DETAILS.

# HOME RULE BILL AND IRISH TRADE.

## Special Meeting of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce.

### *EXHAUSTIVE EXAMINATION OF DETAILS.*

We have carefully studied the Bill and feel compelled to report that the general scope of it is, that, through the power of imposing, collecting, and managing taxation, the manufactures and commerce of the country will necessarily be at the mercy of a majority which will have no real concern in the interests vitally affected, and who have no knowledge of the science of government.

We believe that the economic and social condition of Ireland renders it singularly unfitted for Home Rule. The population is not homogeneous—it is radically divided on the lines of race and of religion, and the two parties filled with distrust and with historical jealousy of each other. The chief economic necessity of the country is the development of manufactures, trade and commerce; but the vast majority of the population have no appreciation of the conditions under which alone such necessities can be met. They do not seem to know that, while a government can destroy prosperity by destroying security and credit, no Government can create it in the face of insecurity and suspicion.

The resources of Ireland are unequal to supporting a national government. A few figures will make clear what we mean. The total valuation of the country is a trifle over £14,000,000 sterling; while the valuation of Great Britain exceeds £200,000,000. The income tax of Ireland is £556,000; in Great Britain it amounts to £13,296,000. Compare, again, the main evidences of commercial and trading wealth. The coal raised in Great Britain in 1891 was valued at £74,099,816; that raised in Ireland the same year is given at £44,542. On the railways in Great Britain 306,000,000 tons were carried in 1891; in Ireland, 4,410,731 —and of this amount the railways terminating in Belfast carried 41 per cent. The total railway receipts of Ireland (of which 30 per cent. is taken by the above-mentioned lines) amount to about 4 per cent. of the railway receipts of Great Britain. The capital of all the railways of Ireland is under £40,000,000—about £10,000,000 less than that of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway alone. The registered tonnage of the ports of Great Britain is 7,990,261, that of all the ports of Ireland is 256,439, and of this Belfast holds 55 per cent. It is no exaggeration to say that more than one English county is at least as well fitted economically and socially for self-government as the Kingdom of Ireland.

Again, the commercial and manufacturing districts (which we claim to represent), form but a fraction of the whole. The greater part of the rest of Ireland has neither the resources, the capital, or the unity of race or interest to render it capable of standing alone without the support of Imperial credit. It is manifestly unfitted for a tremendous experiment, and nothing seems to promise that such an experiment would succeed. The first condition for successful trade is security. In Belfast, under the shelter of

the Union, protected by British commercial laws, with the advantage of British fiscal legislation in which we share, there has grown up the first really great development of trade and industry ever known in the history of the country. From Belfast, as a centre, business has spread and is spreading. Londonderry, Coleraine, Ballymena, Lisburn, Lurgan, Banbridge, Gilford, Portadown, Cookstown, Strabane, Dungannon, and many other towns are closely connected with Belfast by commercial ties, and there are now millions of money employed in it, and tens of thousands of persons dependent on it and thriving by it. The development of that trade is entirely dependent on the maintenance of the sense of security; and it is useless to shut our eyes to the fact that the mere introduction of the Bill, which we have been deputed to examine, has seriously shaken credit. It is notorious, and is forced on the attention of every observer, that there has recently been a most marked fall in the best Irish stocks, and that local shares, which sold freely until the 13th February, are for the present almost unsaleable; and we beg to remind the Chamber that precisely the same sort of depression was created by the introduction of the Home Rule Bill of 1886. The depreciation of values in Irish securities already amounts to over £3,000,000 sterling. We may add that from no political quarter has any assurance been given that this Bill, even if passed, will really secure a final settlement of the Irish question. It would seem that the agitation, uncertainty and consequent insecurity will be perpetuated.

We find no provisions in the Bill calculated to allay these growing apprehensions. There is a complete absence of any real practical protection from unwise or unjust taxation, or from the unwise or unfair application of taxation. The only safeguards, even nominally apparent, are the veto,

the necessity in money bills of the initiation by the Lord Lieutenant, the appeal to the Exchequer Judges, and the presence of a Second Chamber. We need scarcely waste time upon the value of the veto and its practical effect. It must be exercised by the Viceroy on the advice of his Ministers. We do not believe in its efficiency, and we are confirmed in that view by finding it treated as matter of derision by the Nationalist Press. We regard it, as the Nationalist party does, merely as a form—a bulwark of paper—set up to save appearances. The initiation of money bills by the Lord Lieutenant is on the ordinary principle, and is the reverse of a safeguard. We presume the present Viceroy is a party to, and supporter of, the present bill. We could not, therefore, expect him either to veto another such, or to refuse to initiate a money bill conceived in its spirit, and the initiation would be under the advice of his ministers in every case. The Exchequer Judges would seem to have no special executive provided for them, and their decrees might have to be enforced by the very officials against whom they were directed. The provisions as to the electorate of the Second Chamber are such, that the majority there must necessarily reflect the views of the Legislative Assembly. Upon the one constituent body or the other (and *a fortiori* on both sitting together) trade, manufactures, and commerce must appear on sufferance only—in a hopeless, helpless minority, unable to protect in the smallest degree the interests of the class. The representation offered is a mockery; and we may plainly state the fact that under the provisions of the bill we are defenceless.

Beyond this we find that the proposed Irish Legislature, in which we are invited to appear in a minority of about one-fifth, has no definitely-settled constituencies or electo-

rate. It is proposed to enact that at the end of six years that body may re-organise itself, and the majority are to be at liberty to take steps to ensure our absolute impotence. There is no protection offered beyond the vague provision that "due regard" is to be had to the population of the constituencies. We submit to the Chamber that the time for "due regard" to the population is now, before the Bill has been considered in Parliament at all; that the proposition to perpetuate the over-representation of the Nationalists, which has been openly admitted by the Prime Minister and by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and which cannot be denied, is truly unjust; and we find difficulty in conceiving how any man could support it by his vote, whatever his politics. We state that such a distinct disregard of equity in a leading clause of the Bill gives us every reason to doubt profoundly the justice of any portion of it which, even on the surface, may seem fair.

It is manifest that no one could possibly guess at what might be the re-arrangement of the constituencies, or of the electoral qualifications, and no consideration could contribute more to create commercial insecurity than such an important element of uncertainty. The effect of these considerations on the minds of the commercial and manufacturing community is so serious, that beyond question, if the Bill passes into law, large amounts of capital, and many branches of industrial enterprise, will migrate to Great Britain, or the United States or the Colonies. The disorganisation of industry, and the social disturbances sure to follow the enactment of the measure, will cause intense suffering among the working classes of Ireland, and drive them in large numbers to England and Scotland to compete with their brethren there for employment.

We have given our best attention to the proposed fiscal

arrangement. It is impossible for us, with the material at our disposal, and the time which we have been able to devote to it, to do more than approximately estimate the results of these; nevertheless, so far as we can understand their meaning, they fill us with grave apprehensions. It is in any case impossible that an Irish Legislature, with a temporary arrangement of constituencies, and a system of restraints and vetos hanging upon it, could start with high credit; and it is the more impossible since some of those certain to be its ministers have publicly associated their names with the principle of the repudiation of contracts. Loans could not be had except at high rates; and it is of the last importance, therefore, that its proposed Budget should not be a mere sketch on paper, but be clearly and substantially sound. We beg to report to you that we consider the fiscal arrangements as altogether unsatisfactory. We have availed ourselves again of the criticisms of the National Press, and of the Nationalist members in this matter, and we are completely in accord with them. We find also that the *Economist*, writing from the London point of view, and with the authority of one of the leading financial papers published says—"It is proposed to establish a Legislature in Ireland which will be in chronic want of money." Even such paper surplus as is shewn is dependent on the contribution of that amount by the British Parliament, namely—£500,000 a year, for a limited period of years, towards maintenance of the Irish police. At the end of that period it is a vanishing quantity, unless the Irish Government have in the meantime cut down the cost of constabulary by one-third—in our view a most unlikely contingency. There is a complete concensus of opinion on this point, and we repeat our belief that the Bill is not financially sound. We see no

margin for error ; no provision for a reduction in the amount of the excise ; no provision for possibly diminished yield from income tax or post office ; no provision for the necessary expenses of the working of the Legislature, for the salaries of the Ministers or of the working staff ; no provision for pensions to the existing police, for pay for the police of the future, or for the salaries and pensions of new judges and civil servants. It is superfluous to point that there will be no funds available for the encouragement of technical education, science, or art. Such a Government will have difficulties from the outset, and there can be no escape from the necessity of new taxation to supply inevitable deficiencies. Existing capital, in which we are interested, must be subjected to fresh taxes. The savings of the country, the natural source of future capital, must be cut short, and the steady growth which our city has witnessed for generations must be checked.

We take two instances of the practical effect of this Bill financially ; one general and one local. For years this Chamber (in connection with other Chambers of Commerce) has been earnestly advocating extensions of public facilities, both in the direction of postal reforms and of telegraphic advantages. We have addressed ourselves hitherto to a great Imperial Department, with a surplus of three millions at command ; while under this Bill we would have to deal with a Provincial Department, worked at an estimated annual loss of £50,000. We have examined the Excise clauses, and find that if the consumption of spirits be reduced by 1,000,000 gallons, the entire surplus revenue is gone ; and it cannot be recovered by raising the rate of duty, for under the Bill any additional amount gained by the increase of that rate is payable to the English Exchequer.

We observe that there are no substantial restrictions on legislation on the subjects of the poor law and education—either could readily be made a means of gross injustice; and we feel justified in pointing out that the public utterances of the Nationalist leaders, and the resolutions passed by public meetings and boards of guardians in many parts of Ireland, have showed such disregard, not merely of equity between man and man, but of economic principles, that the thought of important powers being devolved on the representatives of such ideas fills us with consternation. It is impossible to disregard the vindictive folly which has already threatened the linen trade of Ulster, and which led to the New Tipperary fiasco, with all the misery and waste consequent on it, or to forget the imbecile termination of the Irish Land Purchase and Settlement Company, the misapplication of funds supplied to relieve distress, and the repeated attempts made through the agency of the Poor Law and Labourers' Tenements Acts to inflict injury on political opponents.

We have asked in vain for any definite statement of social or material improvemet to Ireland likely to result from this Bill. The only methods towards such ends suggested by the Nationalists, point to protection and bounties; and we note that while the Bill would seem to exclude protective duties, there is nothing to exclude bounties. It is, therefore, manifest that the majority are to be at liberty to apply taxes raised in Belfast and Ulster to create and foster opposition trades in other places. No one can read the Bill, even cursorily, without seeing that in several ways taxation can be applied to crush political opponents. In addition to the bounty system, we need only instance the income tax, the death duties, the transfer and stamp duties, and the licensing system—any one of which can easily be

manipulated, under the Bill, against a hostile minority. We conceive we have a right to say that we cannot rely upon the character of the Nationalist leaders in dealing with commercial interests. Some of these gentlemen defend and advocate the system of boycotting—a system which the Prime Minister himself states is supported by the sanction of the "murder which must not be denounced;" they are the gentlemen whom he has charged with preaching a doctrine of "public plunder." We know them as the authors of the Land League, the doctrines of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer asserts to be the doctrines of "treason and assassination." We know that by judicial decision, a large number have been convicted of being "guilty of a criminal conspiracy," and of having been subsidised by the sworn enemies of England. These are not mere opinions; they are undeniable facts. We cannot be expected to accept as reasonable a Bill proposing to place us at the mercy of such men.

We are satisfied with our existing position in the Empire. We find nothing whatever in the laws which is not capable of being rectified where found wrong by the Imperial Parliament, in which our interests are linked to corresponding interests in Great Britain. We have no other desire than to continue, on equal terms, citizens of the United Kingdom, and we earnestly protest against the degradation with which we and our country are threatened.

All our progress has been made under the Union. We were a small insignificant town at the end of the last century, deeply disaffected and hostile to the British Empire. Since the Union, and under equal laws, we have been welded to the Empire, and have made a progress second to none. In 1783 we find the population of Belfast

was 13,105 ; in 1891 it was 255,950. In 1861 the valuation of the city was £270,930 ; in 1893, £741,000 ; in 1837 the funds at command of the three Banks, having head-offices in Belfast, was £1,488,134 ; in 1892 the amount was £14,797,285—that is to say, the total funds at disposal of these Banks exceed in amount now by four millions sterling, the total at the disposal of the four largest Joint Stock Banks in London in 1844, at the passing of the Bank Charter Act. In 1837 the tonnage of vessels clearing from Belfast was 288,143 ; in 1892 it was 2,053,637 tons, and the harbour receipts are 39 per cent. of the total harbour receipts of all Ireland. The foreign imports are £9,106,000, 36 per cent. of the sum total imported into Ireland. The Customs duties paid in Belfast are 44 per cent. of the whole collected in the island. The customs amount to £2,376,511 ; Inland Revenue between £900,000 and £1,000,000 more, making together over £3,250,000, being a contribution to the Imperial revenue surpassed by no ports in the United Kingdom except London and Liverpool ; it is nearly a million more than the Prime Minister's estimate of Ireland's share of the Imperial expenditure.

We wish to emphasize the fact that this progress has been made under precisely the same laws as those which govern the other cities and provinces of Ireland. It is specially noteworthy that the raw material employed in our staple manufactures is chiefly imported. The iron and steel for our great ship-yards ; two-thirds of the flax for our spinning mills ; and the coal for all industrial and domestic purposes are imported articles. There is no privilege in this respect that is not open to every other city and town in our island. We earnestly protest against hasty legislation, and especially that which goes to the roots of the Constitution. What Ireland wants is time, in

which the healing effects of the remedial legislation of Imperial Parliament may bear fruit.

It is idle to argue in the face of such facts and figures that the Government of Ireland by the Imperial Parliament is not compatible, not merely with progress, but with brilliant success, which we hold is chiefly due to our position as an integral part of the Empire.

Why should we be driven by force to abandon the conditions which have led to that success? We can imagine no conceivable reason—no fault that we have committed—which can justify the treatment which this Bill prepares for us. We are to be driven out of our present close connection with England and Scotland; we are to be deprived of the power to control our own future; and we are to be handed over to the government and guidance of men of whose principles we disapprove, and whose capacity seems efficient for destruction only.

We are of opinion that the reasonable wants of Ireland would be fully met by any mode of dealing with the Land Question, rapidly and simply, consistent with justice and honour, by some arrangement for Local Government similar to that lately created in England and Scotland, by an adequate reform of Private Bill Procedure, and by such aid from Imperial credit as would, in a sensible and economic way, assist the development of Irish industries, where and when such assistance might be required. We in Belfast ask no grants, and we well know that the restoration of security would be followed by an immediate return of prosperity.

**We conclude by restating as broadly and firmly as possible our opinion that the circumstances of Ireland—the peculiarities of its population—its poverty and absence of natural resources—render**

**the experiment of autonomy exceptionally dangerous, and we anticipate from such an experiment absolute disaster; that the Bill as drawn is radically and incurably unjust; and that, should it become law, the result would be a blow as deadly to Irish commercial interests as were the measure framed centuries ago intentionally to ruin Irish trade.**

The Bill has been avowedly introduced to terminate Government by what is called coercion, but it cannot be enforced in this city or in the province of Ulster except by coercion—coercion by the force of the Empire directed against those who have done most service to Ireland, the most industrious, the most law-abiding, the most faithful and dutiful subjects the Queen has in the whole island.

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# Belfast Chamber of Commerce

AND

# MR. GLADSTONE.

## A CONVINCING REJOINDER.

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CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, BELFAST,

*11th April*, 1893.

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

SIR,—When you consented to receive a deputation from us we did not anticipate that pressure on your time would be so great that you could not give us the opportunity for discussion which we were disposed to think the importance of the subject required. In accordance with your suggestion we beg to submit the following reply :—

Before approaching any of the points to which you called attention in your speech, we beg to express our regret that you thought it right at the outset to make a marked reference to the religious composition of this chamber. On that point you appear to have informed yourself better than we have ever done. It never occurred to us to make such a census. All we know is that there are Roman Catholics amongst us, and that they, and members of any other religious persuasion, are equally welcome. As business men we are concerned with commercial affiliation, but we may venture

without offence, to hope that the time is distant when the religious views of the members of a deputation, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, will be held to depreciate the value of their statements.

We note with regret that to much which we regard as important in our report you have avoided giving any answer whatever. We asked for "any definite statement of social or material improvements to Ireland likely to result from this Bill." To this request you made no reply. We pointed out that the only means towards such ends suggested by the Nationalist party indicate a system of bounties. This is heresy against free trade, but you have not repudiated that programme, and to our question, why we are to be driven from the position, and severed from the conditions which have made the success of our city possible, you vouchsafe no reply at all.

You have told us these men to whom we are opposed preach a doctrine of public plunder. Yet you have not offered the shadow of a reason to satisfy us that they will not use the powers with which you propose to entrust them to put those doctrines in force.

At the outset you challenged our statement that the amount collected by the Customs Department in Belfast for 1892 was £2,376,511, and by the Inland Revenue Department £900,000 more, making together £3,250,000. The exact classification of the revenue is not important; nevertheless, as you question our figures, we now append an official certificate of their substantial accuracy. (Somerset House Certificate, *vide* Appendix 1.)

In reference to our statement that we shall be at the mercy of a majority which will have no real concern in the interests vitally affected, we venture to think that you wrest

it somewhat from its fair application. We were dealing with the commercial and industrial interests which we represent, as distinguished from the agricultural interests by which they are so largely out-numbered in Ireland. The proportion of rural to urban constituents, nearly equal in Great Britain, is almost six to one in this country. These inequalities can only find their correction and proper level by being merged in the representation of the United Kingdom.

You next challenge our statement of the existence of mutual historical jealousy in Ireland. We have purposely avoided anything but the most guarded reference to the differences which exist on the religious question. We have not uttered, and shall not be induced to utter, a word that could wound the susceptibilities of the Roman Catholics of this country, with whom we all earnestly desire to live on terms of peace and equality. What we did point to is the fact, to which no statesman should be blind, that there is most unhappily, a line of cleavage which goes deep down into the masses of the people, and by which they are radically divided. On this point we need only quote the words of Mr. Lecky, the greatest living historian of Ireland, to whom we thought right to submit your challenge. He says :—

"The assertion that the Irish Catholics have never shown any jealousy to the Irish Protestants is of a kind which I find it difficult to characterise with proper moderation. Jealousy, unhappily, is far too feeble a word to describe adequately the fierce reciprocal animosity which has desolated Ireland for centuries. It blazed into a furious flame in the religious wars of Elizabeth, in the great rebellion of 1641, in the Jacobite struggle of 1689, in the religious war

into which the rebellion of 1798 speedily degenerated. These facts are about as conspicuous in the history of Ireland as Magna Charta and the Commonwealth in the history of England. To attribute, as Mr. Gladstone does, the whole blame to one side is simply to falsify grossly the truth of history. Happily for some years the hostility between the two creeds has been greatly subsiding, and a large number of Irish Catholics are among the most conspicuous and fervent supporters of the Union. No one who knows Ireland will deny that the policy of Mr. Gladstone has contributed more than any single cause to revive and deepen the division which every good Irishman deplores." (Mr. Lecky's letter, 8th April, 1893, *vide* Appendix 2.)*

We offer no opinion as to who was right or who was wrong in those historic conflicts. We point only to the undeniable fact that again and again for centuries back Ireland has been divided to the last extremity of civil commotion, and even civil war, and always on the same lines. We live in this country, our information is derived from the daily experiences of life, and we know that whatever be the feelings of those whose education and training raise them above prejudice, the traditions of the country have left deep traces on both sides, to ignore which is surely neither statesmanlike nor wise.

When you refer to the end of the last century you speak of a period familiar to us all. We are the descendants of the Volunteers, and we inherit their traditions. We know what were their aims and aspirations. Like them we advocate equal civil and religious rights to every class and to every creed. Those rights for which they strove we have gained. As subjects of the United Kingdom we live now

* Issued separately as a leaflet by the Irish Unionist Alliance.

under a Parliament able and willing to treat every reasonable demand with justice and generosity. You are necessarily well aware that the Irish Parliament of which you speak had no point of similarity whatever to that which you now propose to establish. It was exclusively Protestant. Its electorate was Protestant. Until 1793 the sharp division of race and religion did not exist in it. Whatever good it may have accomplished was the work of Protestants, and we think when you accused us of a special jealousy you should have remembered that our ancestors granted the Parliamentary franchise to their Roman Catholic countrymen.

But we cannot accept the favourable view of the success of Grattan's Parliament, in support of which you quote Lord Clare speaking in 1798. The undoubted advance in the material prosperity of Ireland during the earlier years of that Parliament's existence was not attributable to its influence. It was due to causes in operation years before its independence, acquired in 1782, and altogether outside its sphere. Free trade with the colonies began in 1778, and some relaxation of the restrictions on trade with Great Britain was shortly afterwards obtained, largely through the influence of the Volunteers. But nothing contributed more to Irish prosperity than the war prices obtained during several years for agricultural produce both in Ireland and Great Britain. Wheat, for instance, advanced from 4s. 5½d. a bushel in 1780 to 14s. 1d. in 1800. These are the chief causes which tended to create that short-lived prosperity mentioned by Lord Clare—a prosperity which under the same regime soon gave place to the condition of affairs which led him in 1800 to paint the position of the country as absolutely desperate. "We have not three years'

redemption from bankruptcy or intolerable taxation—not one hour's security against the renewal of exterminating civil war." There was an increase of the Irish Government debt from £2,440,390 to £26,662,640 during the seven years between 1793 and 1800. From this state of affairs the Union saved us.

Your comparison of Ireland with Canada is wholly misleading. . . . . The Dominion Parliament now includes representatives from Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, and the North-West Territories. The sharp division of race, language, and religion to which you refer is mastered and moderated by the preponderance of other interests which overspread the vast continent comprised in the Dominion. The million of Frenchmen in Quebec or the 1,900,000 Roman Catholics within the Dominion find their counterpoise in the other races and denominations contained in the five millions which constitute the Dominion population. The ascendency of provincial majorities is thus absorbed in the representation of the whole Dominion, just as the ascendency of the Irish majority is merged in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The true Canadian analogy with an Ireland under Home Rule is to be found in the Province of Quebec, with its population of 1,000,000 French Catholics and 400,000 Protestants. Here we have a sample of a country ruled by a clergy whose pretensions have not been exceeded since the days of Thomas à Becket. The courts of law have shown themselves in well-known instances impotent to restrain the interference of ecclesiastical authorities with civil rights; in short, the supremacy of the Church is unquestioned One-sixth of the provincial revenue of Quebec is applied to the

maintenance of ecclesiastical institutions. The provincial debt increases yearly. The exchequer is practically empty, and in order to make ends meet the commercial classes—notably those of Montreal—are subjected to special taxation.

The misleading character of your Canadian analogy is specially seen when we compare the powers of the Dominion Parliament with those of the proposed Irish Legislature. Under the Government of Ireland Bill Ireland is precluded rom legislating regarding naval or military forces. Canada, as we have seen, not only enjoys this power, but possesses a militia of 38,000 and a large reserve. Ireland cannot meddle with foreign trade, quarantine, navigation, light-houses, currency and coinage, local tender, weights and measures, copyrights or patents. Canada has full power as to all these matters, and in addition has complete control of her customs, being able to levy protective duties at pleasure, even against the mother country, and to use her revenues as she thinks right. Her customs revenue is not impounded for Imperial purposes, as you propose to do with that of Ireland, and she contributes practically nothing to Imperial defence. It is superfluous to remind you that Canada is over 2,000 miles from Great Britain, and has never, like Ireland which is only a few hours apart, had representation in the Imperial Parliament. The comparison of Ireland with Canada in respect of resources is also most misleading. Ireland contains 32,531 square miles ; Canada is over a hundred times as large, embracing 3,315,647 square miles. Ireland's mineral resources yield under £400,000 a year ; Canada, which is only beginning to develop them, produced in 1889 minerals worth £3,900,000. The coal bed of Nova Scotia alone is said to cover an area

of 18,000 square miles. The imports of Ireland are £9,868,973; of Canada £24,650,885. The railways of Ireland have a capital of under £40,000,000, and carry annually 4,410,731 tons; those of Canada have a capital of £161,598,865, and carry 20,787,469 tons. The timber of Canada is worth over £8,000,000 sterling a year, and her resources in undeveloped agricultural land are apparently inexhaustible

We pass to the calculations which you have placed before us in relation to the progress of Belfast on the hypothesis that the Union had not taken place, and we observe that you considered them sufficiently valuable to bring them before the deputation of the City of London which followed us on the day of our interview with you. We own that we are filled with amazement at the picture you have drawn. We say in reply that in the first place Lord Lansdowne, whom you quote, was on this subject not well informed. From the "Town Book of Belfast" we find that the number of houses in 1802, was 3,197, and the estimated population 19,001. There is no record for 1800, but it is manifest that your figure, 25,000, is far from correct. We find that in 1807 the number of houses was 3,514, and the population only 22,095. The basis of your calculation thus fails totally; and further we say that no town or city at any time, or in any place, ever increased by doubling its population every 18 years in geometric progression for 110 years, and that if your method were sound, and such progression probable and to be expected, it would follow that but for the Union Belfast would have had a population of five millions and a half before the middle of next century—a result so entirely absurd that it proves the whole reasoning fallacious. As a matter of fact the lowest rate of

increase that we can establish during the 110 years was the increase of 11 per cent. between 1791 and 1807; the highest was 41 per cent. between 1831 and 1841. One of the most extraordinary developments of a city is found in the case of Glasgow. In 1780 the population was 42,832, in 1801 it was 83,701. Applying your principle of increase to each period of twenty years, it should have reached over 1,500,000 in 1891. Remarkable as the increase has actually been it reached only 658,198. Glasgow has multiplied its population eight times between 1801 and 1891; Belfast in the same period has multiplied its population 13½ times.

We come next to your remarks on finance. We are unable to share your sanguine hopes as to the saving of £2,500,000 by economies which you very slightly indicate. As merchants and manufacturers our expectations would be that the cost of management would increase in proportion as the establishment to be managed diminishes in size. The modern industrial tendency is towards consolidation of institutions in order to save expenses of management. Your proposal, on the other hand, is to divide a consolidated concern, and, contrary to all experience, you expect a saving to be thereby effected, and this in case of the weakest member of the dissolved partnership. Men of business do not risk all on analogies and metaphors. We want plain unmistakable facts. We want to have actual figures pointing to particular reductions, and the names of the particular offices and posts which you think can be abolished. There is a limit below which salaries cannot be cut down without disaster. As business men we know that miserable pay leads to miserable work. We do not think an Irishman of first-class ability will be induced to stay in Ireland discharging duties on a salary regulated by

the exigencies of the Exchequer, when he can compete in England for positions open to him as a subject of the Empire. Our men of ability already leave us daily for the higher prizes offered elsewhere. We do not want to lose them all, and to be served by those only who can do no better. Moreover, we may ask if the extravagance is really so enormous, why has it been permitted to continue, not only by the four Cabinets of which you were head, but also by all Governments of all political views?

But with great respect we challenge your figures altogether. The civil expenditure of Ireland per head is not twice the civil expenditure of Great Britain per head. This is a mere question of arithmetic which we are as competent to solve as any statesman. The civil expenditure of Great Britain is 19s. 2d. per head. The figures are simply taken from last returns—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Population—Great Britain | ... | 33,026,000 |
| „ Ireland ... | ... | 4,704,000 |
| Expenditure—Great Britain | ... | £31,685,847 |
| „ Ireland ... | ... | £5,644,138 |
| Per head—Great Britain | ... | £0 19s. 2d. |
| „ Ireland ... | ... | £1 4s. 0d. |

But in this calculation the Irish charge includes the police, the special charges under the Land Act, and the Education vote. These items form 11s. per head of the total. We know that the like charges in Great Britain in reality do not correspond. These services are there largely supplemented by local rates. The charge for them in Government expenditure is only 4s. per head. The comparison you have made is not only based on figures which are perfectly wrong, but it is instituted without securing that

the totals shall include exactly the same items. The true comparison can only be arrived at by eliminating these charges from both accounts. Then the expenditure per head for England will appear at 15s. 2d. per head, after deducting 4s., and the expenditure for Ireland will be 13s. after deducting 11s. The excess in Ireland so far as it exists, and is not the result of miscalculation, arises from bringing into the account as against us, expenses provided otherwise in the account against Great Britain. We think this is quite sufficient to show that your estimated economy is quite impossible.

Nevertheless, assume that your economy of £2,500,000 were made, from what items is it to be taken? The total amount of the expenditure side of your budget is £5,160,000. After your reductions of £2,500,000, there would be an available balance of £2,660,000, but the education vote is £1,060,000. That cannot be reduced. The Post Office service is £790,000, the collection of revenue is £160,000—these cannot be reduced. The amount together is about £2,000,000. There would then remain only £660,000 to meet Governmental expense for Police and Land Act charges (at present estimated to cost £1,556,416), for grants in aid of local charges (at present upwards of £800,000 yearly), for salaries of judges and all officials, and for all other purposes whatever. It is inconceivable to us how anyone can talk of a "chronic plethora of money" in presence of these facts. The idea is a mere dream.

We think we have met fairly by actual statements of facts, by figures, and by authoritative quotations everything you urged against our report. We are not shaken in our views. We still see nothing to expect from this Bill

but confusion and disaster. We are bound to warn you that its enactment would be but the beginning of a new struggle, and a break up of social order which no force in this country could control, and the end of which no man can foresee.

You state towards the close of your remarks that the Irish policy of England, from 1800 till 1885, has failed. Your Home Rule policy is, therefore, a policy of despair. We submit that no stronger condemnation of such a pessimist policy can be produced than your admission that the Imperial Parliament has not failed so far as Ulster is concerned. Not the least earnest Unionists amongst us to-day are descendants of the rebels of 1798. No law exists which gives Ulster men a scintilla of advantage over their brethren of the other provinces. Is it not, therefore, a more worthy statesmanship to have patience and to believe that the same even-handed and beneficent legislation which has produced peace, contentment, and loyalty in the Northern province will ultimately bear the same happy fruit throughout the remainder of the island? Imperial legislation has not had time to bear its legitimate and natural fruit, and the most far-reaching of it all—that which lies at the root of the Irish difficulty—the adjustment of the land question, is only in the infancy of its operation.

We ask you to say whether Imperial reforms have received fair play at the hands of the Nationalist leaders. Have they co-operated in rendering any beneficial measure successful? Have they not rather crushed the best interests of our country by persistent and avowed attempts to render the Government of Ireland under its present Constitution impossible. We claim that the case for

failure is not made out until the Nationalists themselves have honestly done their best to govern Ireland under existing conditions. The opportunity was never more favourable. Nationalist members constitute almost one-fourth of your followers in Parliament, and without them your majority would be gone. It would be only natural to expect that on the recognised principle of Constitutional Government, their leaders, if worthy to be trusted with the conduct of an Irish Government, should have places in your present Administration, and, as men responsible to Parliament, should share in framing and administering your policy both towards Ireland and the Empire

Till they have given the resources and the Constitution a fair trial, neither you nor they have a right to say that these resources have proved inadequate.

You say we are not the Irish people. We do not claim to be, but we assert that the deliberate convictions of at least one-third of the Irish people would find due expression in the Parliamentary representatives of Ireland but for the anomalies and inequalities in the electorate, which you yourself have admitted. We also assert that our opinions as to the advantages of the Union are making way in Ireland, and we maintain that it is unstatesmanlike and unjust to break up in haste and in despair the Constitution under which so large a proportion of the Irish people have prospered.

You call your policy conservative, on the grounds that it goes back to the arrangements of the last decade of the last century. May not we claim for our policy the same distinction and in a higher degree, because it embodies the repeated demands for legislative union made by the Irish Parliament in the first decade of that century? Does the

lesson of the past not justify the foresight and wisdom of our fathers in the days of Queen Anne, who saw in the union with Scotland the pattern of Ireland's right relation to her wealthy neighbour? Again we ask of you, give Ireland time. The wrongs of centuries are not to be healed in a moment. We submit the time-lesson of history is this —The policy of legislative union, which has succeeded in the case of Scotland, and which has succeeded as regards not the least important section of the people of Ireland, is the policy which, if patiently continued, will yet bring peace to our beloved and divided country.

(Signed on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce)

JOHN GREENHILL, President.
R. L. PATTERSON, Hon. Sec.

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## APPENDIX I.

### INLAND REVENUE.

Somerset House, London, W.C.,
29th March, 1893.

SIR,—With reference to your letter of the 21st inst. I am directed by the Board of Inland Revenue to furnish you with the following particulars of the receipts of duties in Belfast in the year 1892, as requested:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| By Inland Revenue collected— | | |
| Excise ... ... ... ... ... | ... £627,933 | |
| Income Tax ... ... ... ... | ... 99,866 | |
| Stamp Duties* ... ... ... ... | ... 100,928 | |
| | | £828,787 |
| By Customs collected— | | |
| Customs Duties... ... ... ... | ... £978,475 | |
| Inland Revenue Spirit Duties ... | ...1,397,955 | |
| | | 2,376,430 |
| Total ... ... ... | | ... £3,205,217 |

—I am, sir, your obedient servant,
(Signed) ROBERT MICKS, Secretary.
Samuel Vance, Esq.

* The Death Duties cannot readily be distinguished.

# Cardinal Cullen on Home Rule.

"My first duty is to approach all questions from my own standpoint, that is, as a bishop, and to examine into and see what the effect of any great political change would be on religion and the Church's interests. It is for others to go into the political and temporal aspect of all such problems. I must admit, then, that I do not like this new movement for what is called Home Rule, for of this I am convinced, that the first future attack on the liberty of the Church, and on the interest of religion will come from a native Parliament, if we ever have one. I have now a twenty-five years' most intimate acquaintance with Ireland and her politics, and an equally long experience, derived from residence there, of Rome and her politics, and of this I am convinced, that the moving spring in this new agitation in Ireland is identical with that in Italy; that is the spirit of the revolution so loudly and so authoritatively condemned by the Holy See; but for this power and this spirit the movement in Ireland would have no strength. We all know what the Revolution has done in Rome and in France. It first drove the Pope from the Eternal City—he returned defended by French troops—the moment they were withdrawn the revolutionary army of Italy seized upon the States of the Church; the Pope remains a prisoner in the Vatican. In Paris what have we seen? An archbishop shot down in the streets and priests murdered in that city, and the most awful sacrileges perpetrated. France was once as Catholic as Ireland, but the Revolution undermined her faith. Should an Irish Parliament, whose strength, I believe, will come from revolutionary sources, pass laws that are subversive of justice, morality, or religion, it will be the duty of the bishops to speak out to warn their flocks and to condemn such acts. Such a Parliament will at once pass laws to weaken and destroy the Church's action, and to restrain the bishops in the performance of their undoubted duty. With this conviction in my mind, I, for one, can never advocate this revolutionary movement, as I believe it to be, for Home Rule."—*The Tablet*, March 27th, 1886.

# A MANX LADY TELLS OF SOUTHERN TYRANNY.

Mrs. Hunt, Killymard, addressing a meeting of ladies held in Donegal on March 30th, 1893, proposed the fifth resolution, saying—I wish to say that I am no politician, and that it is with the greatest reluctance I come before you. Nothing but the consciousness that were I to keep silence on this occasion, that silence might be misconstrued by outsiders as a declaration of my want of sympathy with my friends in this dear land of my adoption, could overcome my personal repugnance to appearing on what must be called in a sense a political platform.

I AM MYSELF A BORN HOME RULER.

(Applause.) In our happy and prosperous Kingdom of Man we enjoy, amongst other privileges, the right of governing ourselves, and I think no one who knows anything of the Island can deny that we do it well. But it is because we are all of one mind, and of all things, freemen, or—I should say here, perhaps—freewomen. Every man and woman, too, is a free agent, and here I may tell you that for many years past our women of property are enfranchised. My mother, who is here amongst us to-day, has a vote, and why not? Why then, am I a Home Ruler in my native land, and an anti-Home Ruler in this country, where I have spent half my life? Just because, unhappily, Ireland is not of one mind, and because our fellow countrymen and women are not free agents. Slaves cannot rule—and alas! our compatriots are for the most part no better than slaves. Free they certainly are not—they are bound, more especially the women—as we know, and as they will themselves tell us, bound mentally hand and foot, they are not allowed to judge for themselves, those of them who are "Good Catholics" as they and we, too, often fall erroneously into the habit of saying. It was my lot to live from '79 to '82 in the South of Ireland, in the very thick of the agitation, which, during those dark times, left a terrible stain on our country's soil, of innocent blood, and shook to the very foundations the credit and honour of the nation. I can tell you from my personal experience what it is to live amongst the

ENEMIES OF LAW AND ORDER.

Mrs. Hunt then vividly described some of the terrible scenes which she had witnessed in the South—the white-haired old rector pelted with mud because he was a Protestant rector, and on one occasion *pushed into a grave* where he was officiating; a green flag was planted outside the church windows one Sunday, and her own husband had to be

GUARDED BY SIX POLICE

going to attend a funeral; then bands played outside the church

during divine service, so that not one word of the service could be heard; and when afraid to venture to divine service she sat at home apprehensive of the worshippers and clergymen being attacked. Frequently her children and nurse came into the house terrified at the savage threats of some more than usually honest patriot, her husband having incurred the anger of the mob by employing his microscope upon some stains on the clothing of a man who was arraigned for the murder of a young man named Boyd, a personal friend of hers and her husband. Young Boyd, after attending noon service in the church, was driving with his brother, who was a land agent, when a bullet pierced his lung, and he bled to death. ("Shame.") The man who fired the shot was trembling as he did so. He did not want to take life, but was the agent of a relentless secret society. The Roman Catholic curate of the parish called to show sympathy with Boyd's family, and what was the result? He was removed from the parish within three weeks. Continuing the speaker said—I heard a gentleman call our Unionist women the "shrieking sisterhood."

AH! IF ONLY OUR PRESENT CRY COULD BE MADE LOUD ENOUGH

to reach the ears and the hearts of our English sisters, and through them to the English nation who don't half understand what Home Rule in Ireland means to us, perhaps it would save many a Rachel's bitter cry, refusing to be comforted for her cruelly murdered child. The men were brought to trial for that murder and acquitted for want of sufficient evidence.

I COULD TELL YOU MUCH MORE

of those dark and trying times, but I have said enough. Our feeling for the unhappy perpetrators of these atrocities, is one of yearning pity. It is not natural to Irish people to do these dark and cruel deeds. No race exists of warmer affections, of more gentle courtesy when left alone. I can testify personally to their kindness and sympathy when sore trouble fell upon our homes, and one cannot but feel, after all, those who weep the murdered son, hard as it is on them, are in a happier position than those whose son's hand is red with the blood of the innocent victim. But as I said before these people are not free. Seeing what I have seen, feeling what I have felt, what could I do but join in the cry for help, which, we trust, will echo over England and Scotland, and Wales too? We ask only that we may be free, and that our countrymen and women may be free, and we believe that freedom to us and them is best secured under the protection of free England. I beg to move the following resolution :—

That we thank the women of Derry who came forward to proclaim our position, and record our solicitude for our sisters of the South of Ireland.

—*Donegal Independent*, March 31st, 1893.

# A CANDID DEMOCRAT.

## Francis Adams admits Home Rule is doomed.

The simple truth is that, take it all round, this Tory Administration has been a really good one in many ways. It is not only that it has "run" the country, within and without, on a direct line of policy which could be honestly apprehended and justly judged, but it has done more genuine democratic work than any of the Liberal Governments which immediately preceded it. Chamberlain and Dilke and the Radicals generally never, in the old Liberal Administrations, had any real influence. Chamberlain and his Liberal Unionists of the Midlands have practically controlled the Tory Government. Goschen's conversion scheme is the biggest thing that has been done in English finance this century, and it is astonishing how little credit he has got for it. As usual, it was one of Mr. Gladstone's perennial promissory baits, but when he had the chance to carry the thing through he funked.

### SOME REAL CARE FOR THE MASSES.

Had Chamberlain and Balfour had their own way—had the last measures of the Parliament been to entirely divorce local from Imperial Governments—had England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales been given at one and the same moment a full and just control of their local affairs, then Gladstone would have been permanently euchred at last, or I am much mistaken, and the most stupendous political fraud of our time, or any time, have at last been definitely exploded. Pray do not think I have become Toryfied. This is not so. For, to me, both parties are equally indifferent, equally hateful rather, and I cannot see the very slightest reason why they should not be judged absolutely as they do, or leave undone, something for democracy in the nation. There is this at least to be said for the Tory. He is for running things avowedly, first of all, in the interest of the classes (that is, of himself), but, after that, he shows (or so it seems to me) some real care for England and the English masses, and would fain do a little (not talk an infinite amount) for both.

### HOME RULE MATTERS NOTHING.

The sterile Liberal tall talk is utterly sickening. It means nothing comes from nothing, leads to nothing, ends in nothing. Home Rule matters nothing now to democracy. Michael Davitt, the

honest Michael, who left Parnell in order to turn back upon him with a savage ferocity because Parnell had "lied," has taught us that Davitt, for years and years, has preached passionately to us all the gospel of the unity of the English and Irish peoples. He has appealed to us for justice and sympathy, and he has assured us of trust and gratitude. Yet this was the man who, when John Morley was about to receive a lesson which he richly merited for having smitten the democracy in the face in London, rose up and, with matchless impudence, flung off the mask at last, and told us that, if Morley were not returned for Newcastle, the Irish would block every democratic measure in the next Parliament.

## THE HOME RULE GAME UP.

No, Michael, you won't get Home Rule. Gladstone is going to fool you, and betray you, just as he has every one else, and you have now also the temper of the democracy to deal with, the democracy you have fooled and betrayed. Oh, foolish Michael, why not have kept up the mask a little longer? Why not have used us till you'd actually got what you wanted out of us? Oh, foolish Michael, do you think we shall shatter ourselves now against the Unionist phalanx for your and Healy's and Walsh's sweet sakes? You mistake vastly, Michael. Nothing like that is going to happen. You are going to get just as much as the rest of us get—just as much as England gets, as Scotland gets, as Wales gets—just as much, and not a jot more! The game is up, Michael, the game is up; you've got to go under. Only one man had the brains and nerve to play it, and you killed him, Michael, because he was a "liar," and loved somebody else's wife. And now no one cares whether you bark or bite. You are going to be whipped.—Francis Adams in Sydney *Bulletin*.

# MORTGAGEES ON IRISH LAND.

Commenting on the Report of the Representative Body of the Irish Church for 1892, the *Evening Herald* says :—

The really grave part of the situation is that no less than £3,227,000 is invested in mortgages on land at 4½ and 4¼ per cent. In view of the enormous decline in the value of the finest *English* land, in which landowners have sunk vast sums for building and general improvements, it is a perilous thing for any institution to have nearly half of its capital locked up in mortgages on land in Ireland, or, indeed, in land anywhere. The value of land has assuredly not touched bottom yet, and **these land investments of the Irish Church have the additional disadvantage of placing it in an attitude of suspicion and hostility towards many thousands of the people.**

Here we see embodied the attitude of the Home Rule Party, not merely to the Irish Church, but to all mortgagees on Irish Land. How many English and Scotch Insurance Companies stand in a similar "**attitude of hostility towards the people?**"

# "HA! HA!!"

"Dame Rumour says some men in town are grazing evicted farms. If true they will hear more about it."

—*The Midland Tribune and King's County Vindicator* (Nationalist) April 1st, 1893.

N.B.—This paragraph is headed as above.

# TO THE NONCONFORMISTS OF ENGLAND.

## AN

# APPEAL

## ON BEHALF OF YOUR IRISH BRETHREN.

Being a Reprint from *Irish Times*, 13th March, 1893,

OF A LETTER FROM

REV. WILLIAM CROOK, D.D. (METHODIST MINISTER).

**Special attention is drawn to the concluding clauses of this Letter.**

# The Home Rule Bill.

The following letter has been sent to *The Methodist Recorder* for insertion this week :—

DEAR SIR,—I have read the leader in your last issue on "Irish Methodism and Home Rule" with great pleasure, and believe that, however divided the opinion of your readers may be as to the proposed Parliament in Dublin, there can be no second opinion as to the ground taken in your leader—namely, the bearing of what you so justly call "An immense legislative proposal" on the interests of the cause of Christ in Ireland. This I feel to be the point of view from which the Methodists of England, and Christian men all over the United Kingdom should consider the proposal.

I am sorry to learn on the authority of your article that a considerable majority of English Methodists are inclined to look hopefully on the result of a Ministerial success. I was not prepared for this, but, assuming it to be correct, I cannot but think that if they would try to put themselves in our position as a struggling minority, intensely loyal to the British Crown, and intensely hated by a disloyal majority on that ground, and endeavour to look at the question from our point of view, taking into account our superior acquaintance with the tactics of the great foe, and the peculiarities of the battlefield, their views on the subject would right speedily undergo a very great change. On a great legislative proposal which, in the opinion of so intelligent and thoughtful a body as the British Conference, would have a disastrous effect on the interests of the cause of Christ in England, we should, I am sure, in Ireland believe that our brethren in England who had the responsibility before the world of occupying the battlefield in question, and of being actual combatants in the conflict, and not mere spectators, were for that reason in far the best position to form a true view of the gravity of the situation and of the probable

bearing of the proposal on the interests of the cause of Christ. I am sure that in the judgment of any one acquainted with the Irish Conference, I do not claim too much for that body when I say that it would be impossible to find a more intelligent, liberal-minded body of men in any Conference on the face of the earth; and if that Conference has recorded its deliberate judgment against the proposal of a Parliament in Dublin as being injurious, if not disastrous, to the interests of the cause of Christ in Ireland, English Methodists may well pause, prayerfully pause, before they throw their great influence into the legalising of a measure in direct conflict with the deliberate judgment of their brethren in Ireland, who are not mere spectators but actual combatants in the struggle, and on whom the terrible consequences of the blunder—should it prove a blunder—must inevitably fall, and not on themselves reposing comfortably under the broad shield of the English Constitution. Some of my English brethren may say to me as they read this—"Do not be afraid. When the crisis comes—if it does come—we will affectionately sympathise with you in your trying position, will remember you in our prayers in public and in private, and do what we can for you." I reply, the crisis is upon us now; what will come will prove, as we believe, the catastrophe. And what then? What will your affectionate sympathy be worth in the presence of that catastrophe? How much will it avail to reverse its disastrous consequences to the cause of Christ in this land?

Amid the present excitement it seems to be forgotten by our friends in England that the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland was a solemn league and covenant between the Irish Parliament, representing the loyal minority of that day, and their children, the loyal minority now in Ireland, and the Parliament of England, representing the British Crown—a solemn league and covenant duly signed and sealed, and understood to be enduring in its integrity as the Throne and honour of England. That Act of Union made Catholic

Emancipation possible in 1829. Catholic Emancipation has made the maintenance of that Act of Union vital to the cause represented by that loyal minority with whom England then entered into solemn covenant. The ground taken in 1829 by those in England and Scotland who advocated Catholic Emancipation against the view of many of the loyal minority in Ireland was, that the Act of Union, to the maintenance of which the honour of England was pledged, placed the interests of the cause represented by that loyal minority beyond the possibility of future danger from any possible results of Catholic Emancipation, as the Act of Union rested on the stability and honour of the British nation. The late Rev. Thomas Waugh, and other members of the Irish Conference of that day, who were opposed to Catholic Emancipation, fearing a crisis such as is upon us now, were met by the statement that the Act of Union was a solemn covenant which the honour of England was pledged to maintain in its integrity; and hence, that the interests of the cause represented by the loyal minority were placed beyond the possibility of future danger. Believing in the honour of England, the Revs. Matthew Tobias, Gideon Ouseley, William Crook, and many other members of the Irish Conference, advocated Catholic Emancipation, and the thought of a betrayal of their confidence by the English nation never crossed their minds. But, alas for the change that has passed over England in connection with the dishonoured name of Liberalism. I hesitate not to say that, if the provisions of that solemn league and covenant then entered into by the British nation with the present loyal minority in Ireland, represented by their fathers in the Irish Parliament, are now treated by England as waste paper, in the face of the solemn protest of that loyal minority, and they are given over by England to the tender mercies of their hereditary foes, it will be an act of national dishonour—nay, perfidy—unexampled in English history or in the history of any country in Europe.

How will an Irish Parliament affect the cause of Christ in Ireland? This question I feel to be one of the gravest possible

interest to all the friends of Christ in England and Ireland. I would not attempt to answer it in a hasty way, or without due and solemn thought, looking at all the bearings of the question as calmly and as carefully as I can. I write as a Methodist minister, who may claim to have some knowledge of Ireland and of Irish Romanism, after a lengthened ministry, during which I have been stationed in each of the four Provinces—North, South, East and West; have been repeatedly chairman of the district in these provinces, and have frequently been in every county in Ireland without a single exception. I write further as a Liberal who was a thorough follower of Mr. Gladstone till he went over to the party so graphically described by himself as "Marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the Empire," and during my entire public life have been warmly in favour of the removal of every real grievance of which my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen had cause to complain. To me the proposal of an Irish Parliament is not a question of party, but a question which I look at in its bearing upon the cause of Christ in Ireland, whether introduced by any government—Whig, Tory or Radical. I have looked carefully at the provisions of the Bill as now published for the proposed Parliament in Dublin; and to my mind it is clear as a sunbeam that its proper designation is "A Bill to promote the Ascendency of Popery in Ireland," placing the loyal minority, who have stood by the Throne and Constitution of Britain, under the feet of their hereditary foes, who hate England and hate them; which will place the entire political power of the country in the hands of the Romish Priesthood, and what this means may be read by any one in the report of the last elections in Meath—North and South—which will destroy all hope of aggressive mission work in our land for our time, if not for all the coming time, which will re-open and intensify the conflict between Catholic and Protestant, and exert a most disastrous influence upon Protestantism all over our land. If you will afford me the opportunity, I will undertake to establish these statements beyond the possibility of refutation; but

I have already trespassed sufficiently on your space, and conclude by giving your readers the following extract from *Catholic Progress* for June, 1882, a journal well known both here and in England, published by the London Jesuits and edited by the Rev. Albany Christie, S.J., which will open their eyes as to what Protestantism may expect from a Parliament which must be in the nature of things at least three-fourths Roman Catholic—all, or nearly all, the nominees of the priesthood. The following is the statement which this journal is not ashamed to publish :—"The woes of Ireland are all due to one simple cause—the existence of Protestantism in Ireland. The remedy could only be found in the removal of that which caused the evil, which still continues. Why were the Irish not content ? Because being Irish and Catholic, they are governed by a public opinion which is English and Protestant. Unless Ireland is governed as a Catholic nation, and free scope given to the development of the Catholic Church in Ireland by appropriating to the Catholic religion the funds given to religion, a recurrence of such events * as are now taking place cannot be prevented. Would that every Protestant meeting-house were swept from the land, then would Ireland recover herself, and outrages would be unknown, for there would be no unbelievers with her champions." If this would not open the eyes of English Methodists and Nonconformists generally they must be given over to strong delusion.

I am, sir, yours most truly,

WILLIAM CROOK.

Wicklow, 1893.

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* Murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, May 6 1882.

# NATIONALIST BRUTALITY.

The brutal mutilation of some cattle belonging to a Parnellite farmer at Kilmore, named Clancy, is believed to be the result of his appeal for legal protection against the threats of five Federationists who vainly endeavoured to bully him into supporting the unsuccessful Whig candidate for the Kilmore Division of the Carrick-on-Shannon Union. These ruffianly outrages upon the persons and the property of Independent Nationalists are becoming so frequent that unless the police are better able to deal with them, the Independents will have to take serious thought of how they can be prevented or how they can be punished.—*Evening Herald*, April 11th, 1893.

# CATHOLIC TOLERATION.

At a meeting of the Nenagh Branch of the Irish National Federation, on Friday, March 24th, 1893, the Very Rev. Dr. White, P.P., V.G.,* said the fact that a meeting of so-called Unionists had been held in the Town Hall a couple of evenings before, to protest against Home Rule, ought not to be passed over in silence. If the Unionist minority were determined in rising up in hostility to their Catholic brethren, he thought **really without mincing matters in the least, these people ought to be prepared for the consequences.** He would say here publicly, that if the Protestants of the South of Ireland, who had more toleration than any other minority in the world, would now oppose the onward march of the Irish people to freedom, the Protestants should not expect a continuance of the friendliness they had experienced in the past.—*Freeman's Journal*, March 27th, 1893.

* Vicar-General. This dignitary is second only to the Bishop of his diocese.

# DANIEL O'CONNELL

ON

# HOME RULE.

"Why am I an Unionist?" said the son of the great Daniel O'Connell, the Irish Liberator, to a representative of the *Kent Coast Times*, who saw him on Monday morning at his residence, the Bungalow, Ramsgate. **"I am an Unionist for the simplest of reasons,** namely, that I think Home Rule, if carried, would be not only very injurious to this country but also most disastrous to Ireland. I think I cannot do better than show you this letter accompanying a petition which Roman Catholics are being asked to sign, and which so fully expresses my views that I have little to add to it. You see it states that 'As a false impression has been created that the contest upon the Home Rule Bill is, in reality, only a contest between a Roman Catholic majority and a Protestant minority, we have thought it right, in order to make their position clear, that Irish Roman Catholic Unionists should have an opportunity of joining in a separate and distinct petition to Parliament against the Bill. While deprecating certain anti-Catholic utterances to which the excitement of the moment may have given rise, we are, so far as our objections to Home Rule rest upon purely secular considerations, heartily in accord with our fellow Unionists. More than this, we believe that Home Rule if imposed upon Ireland, would, under the peculiar conditions of the country, foster a revolutionary spirit disastrous to the true interests of our religion. We therefore invite our fellow Roman Catholics in Ireland to join us in signing the petition, a copy of which is appended to this letter.' As I told them at the time I signed this address, I believe **my father had he lived at the present day would have been an Unionist.** It must be remembered that the state of things when he agitated for the Repeal of the Union was very different to

what it is now. Ireland was practically separated from this country. It was a day's journey from London and there was no electric telegraph. Of late years the people of the two countries have been brought much closer together, and I have observed a greater disposition on the part of the people of this country, to look favourably upon, and deal generously with the people of Ireland. Then too, you see, if the Union had been repealed in my father's day the men who then had most influence, and would have held the reins of power, would not have allowed the Protestants of Ireland to have been placed in an unfair position, but **I don't trust the present men, even if they have the power, to prevent great injustice to Irish Protestants.**

"Then again, although I do not wish to say anything unkind, I would point out that the present so-called Nationalist leaders are by no means wealthy, and **I do not believe them to be men of principle; they would simply fill their own pockets.** As for the after results, on the very first occasion that there was a difference of opinion with Imperial Parliament, they would endeavour to cut the cord altogether: **they would cut the painter and float independent, and the country would have to be conquered again.** I think that prevention is better than cure. I don't think it would be wise to hand over Ireland to the tender mercies of the so-called Nationalist Leaders. They are not men who possess the confidence of the Irishmen of position and influence of the present day. **As for the Home Rule Bill itself** it appears to be a badly devised Bill, for it pleases nobody. We Unionists are opposing it strongly, while the Nationalists themselves are dissatisfied, but **of course they will accept as an instalment.** I think that it is a Bill that should be opposed root and branch. The opposition in Ireland of course comes chiefly from Ulster, but I would have you observe that the opposition is just as strong from the Catholics as from the Protestants of Ulster. **If it should pass it is very probable there will be bloodshed.** The Ulster men always talk very big it is

true, but I believe they mean business. The effects of the Bill from a commercial point of view are almost impossible to estimate, but something of what will happen was shown in the address presented to Mr. Gladstone the other day, and already Bank Stock in Ireland has depreciated very much in value. There would be no security for capital under Nationalist rule. Of course, if the Bill passed it would be very hard to say what the results would be, but there would be great dissatisfaction all round, and I don't think myself that it will be carried. If it was, it would be impossible for the present Nationalist leaders to govern Ireland successfully, for if they did so to the satisfaction of this country they would very much disgust their own followers. The land question is really at the bottom of it. I have always believed that **the Irish farmer cares no more for Home Rule than he does for the restoration of the Heptarchy, but they have got an idea into their heads which Parnell exploited that if they get Home Rule they will get their land for nothing,** and of course they think it would be a very grand thing to keep their land without paying rent for it."

Reference having been made in the conversation to a rich Irish nobleman, Mr. O'Connell said, "There is a specimen of what the Irish people are doing for themselves. That man spent some thousands there until they interfered with his hunting, and the best of it is that while 'that man Parnell' advised them to stop hunting, he was himself very fond of it. The peasantry, although they are led to vote for the Nationalists, don't care a bit for Home Rule, and there is not much love lost between them and the farmers, who would grind the noses off their faces if they could. I certainly think, although of course it is only my own opinion, that **my father if he had lived now-a-days would have been an Unionist.** Ireland has been given so much that he was striving for. Practically **the only two grievances Ireland has,** are that the Lord Lieutenant cannot be a Roman Catholic and that the Lord Chancellorship of this country* is still barred to an Irishman if he is a Roman Catholic. It is all nonsense to

* England.

suppose that a man would be affected in his discharge of these duties by his religion. They can have nothing to do with the Church. I certainly thought Mr. Gladstone would remove this disability and make Sir Charles Russell Lord Chancellor. For my own part, I think the Conservatives ought to be very well pleased with Mr. Gladstone, from a party point of view, for he has done more to injure the Liberal Party than any man outside it. **I was a strong supporter of his myself during the few years I sat in Parliament,** and a few days ago I met some friends who used to be Whigs of the Whigs but are now Unionists." Mr. O'Connell referred approvingly to the efforts of the late Government in promoting works, advancing monies for light railways and other measures for the relief of distress in Ireland, and said that Mr. Balfour's trip through the country to see things for himself, without a single policeman as an escort, was one of the pluckiest things possible. Asked whether his views were generally shared by his co-religionists who occupied good positions in Ireland, he pointed to the long list of signatures to the letter above referred to, of noblemen and Irish gentry, and said that he might put it that **"everyone who had anything to lose was opposed to Home Rule."** Of his own family, Mr. Daniel O'Connell of Derryane, and Sir Maurice O'Connell, were strong opponents of the Bill. Asked as to the large proportion of illiterates in Irish elections, Mr. O'Connell said he did not believe these men were all as illiterate as they made out. The system of education in Ireland was very good, and he pointed out that even in remote Irish villages he had known a schoolmaster send five of his boys into the Civil Service. He concluded by saying that if the Bill passed, those who had any property in Ireland would be only too glad to get out of it. **They did not trust the Nationalist leaders nor recognise them as fit spokesmen for the Irish nation.**—*Kent Coast Times*, April 1st, 1893.

# A WORD TO IRISH FARMERS

ON THE

# HOME RULE BILL.

What do Irish farmers expect to get from the Home Rule Bill? This question is not very easy to answer. **More taxes to pay and less money to pay them with**, is what the farmers will get. Mr. Gladstone has taken care to keep all the best and easiest got money for England, and to leave only the dregs to Ireland.

Local loans of all kinds will cease, both for public and private improvements. A great many millions of money have been lent in this way, and there is scarcely a parish in Ireland that has not been the better for this help. If such loans for draining, planting, and building are given by the Home Rule Irish Government, they must be on worse terms, for Ireland will not be able to borrow, and therefore will not be able to lend, on the same terms as the British Empire. If such loans are granted by the Irish Parliament at all, they must be less favourable than now, or the difference must be made up by **direct taxation.** Mr. Gladstone takes away from Ireland all the money got from the duties on tea, tobacco, and wine, and all the duty paid by Irish whiskey, porter, and beer if drunk outside Ireland. The liquor made and drunk in Ireland will not pay the expenses of Government, which will be greater than they are now. The **LAND,** that is to say the farmers, must pay the difference.

Mr. Michael Davitt, who is now one of the chief lights of the Home Rule or Anti-Parnellite party, has always said that the land should be **nationalized**. This means

that the farmer should not have his own land for himself, but that the produce of it should go to pay taxes. Are you prepared to give up your land, in order that good **salaries** may be paid to Home Rule Members of Parliament and to officials appointed by them ?

A large part of the poor-rate is now paid by England. Ireland gets the money for labourers' cottages advanced at a very easy rate. A great part of the dispensary expenses and the sanitary business is now paid to Ireland as a free gift. Under Home Rule all this must come **out of the rates,** or out of the taxes on land.

The British Government now pay two-fifths of the expense of lunatics, that is four shillings a week out of every ten shillings they cost. This comes to about £120,000, which goes to reduce the county cess. The county cess is in most cases **paid entirely by the farmers.** Lunatic Asylums must be kept up under Home Rule, and this will also be a charge on the land, without the help we now get. Farmers will have to pay ten shillings instead of six.

England must be always the great market for Irish cattle. The English Government under Home Rule will be able to make all sorts of vexatious rules about the cattle trade. The complaints of English graziers will always be listened to, and yours will not. You, on the contrary, will have no power to **protect yourselves.** If an Irish Government tries to encourage local trade by bounties, those bounties must be provided out of **direct taxation,** that is by the land and the farmers. The cost of National Education will also be greatly increased.

It is impossible to discover any way in which an honest tenant farmer can benefit by Home Rule.

# ULSTER REFORM CLUB.

The following important document has been issued :—

The Ulster Reform Club was an outcome of the strong Liberal element in the province after the triumph of the general election of 1880, its policy being in full accord with the pronouncements of the great Liberal Party of the time. The Club has steadfastly adhered to those principles which it then professed, and has been unable to follow Mr. Gladstone in his proposals for establishing a separate Legislature for Ireland. At a special general meeting of the Club held on Tuesday, 28th March, 1893, to consider the crisis produced by the introduction of the Government of Ireland Bill, the following resolutions were adopted :— (1) "That we firmly adhere to our faith in the principles of true Liberalism, and, accordingly, we declare our condemnation of the Government of Ireland Bill now before Parliament, as opposed to the best traditions of the Liberal Party." (2) "That the Bill in effect proposes a disastrous revolution and not a reform of the government of our country." (3) "That, while we are proud to belong to the party which carried Catholic Emancipation, Disestablishment of the Irish Church, the Irish Land Acts, and the remedial legislation with which Mr. Gladstone's great name was associated prior to his political surrender in 1886, we are constrained to protest against the introduction by our old leader of a measure which would shatter to its foundations the fabric of constitutional freedom and equality secured to us by the efforts of generations." (4) "That we have always regarded the Land Question as the perennial source of Irish agitation ; and we have earnestly advocated its settlement on the basis of the abolition of dual ownership, concurrently with the extension to this country of a measure of county local self-government as broad and democratic as that now enjoyed by England and

Scotland ; but we must empnatically protest against this Home Rule Bill, as wholly lacking the elements of material advantage to Ireland, or of permanent satisfaction of Irish wants and necessities, as it would deprive us of the benefit both of Imperial credit and of British capital, weaken our sense of security in the prosecution of our enterprises and in the possession of our property, and so cripple the industries and paralyse the trade and commerce of this prosperous province." (5) "That the demand for Home Rule is not the outcome of spontaneous national feeling, but was originated and has been fomented by the ceaseless efforts of agitators who trade on the credulity of their adherents, and encourage wild expectation of personal advantage impossible of realisation." (6) "That Irishmen have fully shared the perils incident to the safety and consolidation of the kingdom, and have won a right to full partnership in the Union ; we, therefore, repudiate the spurious patriotism that is willing to see Ireland degraded from full participation in the Imperial Parliament."—*Belfast News-Letter*, March 29, 1893.

# MR. T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P.

## ON ENGLAND.

"NEATH Russia's glorious banner,
We hasten to the war;
*To lead our conquering* legions
*We've Russia's mighty Czar.*
We'll face all toil and danger,
And count our pains no loss,
Till floats above the Crescent
The Standard of the Cross.

*Envious little England*
Thinks to say us nay;
But *spiteful little England*
Shall never stop our way.

"Across the Russian Danube
We heard our brothers' cries,
We saw above their dwellings
The lurid flames arise.
Shall we not stay this ravage
By brutal Moslem hordes?
*Make answer Russia's cannon!*
*Flash out bright Russian swords!*

*Selfish little England*
Thinks to say us nay;
But *heartless little England*
Shall never stop our way.

"Look up, ye trembling peoples!
Your years of woe are o'er;
You bear with Turkish buffets
And Turkish lusts no more.
Behold the light of freedom
Shines from our Northern Star,
The sword and shield of justice,
Our Heaven-appointed Czar!

*Smoky little England*
Thinks to say us nay;
But *sooty little England*
Shall never stop our way.

"England fears for India,
For there her cruel work
Was just as foul and hateful
As any of the Turk.
But when God sends us thither
*Her rule to overthrow,*
With fearless hearts rejoicing
To work His will we'll go.

*Stupid little England*
Thinks to say us nay;
But *paltry little England*
Shall never stop our way."

# MR. SULLIVAN ON BRITISH TROOPS.

The following references (extracted from Mr. Sullivan's paper, the *Nation*) deal, of course, with the different reverses which attended the British troops in Afghanistan and Zululand fourteen years ago.

"It was *a most brilliant affair*, cleverly planned, and thoroughly executed. *It is only English armies that are so squelched.* The soldiers of other nations, by a combination of bravery and skill are able to bring themselves honourably out of almost any predicament."—*Nation*, 15th February, 1879.

"*We are glad* whenever we see the fulfilment of the Scripture promise that those who unjustly draw the sword shall perish by the sword. *The punishment of robbers and murderers should always give satisfaction to honest men*, and for that reason the recent events in Afghanistan have had in this country quite a reassuring effect."—*Nation*, 20th December, 1879.

"*And now the news reaches us, gladdening every honest heart, that one of the most signal defeats ever inflicted on British arms* in any part of the world has just been inflicted on them by Ayoub Khan."—*Nation*, 7th Aug., 1880.

"The heir of the Napoleons has perished in Zululand. As far as can yet be seen, the event reflects the deepest discredit upon the British. . . . *It is certain that none other than British soldiers could have been guilty of such a disgraceful flight.*"—*Nation*, 28th June, 1879.

"The British in fact seem to be in mortal terror of Zulus, the mere shadows of whom are often enough to drive the gallant fellows away *frightened almost out of their lives.*" —*Nation*, July 5th, 1879.

"*The Robber Army* will continue in Zululand, and Irishmen have the gratification of knowing that the Parliament of the English is becoming as useless to themselves as it is to us, and that *our arm is long enough to work hurt and harm on the enemy in at least some parts of the world.*"—*Nation*, June 7th, 1879.

# Religious Liberty

## IN SOUTH MEATH.

The following are a few extracts from the general evidence at the hearing of the South Meath Election Petition :—

### *"FIRE THEIR HEELS AND THEIR TOES."*

Mr. Michael Saurin, J.P., of Harristown, said—I attended mass on June 12th at Castlejordan. **Father O'Connell** preached He referred to a meeting at Clonard, and said he expected every man, woman and child in the parish would attend. He told them plainly it was no longer a political matter, it was a matter of their holy religion. He said the procession would start from the chapel at Clonard, and they were all to be present in time to walk to the place of meeting. He would be present along with **Father McLoughlin,** and go round and see who was absent. Anyone absent he must know why, and any that wilfully absent themselves without a just cause he would meet them on the highway and the byeway, and at the rails, and that 'he would fire or he would **set fire to their heels and toes.'** "

**Rev. Patrick O'Connell,** curate of Ballinabrackey, cross-examined by Mr. O'Shaughnessy on November 25th :—

What is the meaning of setting fire to a man's toes and heels? **Nothing at all.**

### *"TREAT THEM AS WILD BEASTS."*

Patrick Byrne, another witness, said—"My parish church is Cool, and the parish priest **Rev. Father Fay.** On the Sunday before the election **Father Fay** addressed the people between the Gospels. He said 'the Parnellites were men opposed to the clergy and religion; that he would treat them as wild beasts in the Zoological Gardens, and put them in cages. They were without religion, and were followers of Garibaldi.' He went on to tell how they should vote for Mr. Fullam. He said 'the man who would not vote for him he would not forgive him then or ever.' **He was in his vestments at the time.**"

**Rev. John Fay** (the author of the discourse just quoted) deposed, in reply to Mr. Drummond :—

Were you **specially thanked** by the Bishop at the Retreat for having contributed to secure Mr. Fullam's return? **I was.**

### "DEPRIVED OF CHRISTIAN BURIAL."

John Cowley, of Kilcavan, was sworn. He said—"**The Rev. Mr. Tynan** is my parish priest. The day before the election **Father Tynan** spoke to me about my vote. I said I would vote for neither party. **He told me I was bound to vote for my religion on the pain of being expelled from the Church.**"

**Did he add anything to that? He did, that I would be deprived of Christian burial when I died.** I said I did not know of that; then I walked away.

### BOYCOTTING THE DEATH-BED.

Patrick King, a caretaker, deposed—"On November 18th I was canvassed by **Father Tynan** for my vote for Mr. Fullam, and I said I would not give it. He told me it was a matter of religion, and I should vote according to my religion. **He said that if I was dying he would not attend me.**"

### HE SAID "I WOULD GO TO HELL."

Thomas Darby said—"I was at Kill chapel when the pastoral was read by **Father McDonnell.** The next day the priest called at my house. He came in and he asked who I was going to vote for, and I said 'Mr. Dalton.' He said '**I would go to hell.**'

### CANVASSING IN THE CONFESSIONAL.

Michael Lowry deposed—"I was at confession with **Rev. Father Behan** the last Sunday in June. After I confessed he asked me would I vote for my priest. . . . **He said not to let on to anyone that he spoke to me.**"

### POLITICS IN THE SACRISTY.

Mr. Thomas Byrne, farmer and shopkeeper, said—"I remember **Father Brady** preaching since the election. He referred to political questions; he used the words distinctly that '**those who were going against him, or maligning him, he did not know how they could expect their priest to attend them or to administer the Last Sacraments.**' He was after alluding, in a general way, to the political situation at the time."

### PROTESTANTISM PURE AND SIMPLE!

Michael Brien deposed—"I am a voter. Dangan is my parish church. I was at Mass the Sunday before the election. **Father Buchanan** celebrated Mass, and preached a short sermon immediately after the election. He spoke from the altar. He

said, '**Father Fay** (parish priest of Summerhill) had read an extract taken from the *Independent* newspaper.' He read part of it—'Any man voting at an election should vote according to his own conscience, no matter what Dr. Nulty (or it might be any bishop) might say.' That's all he read. He would not trouble them with reading any more, and he said '**that this is pure Protestantism—now that is Protestantism pure and simple.**' He said 'he hoped that no Catholic people would read this paper that would publish such language as that, or such words.' On 3rd July the pastoral was read by **Rev. Father Fay.**"

What did he say with reference to the Parnellite party? He said "that one and all should vote for the priests. He hoped everyone would, and that anyone that would go against them he would never forget it to them."

### *THE PRIEST IN THE POLLING BOOTH.*

Anthony Grogan, of Longwood, was next examined. "I went to vote at Longwood. **Rev. Father Shaw**, curate, was in the booth. I told the officer my name, and that I was down on the paper as 'Anthony Geoghegan.' The presiding officer asked the agents were they willing that he should swear me to say whether I was Anthony Geoghegan. I went into the booth three times, the third time about 7.30. I offered, in presence of **Father Shaw**, to take an oath that I was the real person wrongly described on the register.

HE OBJECTED TO MY GETTING A VOTE.

The presiding officer said he didn't like to deprive the man of his vote. The argument continued mostly between **Father Shaw** and the officer till three minutes past eight. I was then told to walk out, that the ballot box was closed."

Eugene Reilly examined, and said—"I went to Longwood to vote. Mr. Lowndes was the presiding officer. I am described on the register as 'Owen' Reilly."

Judge O'Brien—I understand Eugene and Owen are the same.

"Mr. Lowndes asked me was I prepared to swear I was the man on the list. He was about to swear me when **Father Shaw** said—'If you swear him, Mr. Lowndes, I will have him arrested.' I turned to **Father Shaw** and I said, 'I cannot but be thankful to you.' I thought he would be the last gentleman in the world to introduce me to one of Mr. Balfour's lodging-houses. I then walked out. I am a Parnellite."

# PULPIT AND POLLING-BOOTH.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Q.C., in his opening statement at the hearing of the South Meath Election Petition, stated that the polling booths were

## MANNED BY CLERGYMEN

as follows :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ATHBOY ..... | Rev. P. Briody ..... | *Sub-Agent* |
| BALLYVARY ..... | Rev. P. Fagan..... | *Do. and Personation Agent* |
| CLONARD ..... | Rev. Michael Woods ..... | *Sub-Agent* |
| DULEEK ..... | Rev. T. Gilligan ..... | *Do. and Personation Agent* |
| DUNBOYNE ..... | Rev. B. Quigley ..... | *Do. do.* |
| Do. ..... | Rev. John Leonard ..... | *Personation Agent* |
| Do. ..... | Rev. Chas. Crinnion ..... | *Do. do.* |
| JULIANSTOWN ... | Rev. P. A. Murtagh .. ... | *Sub-Agent and Personation Agent* |
| Do. ..... | Rev. P. Fitzsimons ..... | *Personation Agent* |
| Do. ..... | Rev. P. Callery ..... | *Do. do.* |
| Do. ..... | Rev. P. Flynn..... | *Do. do.* |
| LONGWOOD ..... | Rev. C. Shaw ..... | *Sub-Agent and Personation Agent* |
| Do. ..... | Rev. R. M'Donnell..... | *Personation Agent* |
| SUMMERHILL ... | Rev. John Fay ..... | *Sub-Agent and Personation Agent* |
| Do. ..... | Rev. P. Cantwell..... | *Personation Agent* |
| Do. ..... | Rev. S. Kelly ..... | *Do. do.* |
| TRIM ..... | Rev. H. Behan, P.P. ..... | *Sub-Agent and Personation Agent* |
| Do. ..... | Rev. W. Egan... ..... | *Personation Agent* |
| Do ..... | Rev. P. J. Skelly..... | *Do. do.* |
| Do. ..... | Rev. C. Carey ..... | *Do. do.* |
| Do. ..... | Rev. C. Murray ..... | *Do. do.* |
| Do. ..... | Rev. J. Cochrane..... | *Do. do.* |

*Counting Agents*:—Rev. J. Cochrane, Rev. P. Cantwell, Rev. C. Carey, Rev. Michael Woods, Rev. Richard O'Donnell, Rev. Hugh Behan, Rev. P. J. Skelly, and one layman—Mr. Peter Cantwell.

*LEAFLET No.* 61.] [*SEVENTH SERIES.*

# NOTABLE SAYINGS

BY

# LIBERAL LEADERS.

## MR. GLADSTONE, M.P.

"My firm belief is that the influence of Great Britain in every Irish difficulty is not a domineering and tyranizing but a softening and mitigating influence, and that were Ireland detached from her political connection with this country and left to her own unaided agencies it might be that the strife of parties would then burst forth in a form calculated to strike horror through the land."

(*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol.* clxxxi., *p.* 721.)

"You would expect when it is said that the Imperial Parliament is to be broken up—you would expect that at the very least a case should be made out, showing there were great subjects of policy and great demands necessary for the welfare of Ireland, which the representatives of Ireland had united to ask, and which the representatives of England, Scotland, and Wales had united to refuse. (Applause). There is no such grievance. There is nothing that Ireland has asked that this country and that this Parliament has refused. This Parliament has done for Ireland what it would have scrupled to do for England and for Scotland."—At Aberdeen, September 26th, 1871.

## SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, M.P.

"The Liberal Party never will have anything to do with attacks upon property any more than upon the person of our fellow citizens. The Landowner has just as good a right to a fair rent as you or I have to the coat upon our back. Whenever the Liberal Party has allied itself with anti-social ideas, whenever it follows some of these misty philosophers in courses which have destroyed the safety of society it has come to grief, as it deserved to come to grief."—Speech at Glasgow, October 25th. 1881.

"Liberals must not be in a hurry to turn the Tories out. He would let them for a few months stew in their own Parnellite juice, and when they stank in the nostrils of the country, as they would stink, then the country would fling them, discredited and disgraced to the constituencies, and the nation would pronounce its final judgment upon them. They would hear no more of Tory reaction for many generations."—Speech at Lowestoft, December 14th, 1885.

## MR. JOHN MORLEY, M.P.

"He could not vote for a separate Parliament for Ireland, and he would vote for no measure, proposition, or resolution, or inquiry which let it be supposed that that was an open question in his mind. No one could suppose that he sympathised with the land agitation to break the law of honesty between debtor and creditor."—Speech as Liberal Candidate for Westminster in 1880.

## SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN, M.P.

"Did anyone who had known the House of Commons during the last few years imagine that the Irish Members were so dull or so wanting in ingenuity that they were unable to use Imperial questions for the purpose of serving their own natural ends? However anxious we might be to divide the domestic functions of Parliament from its Imperial functions he (Sir George) would venture to say that the Irish Members would not only be absolute masters of their own Parliament in Dublin, but they would be masters at Westminster as well."—Speech at Stratford-on-Avon. —*Manchester Guardian*, December 19th, 1885.

"What is called coercion was merely the putting in force the steps which are required to ensure conviction and to carry out the ordinary law."—Speech at Selkirk, June 30th, 1886.

## EARL SPENCER.

"We feel like the Americans when the integrity of their country was threatened, and, if necessary, we must shed blood to maintain the strength and salvation of this country."—Speech at Bristol, November 14th, 1881.

# AN APPEAL TO
# NONCONFORMIST CLERGYMEN,
## FROM THEIR IRISH BRETHREN.

**The following appeal to the Nonconformists of England, Scotland, and Wales, from their brethren in Ireland, was sent on 8th June, 1892, to all Nonconformist ministers in Great Britain:—**

"DEAR BRETHREN,—As we have reason to think that a large number, perhaps the majority, of our brethren who are not resident in Ireland do not realise the position in which the Irish Protestants would be placed if what is called Home Rule, as proposed by Mr. Gladstone, or any modification thereof as shadowed forth by his followers, were adopted, we request you to give your earnest and prayerful attention to the following observations:—

"The whole body of Irish Protestants are practically unanimous in their desire to continue to be governed with their British brethren by the Imperial Parliament, and they dread and deprecate their being placed in any respect under the power of a separate Irish Parliament.

"Being at a distance, you possibly do not appreciate the power which the Roman Catholic Bishops and priests have over the great bulk of Irish Roman Catholics, and the determination which they display to compel obedience to their directions in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. The Roman Catholic Hierarchy claim the right to direct their people in all proceedings where the interests of Catholicity are involved, and also to determine for their people what are the proceedings which affect the interests of their Church. This is, in effect, a claim on the part of the Hierarchy to govern Ireland in which the Roman Catholic population is in a majority, and under a system of Home Rule they would be enabled to do so.

"We believe that no guarantees, moral or material, can be devised which will guard the rights of the Protestant minorities which are scattered throughout Ireland against the encroachments of a Roman Catholic majority endowed with legislative and executive powers, and thus directed by their clergy. History, as well as experience, in this and other lands, assure us of this.

"We accordingly feel that the proposal to give Ireland Home Rule most seriously threatens our religious liberties, which would in numberless ways be imperilled under an Irish National Parliament, the majority in which would be elected on the nomination of the Roman Catholic priests. Judging from the past, such a Parliament would claim and exercise the right to tax Protestants

for the maintenance of educational institutions in the direct interests of Roman Catholicism, would legalise the desecration of the Lord's Day, and would ultimately establish and endow the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland. From these and many other evils we are preserved by the Imperial Parliament.

"Under the Imperial Parliament Ireland has received valuable benefits in recent years. Her land laws are more favourable to the cultivator of the soil than those of England, Scotland, or Wales, and her criminal procedure, applicable to all parts of the country alike, has occasioned inconvenience only to the instigators or perpetrators of outrage.

"Home Rule, we believe, would nullify many of the benefits of recent Imperial legislation for Ireland, and would reproduce the condition of lawlessness, outrage, terror and distress which flourished prior to the present Government coming into power. It would accentuate the social and religious differences of its people, and, there is too much reason to fear, would involve them in serious feuds, from which Ireland would receive lasting injury, and which would prove a source of trouble and weakness to Great Britain.

"We appeal to you, brethren, as you value the possession of civil and religious liberty yourselves, to guard your co-religionists in Ireland from the oppression with which they are menaced, and earnestly to oppose any attempt to place the loyal Protestant inhabitants of Ireland under the domination of a Legislature which would mainly be composed of the two parties known as National and Parnellite Home Rulers, which are now contending for the mastery."

**This appeal has already been signed by the following, many ministers having been authorised and having signed for and on behalf of their whole congregation, and more signatures are being daily added:—**

The Rev. N. M. Brown, D.D., Moderator, and the Revs. C. L. Morell, D.D., William Johnston, D.D., William Magill, D.D., Robert Watts, D.D., H. B. Wilson, D.D., James M. Rodgers, D.D., Robert Ross, D.D., Robert John Lynd, D.D., and William Park, M.A., ex-Moderators, and the Rev. John H. Orr, D.D., Clerk of Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland; the Rev. John Woods Ballard, Vice-President, and the Rev. James Donnelly, Secretary, the Revs. William Guard Price, Oliver M'Cutcheon, Wallace M'Mullan, D.D., Henry Evans, D.D., George Vance, D.D., Wesley Guard, William Nicholas, D.D., John E. Green, and Charles H. Crookshank, M.A., Officers of the Methodist Church in Ireland; the Rev. A. M'Caig, Secretary of the Baptist Association; and the Rev. James Crogan, Secretary of the Congregational Association; and by 6,044 Ministers, Elders, Deacons, Stewards, and other officers and members of the Non-Episcopalian Churches in Ireland.

# Results of Home Rule

WHAT I want you to consider is the position in which such an event, if it takes place, will leave England in the eyes of Europe and of the world. Europe and the world will know very well what the circumstances of the case have been. They will not be misled by any sentimental observations about the union of hearts. They will know that Ireland has forced England to give what will then be given, and what will it be? England is the free trade country of the world. You will be setting up within an hour and a half of her shores an ultra-protectionist island, which will be protected by England in the adoption of those theories. England is the Protestant nation of the world. England has resisted more than any other country the domination of the clerical profession, however deeply honouring it in the exercise of its legitimate functions; and has resisted the secular domination of the clerical profession. You are going to

## Create an ultra-clerical State

under the government of Archbishops Croke and Walsh. You are going to give the power of the majority in that State, and therefore the power of the State, to those who through long ages have always been the enemies of English influence and English power. They fought against us when we quarrelled with Spain, when we quarrelled with America, and when we quarrelled with France. They took the side of Spain, of America, and of France. And you are going to submit to place under the heels of this majority a rich, progressive, enlightened minority, who are in deep sympathy with yourselves. You are going to give to that majority, which contains all that is backward, all that is un-progressive, all that is contrary to civilization and enlightenment in Ireland, power over all that is enlightened, civilized, and progressive. And you support this State, well knowing the conditions in which it must go forth. It will be utterly impecunious. The exchequer of the future Irish—I was going to say of the Irish republic, but I suppose I must call it

## The Irish province

—the Irish exchequer will be needy from the first, and new burdens must be imposed, and when the question comes as to who shall bear them, the majority will remember that the minority are rich, and Belfast and Londonderry, and all the flourishing and wealthy districts that surround them, will have to bear the chief part of the burden in enabling the ultra-protectionist, ultra-clerical, and uncivilized community to float. And when Europe and the world look on and see that you have allowed this to be done—have allowed this to be wrenched from you—what conclusion will they draw? What conclusion would you draw if you saw that Italy was forced to give up Sicily under similar terms, or that Germany was forced to give up Hanover, or that France was forced to give up Brittany? You would say at once "This State is either so weak that we must conclude that the period of its vigour has passed by and the time of its senility has set in," or, "this State is so torn by thoughtless factions that men are willing to sacrifice

**even the integrity of their empire and the principles in which they most believe, and the classes who have borne everything for them, and to whom they are most attached, in order that they may get a few more votes in support of their political party."** Do you think that this will be without effect upon your power and standing in the world? What is it that gives to

## This little Island

its commanding position? Why is it that fleets from every nation, from every quarter of the globe, come into your ports; that the products of countless regions are subject to your industry; and that the manufactures which the industry of your people complete are carried to the furthest corners of the globe? What is it that gives to you this privileged position? It is that your flag floats over populations far more numerous and regions far vaster than your own, and that upon the dominions of your Sovereign

## The Sun never sets.

But when they see that, under the pressure of Irish disaffection, you have lost the nerve, or the fibre, or the manliness to uphold the integrity of your Empire, will they not apply the lesson to themselves, and many of them say, "Now is the time for us to shake off this connexion and stand alone and independent in the world"? Remember, there are vast regions and vast populations over which you rule, though it cannot be said you rule by force, because your rule is mild and gentle, and over which you would not rule if your force was not believed in. I cannot conceal the deep apprehension with which I look to any failing or flinching on the part of this people during the trial which destiny has appointed to them. We are now at what may be called the turning point of the ways. We are now at the point where, if we show qualities by which our ancestors attained empire, we may be thought worthy to retain it and hand it on. But if we are deceived, if we allow ourselves to be

## Deceived by hollow sentimental follies

which are in reality only excuses for weakness and want of courage, the day of our power will be set, and slowly we shall recede from the great position that was handed down to us. If you fail in this trial, one by one the flowers will be plucked from your diadem of empire, you will be reduced to depend upon the resources of this small, over-peopled island. I do not say it is the next election—I have told you that I consider the conflict will be a much longer one than that—but to the conflict which now impends the eyes of every patriotic man who loves his country will be directed. I appeal to you, and to all well-loving members of this great community at this critical hour of our fate, not to be untrue to the great traditions of the splendid possessions which our fathers have handed down to us, but to make every effort and to set aside every secondary issue or cause of conflict, in order that we may avoid before it be too late this crowning calamity and disgrace.—LORD SALISBURY at Exeter, 2nd February, 1892.—*Times report.*

# IRELAND IN 1892.

## HOW IS IRELAND GETTING ON?

There is now exactly one eviction in Ireland for every four when Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister. This is one good test.

In no part of the Queen's dominions are the savings of the lower classes increased as in Ireland! That is another.

Under the fearful Coercion Act, on 1st March, 1892, not one person was in gaol; and yet mark its results.

### *TAKE THE OUTRAGES.*

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1886 they were ... ... ... | 1,056 |
| In 1887 ... ... ... ... | 883 |
| In 1888 ... ... ... ... | 660 |
| In 1889 ... ... ... ... | 535 |
| In 1890 ... ... ... ... | 519 |
| In 1891 ... ... ... ... | 455 |

### *TAKE THE LIST OF PERSONS BOYCOTTED.*

| | |
|---|---|
| On July 31st, 1887, these numbered ... | 4,901 |
| On January 31st, 1888 ... ... | 2,075 |
| On December 31st, 1890 ... . | 472 |
| On December 31st, 1891, not one person... | 0 |

Who deserves the credit of this?

### *NOT THE NATIONALISTS.*

At Manchester, on the 28th September, 1889, Mr. John O'Connor, M.P., declared that the watchword of the Irish National party was "boycott, boycott, boycott."

Writing to the *Irish Times* [10th May, 1890], Rev. Father Humphries, replying to a letter of a "Protestant Irishman," which appeared in that journal, says:—

"He (a Protestant Irishman) says that the Catholic clergy of Tipperary are doing all they can to stop boycotting. As one of the Catholic clergy of Tipperary I protest against **this libel on me**. I am doing nothing to stop boycotting; I should be very much ashamed of myself if I were."

## *IRELAND'S COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY.*

It is universally admitted that one of the surest indications of the prosperity of a country is the state of its commercial credit; and the improvement in the condition of Ireland during the last five years cannot be better tested than by examining the value of the shares in her leading commercial securities. We give below a table showing the market value of the shares in the leading Irish banks, railways, and tramways at three different periods:—First, in January, 1886, before the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill; secondly, in May, 1886, while that Bill was before Parliament, and its fate was uncertain; and thirdly, at the present time, when a Unionist Government has been nearly six years in office, and the fears which were excited by the possibility of the establishment of an Irish Parliament have died away. We commend these figures, which are taken from the Stock Exchange quotations, to the attention of business men, who can appreciate their full significance:—

| | 1886 January | 1886 May | 1891 Dec |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bank of Ireland Stock ... ... ... ... ... | 271 | 260 | 326 |
| Ulster Bank Shares (£2 10s. paid) ... ... ... | 10⅝ | 9⅛ | 10 5/16 |
| City of Dublin Steamship Company ... ... ... | 113½ | 110 | 121 |
| Belfast and Northern Counties Railway, Ordinary ... | 69¾ | 68 | 122½ |
| Belfast and Northern Counties Railway, Preference ... | 98¾ | 93½ | 116 |
| Belfast and Northern Counties Railway, Debentures ... | 105 | 101½ | 120 |
| Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford Railway, Ordinary ... | 54½ | 42½ | 43 |
| Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford Railway, Preference ... | 100 | 99 | 126 |
| Great Northern of Ireland Railway, Ordinary ... ... | 103¾ | 95 | 131⅝ |
| Great Northern of Ireland Railway, Preference ... | 104¼ | 101½ | 131 |
| Great Northern of Ireland Railway, Debentures ... | 107¼ | 105 | 123 |
| Great Southern and Western Railway, Ordinary ... | 102⅛ | 95 | 117¾ |
| Midland Great Western Railway, Ordinary ... ... | 68 | 61¼ | 105⅞ |
| Midland Great Western Railway, Preference ... ... | 100 | 94 | 116 |
| Midland Great Western Railway, Debentures ... ... | 103 | 100¼ | 122⅜ |
| Belfast Street Tramways ... ... ... ... ... | 11 11/16 | 10 13/16 | 15¾ |
| Dublin United Tramways... ... ... ... ... | 10⅜ | 10 1/16 | 10 5/16 |

The following paragraph appears in the Dublin Chamber of Commerce Annual Report for 1892:—

"The Council are glad to be able to record their opinion that the improved condition of the general trade of the country, referred to in their last report, still continues, due in a great measure, as stated therein, to the wise policy of the Government, and to the judicious manner in which Mr. Balfour administered the duties of the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland. They trust that in the still higher position which he now occupies—viz., that of First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons—he may be able to help on and bring to completion the useful measures which he originated or had in contemplation whilst Chief Secretary." —*Irish Times*, 27th January, 1892.

# THE NATIONALISTS

ON

# ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH.

These are Extracts from what the Nationalists said in former days. They have never withdrawn, or retracted, these statements. Did they mean what they said, or did they not? If they did not mean it, let them say so. But if they did not mean what they said then, how can we be asked to believe what they say now?

## Mr. WM. REDMOND, M.P.

[At Nurney, Co. Kildare.]

"MR. PARNELL exhibited no intolerance of men who might be anxious ultimately to liberate Ireland by the sword. . . . At a number of meetings which had lately been held throughout the country, cheers had been given for the Mahdi (another cheer for the Mahdi); and he believed that nothing which had occurred for years so much **brought home to the English people the bitter fact, and the great truth, that Ireland regarded England as her enemy, and rejoiced at her misfortunes.**"—*United Ireland, February 21st*, 1885.

[At Dundalk.]

"The old saying was as true now as in the days when Wolf Tone died, that **England's difficulty, under the providence of God, was Ireland's opportunity.**"—*United Ireland, April 13th*, 1885.

[At Newcastle-on-Tyne.]

"Why have the Irish people voluntarily and heartily cheered the Mahdi? **Chiefly because the Mahdi is the enemy of England, and his men are killing Englishmen.** This is a hard and bitter, but most true, fact. (Hear, hear). **The Irish cheer the Mahdi because he is the enemy of the English!**"—*United Ireland, May 23rd*, 1885.

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## Mr. T. M. HEALY, M.P.

[At Boston, U.S.A.]

"We believe that landlordism is the prop of English rule, and we are working to take that prop away. **To drive out British rule from Ireland** we must strike at the foundation, and that foundation is landlordism."—*Irishman, December 24th*, 1881.

[At Mullingar,]

*June 1st*, 1884.

"They could not, of course, **unfortunately, send the British Government out of this country** by a *coup de main*. But while the mere effervescing characteristics of that time might have passed away, there still remained behind a solid determination to work at that movement in which they and their friends had struggled." (Applause).

[At Kilkenny.]

"Let the people cast aside all personal dissensions, **and let them have one enemy only, and that enemy the British Government.**" (Cheers.)—*United Ireland, November 7th*, 1885.

# Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN, M.P.

[At Letterkenny, Co. Donegal.]

"If England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity, as it is (cheers), **England's difficulties are at this moment crowding pretty thick upon her.** (Cheers.) (A voice, 'The Mahdi is the boy for her.') Her **trade is bad at home,** and, as a voice behind me reminds me, **her armies are not doing a bit too satisfactorily** out in the country of that black gentleman, the Mahdi. (A voice 'Three cheers for the Mahdi.')"—*United Ireland, February 21st,* 1885.

[At Letterkenny.]

"The time has come when the Irish people may occupy the same position **between England and her foes** as the Irish party occupy every night between the rival English parties in the House of Commons."—*United Ireland, March 7th,* 1885.

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Under the head of "Speed the Mahdi," Mr. O'Brien published a leading article in *United Ireland,* to the following effect :—

"We trust that our next news may be that Gordon, who is advancing loaded with specie towards Khartoum, has met the same fate as Baker, and nothing would give us greater satisfaction than to chronicle the complete triumph of the Mahdi in the Soudan and his victorious arrival before the walls of Cairo. The English probably will now have to send out fresh troops, who will have their work cut out for them, to hold their own in Egypt proper. That the hand of Providence should fall heavily on the British for their unrighteous war and occupation, must make every honest heart in Europe rejoice."—[Leading article, *February 9th,* 1884.]

## Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P.

The following references from the *Nation* newspaper, owned and edited by Mr. Sullivan, M.P., deal with the difficult reverses which attended the British troops in Afghanistan and Zululand :—

"*The Robber Army* will continue in Zululand, and **Irishmen have the gratification of knowing that the Parliament of the English** is becoming as useless to themselves as it is to us, and that **our arm is long enough to work hurt and harm on the enemy in at least some parts of the world.**"—*Nation, June 7th*, 1879.

"The operations of the invaders, the English forces, are those of **ruthless plunderers and cut-throats.**"—*Nation, 3rd January*, 1880.

"The world would continue to believe that he (General Roberts) has been in command simply of **a corps of hangmen.**"—*Nation, 21st February*, 1880.

"**Brag, bluster, and bloodshed** were always dear to the English mind."—*Nation, 13th March*, 1880.

"**And now the news reaches us, gladdening every honest heart, that one of the most signal defeats ever inflicted on British arms** in any part of the world has just been inflicted on them by Ayoub Khan."—*Nation, 7th August*, 1880.

# IRELAND UNDER THE UNIONISTS.

## A COMPARISON.

The increase since 1886 in the deposits in Irish savings banks and joint stock banks, as well as the growth of the railway receipts, bear testimony to the greater prosperity which Ireland now enjoys as compared with the period when Mr. Gladstone was in power.

Equally remarkable is the reduction which has taken place in the volume of emigration, poverty and crime, and the decrease of evictions, in the same period, as the following statistics show :—

| | |
|---|---|
| **PAUPERISM.** | |
| Average number of paupers in Irish workhouses, 1881-5 . | 51,558 |
| The same on January 1st, 1891 . . . . . | 46,110 |
| 11 per cent. decrease under Unionist Government . | 5,448 |
| **EMIGRATION.** | |
| Number of Irish emigrants in five years, 1881-5 . . | 398,658 |
| The same in the five years, 1886-90 . . . . | 335,817 |
| 16 per cent. less emigration under Unionist Government | 62,841 |
| **INDICTABLE OFFENCES.** | |
| Number of indictable offences in 1886 . . . . . | 7,315 |
| The same in 1890 . . . . . | 5,289 |
| 28 per cent. reduction in serious crimes . . . | 2,026 |
| **AGRARIAN OUTRAGES.** | |
| Number of agrarian offences in 1886 . . . . | 1,056 |
| The same in 1891 . . . . . | 455 |
| 57 per cent. decrease in agrarian crime . . . | 601 |
| **BOYCOTTING.** | |
| Persons under police protection against intimidation in 1886 | 4,901 |
| The same in March, 1892 . . . . . | ·0 |
| Number of persons relieved from persecution . . | 4,901 |
| **EVICTIONS.** | |
| Number of evictions in 1886 . . . . . | 3,781 |
| The same in the year 1891 . . . . . | 799 |
| 79 per cent. decrease in evictions since 1886 . . | 2,982 |

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# THE ARREARS QUESTION.

It is generally stated that the "Arrears" question has never been dealt with in Ireland, and that the failure to settle it on the part of the Imperial Parliament is a proof of the incompetence of that body to settle the Irish Land Question; and further, the poorer tenants are weighed down with an overpowering burden of arrears, which they cannot shake off.

How untrue is the statement can only be realised by those who know that in 1882 an Arrears Act was passed for Ireland.

That Act provided that those tenants whose valuation for rating purposes was below £30 per annum—that is, the tenants of 88·6 of the holdings—should be given a fresh start. They were enabled no matter how many years' rent they owed, to clear themselves by the payment of *one year's rent.* The Government paid the landlord another year's rent out of the fund of the Disestablished Church, and wiped out by Act of Parliament the residue of the tenant's debt. Of course the Court had, in justice both to the landlord and the country, to inquire as to the ability, or inability, of the tenant to pay.

Under this Act 126,882 holdings, or about one-fourth of all the tenants in Ireland, were benefited. The annual rental of these holdings was £1,185,265, and £1,820,586 of arrears was absolutely wiped out. (*See* Parliamentary Return presented in 1884 by the Land Commission, of which the following is a summary):—

| | Holdings. | Arrears wiped out. |
|---|---|---|
| Ulster... ... | 41,134 | £561,391 |
| Munster ... | 18,994 | 341,198 |
| Leinster ... | 12,879 | 223,902 |
| Connaught ... | 52,883 | 634,333 |
| Extra cases under Sect. 16 of Act | 992 | 59,762 |
| Total ... | 126,882 | £1,820,586 |

Under the Land Act of 1887 [a Unionist measure] no tenant can now be harshly or capriciously evicted; nor can he be evicted at all for arrears of rent, if he is able to satisfy the Court that his inability to pay does not arise from his own conduct, act, or default, and if he is willing to pay his arrears of rent and the costs, by such instalments as the Court may think fit to appoint.

# WHAT FARMERS THINK OF THE HOME RULE BILL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH TIMES.

SIR,—There is one thing which surprises me in this awful business which is just upon us, and that is that no farmer has the courage to speak out, and let his name be known.

I am a large farmer and grazier, and I do not see what fear there is in saying a few words of honesty, and what I know is in the mind of many of my class.

There is not one solvent man of my class that I know who is in favour of this Bill. At fairs and markets one hears nothing but words of dread about it.

No one dare hold a meeting in favour of the Bill in the town of Thurles to-morrow. All the merchants and shopkeepers I know are dead against it. Who is in its favour? The corner boys, the insolvent farmers, and a few wild young curates.

It will benefit none but those and the Irish members who are tearing each other like Kilkenny cats in Dublin, and will only cease when they have a chance of a go at us.

What we all want is a good Land Bill and compulsory purchase at, say, 15 years of the judicial rents. Our M.P.'s could get that for us easier than Home Rule, but it would make us rich, peaceable, and independent, after which the penniless M.P.'s would have to go, and, therefore, instead they want to give us a hornets' nest, which no one can manage but themselves. Who will lend us money if we get this Bill, which God forbid? If I want £100 to build a shed who will lend it to me at 4 per cent. for interest and instalments extended over a number of years?

I fear people are not thinking, but are letting themselves be led over a precipice, and when the fall comes it will be too late to look back. It is like a poor farmer who, having a sort of partnership with a rich landowner, would go up one fine day and say to the rich man—"I don't want to have any more to do with you. I am too spirited, and want to be independent," and he agreed with the rich man to take a ten pound note and start of his own account. He would soon feel very sick, and so will poor Ireland if she makes this awful mistake at the bidding of a handful of scoundrels.

Yours, &c.,

PATRICK CODY.

Annsgrove, Thurles, April 3rd, 1893.

—*Irish Times*, April 4th, 1893.

# MR. CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.,

ON THE

# PROSPECT FOR FARMERS.

SPEAKING in Parliament on April 10th, 1893, the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain said :—

An Irish Parliament would be unwise if, when it wants increased revenues, it levies taxation on personal property. If it does it will defeat its own object, and these trades and profits will be taken away. The only other source of taxation would be the land, and as undoubtedly the system of small holders will take the place of existing landowners—it is from the small landowners that the revenues of the future Budget of Ireland will be obtained. Therefore, I do not wonder that the Irish, although the Bill proposes to give them great advantages, still feel it is not a sufficient inducement. I can understand why those who are responsible for the conduct of the Irish Government do not feel happy when they find that **one of their first duties will be to levy increased taxation on the tenant-farmers of Ireland.**—*Irish Times* Report, 11th April, 1893.

# HOW MR. DAVITT WON NORTH MEATH.

MR. JUSTICE ANDREWS, at the hearing of the North Meath Election Petition, in delivering judgment, said :—"It is quite plain that **the clergy were the leaders and that the respondent [Mr. Davitt] was their nominee, willingly accepting their aid, influence, and action on his behalf.**"

Mr. Justice JOHNSON said :—"**The respondent [Mr. Davitt] placed himself and left himself in the hands of the clergy to manage and procure his election.**"

How Mr. Davitt's chief "managers" "procured his election" will appear from the following extracts from the sworn evidence :—

## FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND FATHER CLARKE.

Anthony Smith said he was at Nobber on day of polling. He saw Owen Reilly **knocked down by Father Clarke.** "I was a few yards from Reilly ; he was addressing some remarks, but to no one in particular. Reilly said that **everyone should be allowed to vote according to his conscience ;** then **Father Clarke** said, **'Withdraw those words,'** and I turned for an instant, and **when I looked round Reilly was on the ground, and appeared insensible.** He was muttering something like a man in a dream."

## EXCOMMUNICATION THREATENED FOR SUPPORTING MR. DAVITT'S RIVAL.

Mr. Francis Doyle, a reporter, attended Mass at Oldcastle on 3rd July, and heard Father Graham read the Bishop's Pastoral. He then spoke from the altar. He said, "This thing of **Parnellism** is not defined, but is no less an article of faith. **If you believe in it you commit a mortal sin, you defy the Church, and make yourself open to excommunication.**"

## A BEARER OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT.

James Daly swore that "on the second day before the polling he met **Father Brady.** He asked me was I a Davittite or a Mahonyite. I said I believed in the policy of Independent Opposition. On that he jumped off the car and **caught me by the throat, and dragged me about on the road. He held a whip over my head.** I begged him for God's sake not to strike me—that I was a good Catholic, and that I never insulted a clergyman in my life, or never meant to do so. Then he gave me a final shake and let me go. **I did not forget that he was a priest, and was carrying the Blessed Sacrament about with him, and on that account I did not or would not insult him.**"

## THE REV. C. CASEY'S BLACKTHORN ARGUMENT.

Patrick Byrne said—"On the day of the polling I was in Kimgate Street, Navan, at one o'clock. I was talking to a friend. There was some sort of rush, and **Rev. C. Casey** walked up, **raised a heavy blackthorn stick and struck me on the head;** cut me right through a hard hat; **the blood flowed down over my eyes** and blinded me. I had not said a word. I got my wounds dressed at the local hospital. I was not able to work for three days. I never knew the reverend gentleman, and never gave him any offence."

## A PRIEST'S INTIMIDATION AND VIOLENCE.

James Gannon, of Rodenstown, said that having declared himself to Father Duffy a political opponent of Mr. Davitt, Father Duffy pointed towards the house—then towards **the licence** board or door—I don't know what he meant—"**I'll watch that," he said.**

You have a publican's licence? Yes.

What did you say to that? I said I suppose he was capable of doing the like. I said the house was conducted well, and I could defy him and the police.

Did he do anything then? He raised a stick and struck one of the men in the crowd. **He struck him on the head, which was cut and bleeding.** Meehul, the man struck, said or done nothing to **Father Duffy.** He then struck another man named Donegan, raising a lump on his temple.

## A PRIEST'S IDEAS ON PERSONATION.

James Callan said—"I was personation agent for Mr. Mahony at Drumcondrath booth. Father Duffy was outside; he was speaking to voters. There was a man of the name of John Moore. He asked Father Duffy had he a vote in the district. Father Duffy had a register in his hand, and he looked over it. 'It is John Moore here,' he said, 'of Currabeg.' I was standing by. 'That isn't you,' says I to the man; 'it is Johnny Moore of Currabeg.' '**Go in,' says Father Duffy to him, 'and vote,**' says he. 'Be careful what you are doing, John,' says I; 'don't get yourself into a hobble.' '**Go in and vote,**' says the priest."

## I'M THE COUNTRY.

Michael Gilsenan, of Kilskyre parish, said—"He was canvassed by **Rev. Matthew Kenny** the evening before the poll. A man named Giblin was with him. They were making a house-to-house canvass. He says, 'Come up here, my lad, I want you.' I obeyed his summons, and the next thing he says is, 'Why did I curse the priest?' I says, 'No;' and he says, 'Yes, sir;' and I says, 'No, sir;' and he says, 'Yes, sir.' I says, 'I deny it,' and he says, 'Who are you going to support?' I says, 'The country;' and he says, '**I'm the country, and will you give me your vote?**'"

## PRIESTS AND WOMEN.

(1) AN OLD WOMAN.

Mary Caffrey, an aged woman, deposed—"I live in Butter Street, Navan. On 10th July a crowd of Mr. Davitt's supporters came up the street and pulled down a flag belonging to Mr. Pierce Mahony. Instantly I went down, thinking they would not meddle with me, but they riz me up, leaped on me, and put my hip out of joint. I was laid up five weeks, your honour, and I will be laid up to the end of my life, I am afraid. **There was a priest there. He said, 'Let her lie there, the old b——.'**"

(2) A MARRIED WOMAN.

Mrs. Anne O'Callaghan was asked—**Did the priest strike you? Yes; across the face.**

**Were you near your confinement at the time? Within two weeks of my confinement.**

(3) A GIRL.

Patrick Sherlock also deposed—"On 10th July, the day of the meeting at Navan, a procession came in led by Mr. Davitt. There were thirty or forty clergymen present. I was standing on the

Courthouse steps, and there was a girl standing just opposite me, and a horse was running away behind, and, as the horse was running away, **Mr. Davitt and the priests turned,** and as they were turned back they met the girl just opposite me, and the **clergyman up with his umbrella and knocked her hat off** with the left hand, and **struck her with the stick with the right hand.**"

Was she speaking or cheering? No more than I was.

**Did he knock her down?** He did; and there was **another priest coming to hit her and she lying.**

Do you say that he was going again to hit her? Yes; and I lifted her up. I said he was not a clergyman that could strike a girl. He said that "**he would put his stick down my throat** if I interfered."

Was not the girl bleeding? She had on a white dress, and there was **blood running down from her head.**

As far as you saw on that occasion, were not the clergymen the ringleaders of the mob? There was nothing going in with Mr. Davitt on that day but murderers.

## THE ILLITERATE VOTER AND HIS PRIEST.

Patrick Kelsh deposed—"I acted as personation agent for Mr. Mahony; **Rev. Father Cassidy** acted for Mr. Davitt in same booth at Slane. **An illiterate voter came in and threw himself on his knees before Father Cassidy, and in a faltering voice he said, 'I will vote for Mr. Davitt.' He threw himself on his knees as if he was going to confession.**"

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# EXTRACTS FROM THE LIFE OF LORD SHAFTESBURY

## Bearing on the Political Character of Mr. Gladstone.

IN the Life of Lord Shaftesbury the first mention of Mr. Gladstone occurs in page 377, vol. i., when Lord Shaftesbury writes in his diary, October 16th, 1841 :—"A good man, and a clever man, and an industrious man." This shows that Lord Shaftesbury's disposition then was to admire and trust Mr. Gladstone. In 1842 Lord Shaftesbury, then Lord Ashley, had charge of the Bill for preventing the labour of women and young children underground in coal mines. A large number of children (many as young as four and five) were at that time employed underground, and were working ankle-deep in black mud in mines infested by rats and other vermin. Lord Ashley's speech on their behalf made a deep impression on the House. Cobden, Hume, and others who generally resisted Lord Ashley on the subject of factory legislation, acknowledged themselves convinced by the array of facts Lord Ashley laid before the House. In committee on this Bill (1842) he notes in his diary, p. 429, vol. i.—"Gladstone voted against me," the Government of which he was a member having promised cordial support; the Bill, however, passed both Houses and became law. Writing in the following year, January 10th, 1843, in his diary, Lord Ashley says :—"A grand oration by Gladstone at Liverpool in favour of collegiate institutions and education of middle classes. The papers bepraise him, his eloquence, his principles, and his views. Well, be it so; there is no lack of

effort and declamation in behalf of fine edifices and the wealthier classes ; but where is the zeal for ragged pin-makers, brats in calico works, and dirty colliers ? Neither he nor Sandon (how strange !) ever made or kept a house for me, ever gave me a vote, or ever said a word in my support."

The conclusion is irresistible that even then Mr. Gladstone's enthusiasm was never awakened any more than it now is except on behalf of those classes with whom rests the balance of political power.

In 1860, Roebuck, who had been a vehement opponent of factory legislation, publicly owned himself to have been mistaken ; so did Sir James Graham. Not so, however, Mr. Gladstone, who referred to the subject in a speech in 1864 as " a matter in which the Legislature was now almost unanimous," without saying that as long as it had hung in the balance he had constantly opposed it. Referring to this, Lord Shaftesbury wrote on the margin of *Grant's History of Factory Legislation*—" He (Gladstone) did not retract with the honesty of Roebuck and Graham," p. 206, vol. ii. Writing again on the history of the struggle Lord Ashley said—" Gladstone ever voted in resistance to my efforts. . . . He is on a level with the rest. He gave no support to the Ten Hours' Bill ; he voted with Sir R. Peel to rescind the famous division in favour of it. He was the only member who endeavoured to delay the Bill which delivered women and children from mines and pits ; and never did he say a word on behalf of factory children until, **when defending slavery in the West Indies,** he taunted Buxton with indifference to slavery in England," p. 210, vol. ii.

After more than thirty years' close experience of Mr. Gladstone as a politician, Lord Shaftesbury, in 1864, writing in expectation of Lord Palmerston's death, says :—" His successor, Gladstone, . . . will succumb to every pressure, except the pressure of a constitutional and conservative policy. Reform may be postponed ; but it is inevitable. The next session will be one of turbulence and mischief,

every scheme being propounded, and many a one being carried, to please constituents on the eve of a general election ; Gladstone probably taking the lead—nay, even breaking up the Ministry to secure his own elevation," vol. iii., p. 171.

As long as Lord Palmerston lived Lord Shaftesbury was practically the "Bishop maker," as Lord Palmerston acted on his advice in ecclesiastical matters. In 1865, the See of Chester being vacant, Mr. Gladstone asked for it for Dr. Jacobson, chairman of his election committee at Oxford, saying that Jacobson's nomination would be very encouraging, and greatly strengthen his (Gladstone's) interests. Lord Palmerston consulted Lord Shaftesbury, and the appointment was made, because Lord Palmerston was most desirous that Mr. Gladstone should continue to represent the University of Oxford. "He is a dangerous man," said Palmerston ; "keep him at Oxford and he is partially muzzled." This nomination of Dr. Jacobson to the See of Chester was the only one during Lord Shaftesbury's time as bishop maker "that had a taint of politics in it ;" and, adds Lord Shaftesbury in his diary, "it is, so far as I know, the only one where the bishop has openly and speedily given offence. Departing from the excellent precedents set by his predecessors, Bishops Sumner and Graham, he has peremptorily refused, both to Chester and the great town of Liverpool, his sanction to the Bible Society," pp. 199-200, vol. iii.

In 1844, a Bill called the Dissenters' Chapels Bill was introduced and finally passed. Its object was to render clear that gifts of property to dissenting bodies for religious and charitable uses were not illegal. The Act of Uniformity had declared all such gifts illegal ; the Toleration Act of William III. had rescinded this monstrous restriction so far as Trinitarian Nonconformists were concerned ; but Roman Catholics and Unitarians were not included in the benefits of the Act. The Act of 1844 expressly included them. Writing about the debate on this Bill, Lord Ashley makes the following note in his diary, February 27th, 1844 :

—" That inexplicable statesman, Mr. Gladstone, intimated that all Dissent tended to Socinianism, and that a vast portion of its founders were, in fact, Unitarians!" p. 59, vol. ii.

Coming, towards the close of his long life, to the brink of the great Home Rule controversy, Lord Shaftesbury wrote in his diary (1879):—" Gladstone is claiming the leadership of the revolution in every form. Gladstone's declaration that the dissolution of the Irish Church was determined on by himself as Prime Minister, in consequence of the Fenian movement and the explosion at Clerkenwell, is a clear, bold, and stirring appeal to the Irish, 'Ravage the country with fire and sword, and you will carry Home Rule, Abolition of Rent, and every desire of your hearts,'" p. 453, vol. iii

# MR. GLADSTONE

ON

# IRISH FINANCE.

THE peculiar views Mr. Gladstone entertains on the subject of Irish finance were very clearly brought out in his reply to the deputation of Belfast merchants that waited upon him on Tuesday last. It was represented to him that if his scheme were carried into effect Ireland would be in a chronic want of money, and to this he replied in these words:—"Now, gentlemen, my allegation is, that instead of a chronic want of money, if there be political prudence in Ireland there will be a chronic plethora of money after the Home Rule Bill has passed. And why do I say that? Because all the purposes of civil government—the ordinary purposes connected with the Civil Service in all its branches—are now supplied in Ireland; and on what terms are they supplied?—upon terms of enormous extravagance. . . . The case is a very simple one. The civil expenditure of Ireland is made up of charges which amount in all to £5,160,000, that is a sum representing more than 20s. per head—I suppose somewhere about 22s., but, at any rate, more than 20s. per head—for the whole population of Ireland. Ireland is a poor country. Ought Ireland to require more expenditure on civil government than England and Scotland, which are richer countries, and with Irish standards of expenditure necessarily? I am taking figures now which will not be challenged—I am taking the figures of 1886; therefore, before there was any material change. While the civil government of Ireland cost £1 per head, the civil government of Great Britain cost a little more than 10s. Is there no margin for economy in that? Ought the civil government of Ireland to cost more? You tell me it takes a long time to reduce expenditure. So it does, I admit; it cannot be done in a day. But, still, the judges of Ireland are not immortal, the civil pensioners of all kinds are not immortal, and from year to year there is a gradually increasing fund available for economy, and, after economy, available either for the remission of taxes or for the comfort and advantage of the people in other more judicious modes

of expenditure. Therefore I say, gentlemen, it is not chronic want of money, it is chronic plethora of money which, if Ireland be prudent, threatens to beset her after she has attained her local autonomy. Have you considered what that difference between 10s. a head and £1 a head represents? More than two millions and a half in the expenditure of Ireland. When you have reduced the expenditure of Ireland for Civil Service by two millions and a half you would still be paying as much as we now pay in England, Scotland, and Wales."

Now, if this be a true statement of the case, then obviously there is no excuse for asking the taxpayers of England and Scotland to relieve Ireland of £1,700,000 of expenditure which, as we showed last week, according to Mr. Gladstone's own standard of equity, she ought to bear. On his own showing, therefore, Mr. Gladstone is asking the people of Great Britain to make heavy pecuniary sacrifices for the benefit of Ireland, for which there is not the slightest necessity, and the financial provisions of his Home Rule Bill are thus condemned out of his own mouth.

But Mr. Gladstone's statement is very far indeed from being a true statement. It is, in fact, about as complete a distortion of the truth as it is possible to imagine. There is no need to go back with him to the year 1886. It is with existing conditions that we have to reckon, and we purpose, therefore, to deal with the accounts for the year 1891-2, which are analysed in the Parliamentary return, showing the financial relations between England, Scotland, and Ireland, to which we referred last week. For that year, the items which Mr. Gladstone classes as the civil expenditure of Ireland, and the corresponding figures for England and Scotland were—

YEAR 1891-2.

| | England. | Scotland. | Ireland |
|---|---|---|---|
| Civil Government charges— | £ | £ | £ |
| (*a*) On Consolidated Fund ..... | 349,000 ... | 137,000 ... | 218,000 |
| (*b*) Voted ..... | 9,406,000 ... | 1,497,000 ... | 4,482,000 |
| Met out of local taxation revenue | 6,427,000 ... | 798,000 ... | 359,000 |
| Collection of revenue ..... | 2,129,000 ... | 339,000 ... | 224,000 |
| Postal services ..... | 7,095,000 ... | 908,000 ... | 746,000 |
| | 25,406,000 ... | 3,679,000 ... | 6,029,000 |

Included in the Irish charge for the year is the whole cost of the Irish constabulary, and of that Mr. Gladstone proposes to shift £500,000 on to the shoulders of the people of Great Britain, together with the Lord Lieutenant's salary of £20,000. Omitting these, the Irish civil expenditure for the year is brought down to £5,500,000, and if deduction is further made of about £400,000 of special expenditure for the relief of distress, from which it is presumed other years will be exempt, we get to Mr. Gladstone's

estimate of £5,160,000. Adopting, then, Mr. Gladstone's definition of civil expenditure, and comparing his estimate for Ireland with the similar outlay for England and Scotland, we arrive at the following results :—

| | Amount of Expenditure. £ | Population. Census of 1891. | Expenditure per Head. s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| England | 25,406,000 | 29,001,000 | 17 6 |
| Scotland | 3,679,000 | 4,033,000 | 18 3 |
| Ireland | 5,160,000 | 4,706,000 | 22 0 |

As this table stands, it shows a very different state of things from that represented by Mr. Gladstone. But, in order to arrive at a true comparison, some addition has to be made to the expenditure of England and Scotland here shown. The Irish charge includes the whole cost of the police, whereas the charge for England and Scotland includes only the portion of that charge which is defrayed by contribution from the Imperial Treasury, and from the Imperial revenues assigned to the local authorities. In addition to the receipts from these sources, a large amount of money for police services has to be raised by rates, and we calculate that the amount so raised averages about 1s. 6d. per head of population. Worked out on the same basis, therefore, the expenditure of 22s. per head in Ireland compares with an expenditure of 19s. in England and 19s. 9d. in Scotland. Thus, while it is true that the Irish outlay is relatively greater than that of the other divisions of the kingdom, and ought to be capable of some reduction, the excess is nothing at all approaching to the 10s. per head at which it is set down by Mr. Gladstone; and when he speaks of a plethora of wealth in Ireland resulting from a reduction of more than two and a half millions in the civil expenditure, he is, not to put too fine a point upon it, talking rank nonsense.

Let us briefly put the matter in another way. Mr. Gladstone's assumed reduction of two and a half millions in the Irish expenditure would reduce its total amount to £2,500,000. Well, here are three items in his own Budget, that total up to £2,000,000 :—

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Education | 1,050,000 |
| Postal services | 790,000 |
| Collection of revenue | 160,000 |
| | 2,000,000 |

His idea, therefore, is, that the whole civil administration of Ireland, with its 4,700,000 of population, can be carried on at an annual expenditure of £500,000. It is upon this assumption that he not only conjures up visions of a plethora of wealth, but solemnly descants upon them to a body of business men. How preposterous it is, and yet how characteristic of his whole scheme.—*The Economist*, 1st April, 1893.

# MR. JOHN REDMOND, M.P.,

ON THE

# Financial Clauses of the Home Rule Bill.

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But the longer these financial clauses have been studied the more they have been distrusted. It is right we should be perfectly candid in a matter of this kind. I have met **no member of any political party whatever in Ireland** who has been able to tell me that Ireland could be successfully worked and successfully governed under the financial clauses of the Bill as they now stand—(hear, hear)—and I would add that if the clauses are to remain in their present form the Government and their supporters in this House will have to recognise the fact that it will become a **horrible responsibility for any Irish representative to accept this Bill as a settlement.** —*Irish Daily Independent*, 14th April, 1893.

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# GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT

## A REPLY TO MR. GLADSTONE.

By Mr. W. E. H. LECKY.

38 Onslow Gardens, London, S.W.,
4th April, 1893.

Dear Sir,—The fallacy underlying Mr. Gladstone's appeal to the prosperity of Ireland under Grattan's Parliament has been so frequently exposed that I can only wonder at its repetition. That Parliament was an exclusively Protestant body, drawn from much the same classes as the present Grand Juries. It represented in the highest degree the property, loyalty, and great industrial interests of the country, and under its guidance all these things were sedulously fostered and protected. The Parliament Mr. Gladstone proposes to set up would be in violent hostility to the richest and most industrious portion of the community. It is regarded with horror by nearly every man who is a leader of industry in Ireland. All the great names in Irish finance, manufacture, and trade are against it. The whole of the propertied classes in Ireland, as Mr. Gladstone now admits, are opposed to it, and the men who would undoubtedly lead it are the men whom Mr. Gladstone not long ago described with great justice as preaching the doctrine of "public plunder." The chief work, indeed, of the proposed Parliament would probably be to rob the very class of which Grattan's Parliament mainly consisted. It is true that the credit of Grattan's Parliament was very good, because it was essentially the Parliament of the propertied classes, and because there was no possible reason to believe that it would repudiate its debts. Is it reasonable to argue that a similar credit would be enjoyed by a Parliament directed by men whose whole political position is founded on systematic and violent repudiation of contracts? Are landlords the only class of men who can be plundered? Is it probable that the insurrection against debts, which has been steadily preached in Ireland during the last few years, should be confined to a single sphere? The rapid fall of all the chief Irish securities since Mr. Gladstone's scheme was propounded, and the steady drain of capital which is impoverishing the country, sufficiently show that in the eye of the practical business men complete financial ruin would be its inevitable consequence. It is true that Dublin was greatly benefited by the residence in the last century of nearly every member of the Irish aristocracy and of the great untitled

landlords who sat in the Irish Commons. Is its aspect likely to be materially strengthened by the more continued residence of Messrs. Healy, O'Brien, and their colleagues? The assertion that the Irish Catholics have never shown any jealousy of Irish Protestants is of a kind which I find it difficult to characterise with proper moderation. **Jealousy, unhappily, is far too feeble a word to describe adequately the fierce reciprocal animosity which has dislocated Ireland for centuries.** It blazed into a furious flame in the religious wars of Elizabeth, in the great rebellion of 1642, in the Jacobite struggle of 1689, in the religious war into which the rebellion of 1798 speedily degenerated. These facts are about as conspicuous in the history of Ireland as Magna Charta and the Commonwealth in the history of England. To attribute, as Mr. Gladstone does, the whole blame to one side, is simply to falsify grossly the truth of history. Happily, for some years the hostility between the two creeds has been greatly subsiding, and a large number of Irish Catholics are among the most conspicuous and fervent supporters of the Union. No one who knows Ireland will deny that the policy of Mr. Gladstone has contributed more than any other single cause to revive and deepen the divisions which every good Irishman deplores.—Yours faithfully,

(Signed)

W. E. H. LECKY.

# MR. GLADSTONE'S FIRM BELIEF.

"My firm belief is that the influence of Great Britain in every Irish difficulty is not a domineering and tyrannising but a softening and mitigating influence, and that were Ireland detached from her political connection with this country, and left to her own unaided agencies, it might be that **the strife of parties would then burst forth in a form calculated to strike horror through the land.**"—*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. clxxxi., p. 721.*

# English Methodists, Read this,

## And send more of your Pastors to Ireland.

I.

## "Since he came to Ireland."

Speaking at Portadown, on March 17th, 1893, a Primitive Methodist minister, the Rev. J. Angliss, said that he had an impression that in the near future there would be a great change in the English constituencies. He was a convert to the Unionist cause. Last July he appeared on a Radical platform and made a speech against the return of Sir Richard Webster, the late Attorney General, but since he came to Ireland this great question had been forced upon him, and he had come to the conclusion that it would be a tremendous evil if this Bill were passed. He only wished that English merchants could live in Ireland, because if they could be brought to this country for a short time he was very sure that they would soon become converted. Let their English merchants come and live in Belfast and Portadown, and take charge of the manufactories and become part of the great linendom which had been built up by the men of Ireland, and ask them if they would submit to a Bill which simply means confiscation and robbery. He objected to this Bill because it was a sop to Popery, and because if they were to pay the revenue they would have to drink bucketsful of whiskey. They never would submit to robbery or to the severance of their connection with Great Britain. They belonged to a great and mighty empire, and no statesman had any right to take any British subject from under British rule. Then what should they do? He told them what he was prepared to do. He was prepared to go back to the very platform from which he came in the Isle of Wight, and to tell the people there that he was converted. He did not change his tactics because he came to live in Ireland, but because he saw the great evil of this Bill, and he took an independent stand upon it. If every minister in Ireland could be liberated and sent over to England for about a week and give addresses in the largest halls that could be found he thought it would be one of the grandest forces that could be employed at the present time. He believed this Home Rule Bill would be killed, and they would have no difficulty in burying it.—*Portadown News*, March 18th, 1893.

II.

# Six Months in Tyrone convinced him.

STEWARTSTOWN, TUESDAY.—To-day Mr. Wm. Heath, an English Methodist mission preacher, who for the past six months or so has been conducting Evangelical services in this locality, left here for his home. When Mr. Heath came here he was an ardent Home Ruler, but during his short stay saw sufficient of the Home Rulers to convince him of the ruin that Home Rule would bring on this country. Speaking to our correspondent before he went away, Mr. Heath said—"I have seen enough of Romanism in Ardboe and other Nationalist localities to convince me that Protestantism would be crushed if Home Rule become law. I have seen the men who demand it, and I have seen the men who are determined to oppose Home Rule—the one idle, dissolute, poverty-stricken, disloyal, and priest-ridden; the other industrious, thrifty, comfortable, and loyal to England. I go back to England a Unionist, and will do all that I can to spread the light on the true state of affairs in this unhappy country. If the people of England and Scotland saw Nationalists as I have seen them they would not want to force Home Rule on the Loyalists of Ulster so as to leave them at the mercy of such a party." Mr. Heath proposes to address Unionist meetings on his return home.—*Belfast News-Letter*, 29th March, 1893.

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These are two conversions within one fortnight.

# THE GREAT FALLACY.

## A SPEECH

BY THE

## Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Derry, D.D.,

DELIVERED IN THE

## Albert Hall, London,

ON

*SATURDAY, 22nd APRIL, 1893.*

# THE GREAT FALLACY.

THE BISHOP OF DERRY, who was received with loud cheers, proposed the following resolution :—

"That this meeting records its conviction that the establishment of a separate Parliament and Executive for Ireland, as proposed by the Home Rule Bill now before the House of Commons, would destroy the safeguards of civil and religious liberty in Ireland, unsettle the conditions of her manufactures and commerce, lead to financial confusion, and weaken the influence of Great Britain throughout the world."

He said :—My Lord Duke, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I labour under many difficulties in speaking upon the present occasion. Although I cannot say that I am unused to public speaking, I am at least unused to speaking upon a political platform. I am afraid that there is hardly any human voice that can make itself very audible in this great hall, and I have a further difficulty in this point, that, unused as I am to political subjects, I can only attempt to do in a much poorer style what has been done—so admirably done—by a number of Unionist members of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) The splendid logic of freedom has had added to it by many hands a new chapter of many paragraphs which absolutely annihilates the fallacies of the logic of a sordid

tyranny. "The many-sided iniquity" of which Mr. Balfour spoke has indeed received a many-sided refutation, which has not left a single shred of it remaining. (Cheers.)

## *THE LEADING FALLACY OF THE BILL.*

In the remarks which I have to offer to you this afternoon I shall endeavour to confine myself to one subject, upon which a speaker like myself may be supposed to be more at home than upon many others, which may be of deeper interest to those who are skilled in the science of politics. Let me just bring before you, as well as I may, this one single conception. It appears to me that the leading fallacy of the whole case, that which colours the whole of this vast argument, really turns upon that title of the gentlemen who call themselves the nation of Ireland—the Nationalists. (Groans.) They assert that they are, or, at all events, that they represent exclusively, the Irish people and the Irish nation. ("Oh.") That I say is the leading fallacy, and I will try to direct your attention for a short time to what seems to be a refutation of it. Let us look at it first, so to speak, theoretically, and then as it is embodied in this Bill. (Hear, hear.) First of all, then, theoretically, I say the fallacy is this—that Nationalism represents the whole Irish nation. Now, what is the truth about that? Irish gentlemen who are here present will look upon what I have to say as extremely elementary, but I do not think that our English friends know it at all so well. (Hear, hear.) I am perfectly convinced that many members of Parliament who are foremost in the support of this measure, and some who perhaps formed part of the majority of last night, have never fully realized it. Every man who has lived in Ireland knows that in Ireland, in different proportions in different parts of the country, there are two races face to face touching each other, sometimes mingling and yet clearly to be distinguished one from the other. The first is essentially Celtic; that, indeed, in a sense is not strictly accurate, but roughly speaking it is so. One division is essentially Celtic, and the other is essentially English or Scotch.

## *THE CELTIC ELEMENT.*

Now, then, first of all take the Celtic element. The Prime Minister is nothing if not theological. I do not believe that, as Mr. Gladstone puts it in his habitual theological language—(laughter)—my Celtic fellow-countrymen have a double dose of original sin. They are very human beings, and some of them are very fine human beings. (Cheers.) They are as a general rule affectionate in their homes and wonderfully pure in their lives. When their souls are turned to heaven they are capable of being intensely devout. They are in many cases, according to their own notion of it, very patriotic, and I should indeed rather be silent for ever upon a platform of this kind than speak lightly of priests like Father Burke, or of tribunes like Daniel O'Connell. (Cheers.) But perhaps I may be allowed to say that it seems to me that they have some corresponding defects. They are sequacious, by which I mean that they are apt to follow leaders who are sometimes not very trustworthy. (Laughter and cheers.) They are tenacious; not always tenacious of that which is good, but specially tenacious of the communistic ideas which are inveterate in their race. How tenacious they are you may be able to judge from an extract which has long been familiar to me, and which, I think, possesses a very real interest. There was a writer called Lalor, whose productions appeared, rather appropriately from the name, in the *Irish Felon* in the year 1848. This man Lalor gives us the leading idea of the whole question. He states in one of his papers that there were two simple propositions and two principles of action by which the Celtic element might obtain what they wished. The first was that the absolute ownership of the land is vested in the Irish people, and the second is that all titles to land are invalid unless they are at least confirmed by the Irish people. (Cheers and laughter.) The principles of the mode of action are two. First, refuse the payment of rent; and, secondly, resist all processes of ejectment. Here you have the root of the whole matter. Here you have the leading idea of the Land League, and the present Bill is Lalorism legalized. (Cheers.)

## *THE MINORITY.*

Now I may be allowed to speak of the Scotch and the English race. I suppose that we who belong to that element of the people of Ireland have our share in their faults. A very interesting form of confession has been lately adopted. In old times a man used to confess his own sins, and we have most delightful volumes which contain such confessions. But in more modern days a very distinguished writer and speaker has taken to confessing, not his own sins, but the sins of the English people. (Cheers ) He seems to think that the sins of you English people need a little wholesome discipline, and, as he has so often been Prime Minister, he is quite capable of understanding the depth of your sinfulness—(laughter) —and also the effective mode of administering the necessary castigation. (Renewed laughter.) But our English and Scotch people who live in Ireland are a hardy and industrious race. Many of them have attained to the greatest eminence as men of science, military men, merchants, administrators in foreign colonies, and so forth. In numbers they are no doubt greatly inferior to the other element; but I would have you observe that the balance of numbers against us is being wonderfully redressed. (Hear, hear.) There is an expression—it expresses a foul distinction—it is one of the foulest pieces of English that can possibly be found—"the propertied classes." The propertied classes, then, among

## *OUR ROMAN CATHOLIC FRIENDS*

are, as a general rule, entirely on our side. (Hear, hear.) We have instances of it, I am thankful to say, upon this very platform. (Cheers.) The farmers who have large farms are in many cases coming forward. They have written letters in the Irish papers, and have placed their names at the bottom of them. (Hear, hear.) I am perfectly convinced that if you take into account the whole mass of the Protestant population—for they are Unionists with about the same exception of numbers as the lunatics in their body—(laughter)—if you take them into account

and take into account also the brave and true-hearted Roman Catholics who stand with us—(loud cheers)—I believe that it is greatly under the mark to say that we have a third part of the population. I believe we have nearly 2,000,000 out of the 4½ millions of people in Ireland. And so I say that the proposition that one important section represents the whole people of Ireland is not only incomplete, but is one of the most dangerous assertions that can possibly be made. (Cheers.) In the dreary and squalid history—for so it is on both sides—of the Irish Rebellion, and of the years which immediately followed it, one of the most touching incidents is the death of Lord Kilwarden. Arthur Wolfe, Lord Kilwarden, was dragged out of his carriage and brutally murdered by Emmett's mob in 1803. Just before he died four men were seized who had been concerned in the murder. One of the officers standing by Lord Kilwarden exclaimed :—"Take the four rascals and execute them." But the dying man feebly held up his hand and said :—"No, Swan," that was the officer's name, "let the poor wretches at least have a fair trial." Those words were worthy of a great magistrate and a great Irishman. (Cheers.) Ask Irishmen who are present—I ask every man here who has heard of this—if they would say that Lord Kilwarden was not an Irishman, and one of the Irish people, but that these wretched and ruffianly murderers belonged to the Irish people—(applause)—and so I conclude this portion of my address. Take the words "Nationalist," "the Irish people," "the Irish nation." If the words are falsely used, no matter by whom, nail them to the counter. Tell them that one long experiment was tried in Ireland—namely, the government of the majority by the minority under Protestant ascendency. That experiment failed. The government of the local majority by the local minority must fail also. Tell them that both alike—the local majority and the local minority—must be ruled firmly, justly, and wisely under the Imperial Parliament—(loud cheers)—and under the sway of our gracious Queen. (Renewed cheers.) In days like this, when the heart of a great people is stirred, there are expressions brief,

pregnant, passionate, and picturesque that leap to the lips of genius. Such an expression was that used by Lord R. Churchill—(loud applause)—the great betrayal. (Applause). And I think you may add that the "great betrayal" is the great fallacy. Let me ask you for a short time to follow this leading fallacy into its practical applications in this extraordinary Bill.

## *PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION UNDER THE BILL.*

First of all there follows from it a fallacious system of Parliamentary representation. You have only to look at the seventh clause of the Bill, and the first and second schedules. The force of this was brought out in Ireland, as many of you know, with splendid power and fulness, by Mr. Atkinson, who is here on the platform to-day. The members under that precious scheme cannot possibly represent the various interests and various ideas of a great community. In any just and fair system of representation the preponderance of one class must always be more or less balanced by the just rights of another. Is this a Bill for the representation of the Irish people? Nothing of the kind. It is an agrarian Bill for the representation of the small farmers and of the working labourers, and it may almost be said that it is a Bill for the representation of no one else. Gentlemen who call themselves "Nationalists" are fond of quoting Mr. Grattan. Well, what did he say about Irish Parliamentary reform in his day? This is what he says—"Transfer the power of the State to those who have nothing in the country, and they will afterwards transfer the property of others and annex it once more to the power in their own persons. (Laughter.) Give them your power, and they will give themselves your property." (Applause.) This legislating for Nationalists as if they formed the whole of the nation impresses these two characteristics upon the Bill. The Bill has been dictated by the small farmers, and is meant for them almost exclusively. We have a saying in Ireland that a man who does not do well and relapses into something like barbarism "goes back to bog." And

so this Bill is a "Bill of the Bog." But it is also something more. It has been manipulated by conspirators. (Loud cheers.) Of course we make all due allowance for a little obscurity here and there in drafting. (Laughter.) But besides being a Bill of the Bog, it is so hard to make out its bearing upon such trifles as our lives, our liberty, our property—(laughter and cheers)—that it is also a "Bill of the Fog." (Cheers.)

### *THE RIGHT OF RESISTANCE.*

Well, the second great fallacy which arises from the master fallacy is this—that those who are responsible for this Bill have formed an extremely fallacious estimate of the volume of resistance to it which exists in Ireland. (Cheers.) I know how many words have been spent upon metaphysical questions with reference to resistance and its lawfulness, but I am inclined to think that the matter practically comes pretty much to this—that after all there are things which a strong race will hardly submit to—(loud cheers) —unless they are compelled to it, and I am very much inclined to think that practical slavery is just one of those things. (Cheers.) Remember the antecedents of that other race in Ireland. A great writer, Mr. Goldwin Smith, has said that "an atmosphere broods over slave States which is laden with fear from the sense of a great wrong." It has been remarked, and I would commend it to the meditation of the great master of false historical analogies, that there never has been and never was an armed insurrection of slaves in America; but Dr. Channing, in one pregnant and pithy sentence has told us why. "Rome," he said, "had servile wars, but then the slaves had once been freemen." (Cheers.) Now, we are convinced—we are a stupid people, you know, but we have got it into our heads and we are actually wicked enough to be convinced that under the system devised in this Bill we shall be nothing more than slaves. (Hear, hear.) We are told, indeed, about guarantees, but we hardly know how they will be enforced. We are told about "confidence" and a great many other pieces of gush, but I tell you this

—that a strong race can no more be confiding about its liberty than a pure woman can be confiding about her honour. (Loud cheers.) We are strange subjects—we, the objectionable portion of the Irish race—indeed, for this new experiment. There was a Liberal writer, his name was Macaulay, but I suppose he is exploded now; but actually he had the boldness to speak about us as

*"THE UNCONQUERABLE COLONY"*

in the times of James II. May we not say, without any undue vaunting, that we have saved Ulster for you and with Ulster a great deal more than Ulster in 1688. (Cheers.) And remembering what I do about the times of the Indian Mutiny and about the men—the Lawrences and the others—is it going too far to say that, as we saved Ulster in 1688, we helped potently to save India in 1853? Let me observe that I do not feel that I am saying anything unworthy of a minister of peace. To warn men of danger is not to create danger. The physician is not guilty of producing the disease whose germs he tells you are lurking in the imperfect sewer. Besides, there is here no question of rebellion—rebellion against Her Majesty, rebellion against the Imperial Parliament. Those are sins no Irishman of the people to which we belong will ever commit. (Hear, hear.) But I really do not know how the constitutional question stands about the new and limited Legislature of 48 councillors—(laughter)—and 103 representatives of the people. Why, Grattan spoke against a limited Legislature. He said it was an insult to Ireland, and he gave them another historical analogy which I commend to some historical gentlemen. (Hear, hear.) He said that they had a limited Legislature in the Isle of Man, and he added, "What a Legislature that is. It is free from the influence of opinion, free from the influence of duty, directed by prejudices, and unencumbered by knowledge." (Laughter and cheers.) Another great Irishman—Sheridan—spoke of a Parliament of that kind, and he said, "Talk of a Parliament! It is a national vestry

for the parish of Ireland." The third fallacy is the strange and frightful under-estimate of the moral repulsion to the projected Legislature. There is one fatal question which will be asked again and again, if this Bill and subsequent legislation are forced upon us. Men will ask why was this Bill given? How was this Bill got? (Hear, hear). Now, mark me, I am not going to try to fasten the guilt of murder upon any individuals amongst my fellow-countrymen. I know that among the members who represent the Nationalist party there are many men who would shrink from anything of the kind as much as I should, but I am obliged to say this. I have seen the dreary record, I have followed it with my pencil page by page, and I know this—that, between January, 1881, and August, 1888, there were

**252** ***MURDERS,***

either perpetrated or attempted in Ireland. (Groans.) I again say that I do not charge any complicity upon particular individuals who represent what is called the Irish party. Mr. Morley—(groans and cries of "Traitor,")—said the other night—and I am sure he said it honestly—that these acts were cruel and detestable, but he seemed to imply that they occurred before the Land Act. Why, that was in 1881, and in 1882 there were 42 persons actually murdered—one a woman of 80, another a child of four. But when this great gift comes to the people of Ireland, then we are told there will be a moral miracle such as the world has never seen before, and all the past sin will be washed away. Yes, but the world will not forget the crime which won the power. Napoleon III. to the last day of his reign as Emperor used to say that he always dragged with him the ball, the log of the 3rd of December. Queen Mary—whose memory is not loved in England—in her reign of five years there were only 200 victims. But those two hundred have left an impression which two hundred years have not effaced. There is a story told with marvellous power in the poems of Victor Hugo. The great poet tells us how a usurper committed a murder through which he obtained a throne. At last death came and his

spirit went forth through the darkness to the eternal light. Some thing in his soul prompted him to take his sword with him and to cut for himself a mantle of snow that he might be allowed to pass through the gate into the place where nothing red with guilt can enter. As he moved onward he saw gathering over him a cloud, from which fell drops which seemed to him to be drops of rain. But they were drops of blood, and when he came to the gates of Paradise a voice forbade him to enter in. And so he went on week after week and month after month, but still he was not allowed to enter. So it will be with Governments that have profited by "sombre acquiescence in crime." Even suppose them to repent, the crimson drops pour down upon them from the cloud of their irredeemable past. (Cheers.)

## *THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION.*

Now—and it is the last word—there is the religious question. Whether we like it or not, the two races mean two forms of religion. It is hardly surprising that the religious question should manifest itself from time to time in Ireland. The wars of Elizabeth were religious wars, the great war of 1642 was a religious war, the war of 1688 was a war of religion, and at the root of very much that happened in 1798 there was a religious question. Now, surely, the aim of all wise legislation should be to make men forget these records of an unhappy past. It was the aim of Grattan—he said it in his dying days—to join the two peoples into one and to soften and efface these harsh old memories by blending together the professors of the two creeds as far as could be done. We want the quietude of statesmanship. Gentlemen, those of you who are cricketers know what a demon bowler means. When we talk of a demon bowler, we do not mean a monster in human form, but one who is a sensational bowler. He bowls as fast as a whirlwind; he knocks over stumps and splits them in two; he not only hurts the man at the wicket but sometimes knocks down even the umpire and some of the bystanders. He loses more by the number of byes which are run than he gains by the wickets which

he takes. I think that a demon statesman—(cheers)—you will understand that I mean nothing personal—(laughter)—a demon statesman is the fascinating desperado of politics. (Cheers.) He always does things by the most violent means conceiveable. Let me quote four lines of poetry, part of a sonnet—as far as I know the only sonnet ever written by Benjamin Disraeli. (Cheers.) Lord Beaconsfield addressed the lines to the memory of Lord Wellington, and in speaking of his characteristics he said:—

> "No gusts of mind
> Fittul and wild, but that continued state
> Of ordered impulse mariners await
> In some benignant and enriching wind."

Like that great statesman, the Earl of Derby, whose loss England is deploring at the present moment. (Hear, hear.) And when we are talking about the religious question and certain possibilities in it, we are told that we are raising up a bogey, that we are afraid of the thumbscrew and the stake. No; we are afraid of nothing of the kind. But we have amongst us a few men a little less stupid than the rest of us; and they conceive that within the four corners of this Bill is a surreptitious endowment of the dominant church and much else. (Laughter.) There is one distinguished man of science; his name is Dr. Salmon, and he has told us pretty plainly what the financial result of the adoption of Home Rule will be for the Church to which I belong. There are men profoundly acquainted with the Church of Ireland who tell us what the state of that Church will inevitably be. We have a few lawyers, of whom the world knows something, and in reference to the guarantees they think that the University of Dublin—perhaps because it is the only constituency in Ireland which has not a single illiterate voter—is seriously threatened. All other Protestant institutions are threatened. Therefore it is that to-day from this platform, and on every occasion, wherever we can, we, the Protestants of Ireland, appeal to our Protestant brethren in Great Britain. (Cheers.) We appeal to the Protestant Nonconformists.

(Hear, hear.) We admire Mr. Gladstone's talents exceedingly, but we tell him the Irish Protestants do not trust him. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I do not believe our Roman Catholic friends really put more trust in the author of "Vatican and Vaticanism" than we do. They know very well when Home Rule was first in sight

*CARDINAL CULLEN*

passed upon it the most authoritative condemnation, and said it was got up in the interest of an irreligious and revolutionary party. (Cheers.) But let me say that out of all this evil there has come to us one blessing—the blessing of unity. All the religions in Ireland are represented on this platform. (Cheers.) Loyalty has, thank God, ceased to be a sectarian word. (Loud cheers.) Noble-minded Roman Catholics are as loyal to the Queen and Constitution as we are. (Renewed cheers.) Gentlemen, will you allow me to say that, before I came here, I prayed to my Heavenly Father that, for one moment at least, there might be given to me one of those golden and pregnant moments when a spirit of peace seems to move over a great assembly. You will pardon the egotism of an old man if I tell you what happened to myself, many years ago, when I was a clergyman in a country parish. There was in that parish a true-hearted and worthy old priest. It was my happiness to possess his intimate acquaintance, and when I left that parish I paid him a farewell visit. The kind-hearted old man put his strong arm round my neck and said:—"We are bidding farewell to each other, but remember this, the one Heaven is big enough to hold us both, and the one Saviour's heart is big enough to love us both." It is in the spirit of that good old man's words that I would speak to each and every one in Ireland. (Cheers.) I wish the old religious dissensions and jealousies to be obliterated. I wish all good men and true to be joined together in affection. (Renewed cheering.) As I was passing a night or two ago through the glens of Antrim, associated as they are with stories of fierce fights and wild struggles in the olden times, as the sunlight was dying away on the spring clad slopes, the words of the

psalm came into my mind, " The mountains shall bring peace, and the little hills righteousness unto the people." Do you not see how the two things, righteousness and peace, stand together ? Without righteousness there can be no true peace. There is no justice, no righteousness in this Bill—(loud cheers)—none in its provisions, none in the clauses, none in the schedules, which jockey the poor policeman and cheat the poor Civil servant, and ruin the landlord, and break the widow's heart. (Renewed cheers.) It pours its shoddy gifts and lavishes its shabby benedictions upon those who are dishonest and untrustworthy—(hear, hear)—and it places those men in power. And as it has no righteousness it can give no peace. And so, in bidding farewell to this imbecile caricature of a Constitution for Ireland—(loud and prolonged cheering)—I ask you to carry away with you this brief summary :—Morally, it is the great betrayal—(cheers)—logically, it is the great fallacy—(cheers)—religiously, it is the great sectarianism—(cheers)—financially, it is the great swindle—socially, it is the great break up—(cheers)—and, Imperially, it is the great break down. (Vociferous cheering).

# OUR APPEAL TO ENGLAND.

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## A SPEECH

DELIVERED IN THE

## ALBERT HALL, LONDON,

*On SATURDAY, APRIL 22nd, 1893,*

BY

## The RIGHT HON. JOHN ATKINSON, Q.C.

*(Ex-Attorney-General for Ireland).*

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My Lord Duke, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen—I esteem it a great honour to be permitted to address this vast assembly, and cannot think that a cause which has such sympathisers is lost. I speak on behalf of that portion of the Unionist minority of Ireland which is outside Ulster. It comprises almost the entire Protestant population numbering between 280 and 300 thousand, for though a few Protestants support Home Rule, some from principle, some from eccentricity, and some, I regret to say, from gain, following the movement as the shark follows the ship for its offal, they are both in number and position utterly insignificant. In addition, the minority comprises numbers of Roman Catholics of character, wealth and station, well represented here to-day, who have had the courage to come forward and declare themselves, and many thousands more of that creed of humbler position who, I have no doubt, from the information in my possession, have been intimidated into silence, and acquiesce sullenly in the misrepresentation of their views. But the power and importance of Unionism in the three Southern Provinces even is not to be judged by numbers alone. Here as in the North it embraces in the main the intelligence, culture, wealth, and commercial enterprise of the community. It is customary for our opponents to speak as though the Unionists of these provinces were only landlords and those depending on landlords. I find, however, that there are only 11,000 resident landowners of all creeds owning more than 100 acres in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, and multiplying these by 5 as the number representing the landlords' interest, it is clear that a considerable majority of the Unionist population are not in any way identified in interest with the landlord class. We are not, however, like our brethren in Ulster so concentrated in particular localities,

as to outnumber our opponents and by our votes secure representation in Parliament. If we were the Irish representation would be entirely different from what it is, but as Mr. Sexton has somewhat triumphantly pointed out, " we could not form a constituency anywhere, and would be absolutely dumb in the hands of the Legislature." In the main he is right, for we only return two members. Scattered as we are, the methods which suggest themselves to our Ulster friends —to defend in the last resort their liberty and property, as men sprung from the English stock have always defended them, are not so available to us. Nevertheless, despite this accident of distribution, we think we have some claim on the justice and consideration of the English people. Many of us are but the outposts of that army of colonization placed in Ireland long ago by you to civilize and hold her for you. It has its stronghold in the North, but we are part of it, and should share its fate. It has fairly fulfilled its mission, and in the darkest hour

**When English power was assailed**

and English liberty was threatened with extinction, stood to its allegiance with unequalled heroism, and spared neither blood nor treasure in your cause, and should the time come again when in the North they must

> " Strike for their altars and their fires,
> Strike for the green graves of their sires,
> For God and native land "—

the pickets and outposts won't desert or be abandoned. Many of us, too, are sprung from the native stock, and have been won over to allegiance to you by the mildness, justice, and toleration which have for many years marked your equal rule. We wish for a continuance of that rule, and cling to the Legislative Union because we believe the Imperial Parliament either has removed or can remove, and is anxious to remove, every real Irish grievance, because England can by her vast wealth and sound credit develop the resources of Ireland and promote her prosperity in a manner Ireland unaided could never do, because union with England on terms of equality as a sister, not a vassal secures for us as no other form of Government can order, with liberty and justice, and, for all sections of our countrymen, security and toleration, and because Irish Parliaments have on the whole failed while the Union has succeeded, is succeeding, and, if permitted, will, we believe, continue to succeed, the country having since what may be called its new birth after that wreck of everything—the famine of 1848—progressed as fast as any country in Europe. It is to secure a continuance

of this state of things we strive, and not to promote or maintain religious ascendancy or class privilege, as has been falsely stated. We further believe that in seeking to maintain the Union we are acting not only as good citizens of this great empire, but as good Irishmen to whom the honour, interest, and happiness of our native land are dear. We can quite understand that form of patriotism which desires to shake off all foreign rule, to elevate Ireland into independence, and leave her with all the rights of a nation, to defend herself by her own power and shape her own course amongst the nations of the earth. This has been the dream of some of her worthiest sons—men have fought for it, bled for it, died for it. You may think them wrong—we think them misguided—but you cannot despise them as self-interested or base. But there is another form of patriotism as pure and worthy as that which inspired them, but infinitely more sensible and sound. The patriotism which sees no dishonour in binding Ireland to her greater and stronger sister in the closest bonds, enabling Ireland to enjoy her freedom, be governed directly and immediately by her Parliament, join in the making of her laws, be helped by her riches, benefited by her commerce, share with her her posts of emolument and honour, march forward with her in her progress, and help directly to uphold the sceptre which sways her mighty empire. This is the form of patriotism to which we lay claim. But this Home Rule Bill is not the product and cannot satisfy the aspirations of any genuine form of patriotism. It is the misshapen child of lust for power and peasant greed. It is either

**A humiliation or a fraud.**

If its reservations and restrictions be real and permanent, and are not sham and temporary, as we believe they will be found to be, it strips Ireland of the rights and privileges and dignity of nationhood, provincializes and degrades her, while in any event it does something which all true patriots would shudder at; it makes, as I shall show you, the poorest, least intelligent and least instructed class of her population, who are absolutely inexperienced in the art of government, the small farmers, her permanent and absolute masters and rulers, and secures for them the services of the British soldiery to help them to plunder and possess all classes and interests other than their own, should they feel disposed to do so. Without that aid, the plunder and oppression would be difficult if not impossible. Ireland, if left to herself, would not possess within her four seas any power which could crush the Unionist Minority, or enable her rulers to face, without the gravest

apprehension, the armed revolt into which continued oppression and wrong would most assuredly drive the section of the population on whose behalf we speak. The fear of that encounter would be our safety. By this Bill, however, you, the English people, supply the Irish Parliament with the means to exercise in comparative safety the tyranny which, without your aid, they dare not practice; we should, therefore, under the contemplated constitution, be worse off than if Ireland was separate and independent. Let not England deceive herself, or close her eyes to the fact that by this legislation, if carried out, she not only abandons and betrays that section of the population of

**Her own race and blood**

whose ancestors she has planted in Ireland to hold it for her, and which has helped to hold it for her with unflinching devotion, but that she makes it their direct interest to pass for ever from under her rule. That is the misery of the situation for us, the danger of it for you, and if you thrust us out from the generosity and justice of the Imperial Parliament you can hardly expect that after you have delivered us over to the mercy of those whom your laws and institutions have in a great degree made our enemies, we shall continue to entertain the feelings which knit us to you now. England may yet discover, as so many men and nations have discovered before, that in grasping at the shadow she has lost the substance, and may learn the folly of changing too readily

**The Old Friend for the New.**

Nor do we think it just that though scattered and unable to return members to Parliament, we are to be treated as of no account. For when Mr. Gladstone was carrying the Franchise Act of 1884, he was warned that by extending it to Ireland, the Nationalist peasantry would swamp the constituencies and send Mr. Parnell back to Parliament with a band of over 80 followers; he emphatically stated, that despite that, he would not be afraid to face Mr. Parnell and his friends. We were assured then with his full concurrence, that this contingency would not alter the situation, that our safety lay in the opinions of the people of Great Britain, whose representatives would be ours. Within two years, however, that assurance was disregarded, the Irish vote purchased, and, though Great Britain's representatives still oppose, the new doctrine propounded, that the wishes or prejudices of the majority of Ireland's representatives, apart from all other considerations, must determine her destiny. This was the first step in that base betrayal, of which this Bill is the

culmination. We appeal to-day to England to disown and thwart it.

**The Irish Parliament.**

Now English people might well suppose from the loud-mouthed lamentations of the Nationalist over the loss of the Irish Parliament that it was a Celtic institution, an indigenous growth of the Irish soil, with its roots struck deep in the affections of the Irish people. In truth and fact it was an exotic planted in Ireland by Englishmen for Englishmen. For only about 16 years of its centuries of life, namely, at intervals between 1613 and 1690, did any of the Roman Catholic population ever take part in its deliberations. For 100 years before 1793 they could not even vote for a representative to it. A Protestant armed force won its independence. It was the Parliament of one class and one creed, and none can tell what would have happened but that it was guided, disciplined, and restrained by a Ministry independent of its will and an Executive beyond its power. Thrice during its 18 years of independence it was only accident, as Sir R. Peel has said, which prevented a rupture with the Parliament of England. The prosperity attributed to Grattan's Parliament was, in fact, due less to it than to laws passed before its independence was achieved, and to war prices which it did not influence. But whatever its prosperity, discontent, according to Lord Clare, kept pace with it. It reduced the country to the very verge of National bankruptcy. It resisted all reform, and after a foreign invasion and savage rebellion, ceased to exist, with the approval, according to Plowden, the Roman Catholic historian, of the great preponderance of the Bishops, Priests, and laity of that religion. The important point is that the race and creed which enjoyed its privileges and exercised its powers are passionately opposed to its restoration in any form. I doubt very much if any impartial student of Irish history will not come to the conclusion that one of the great misfortunes of Ireland was that the appeals of her Parliament for Union in 1702 and 1707, when the Scottish Union was effected, were not acceded to, and that the life of her Parliament was for almost another century prolonged.

Well, if that be a just retrospect, one would suppose that nothing but the clearest proof of the necessity and advantage of the change would justify an attempt to meddle with the existing Constitution. But by this Bill, should it become law, the Union planned by the

**Master mind of Pitt,**

and approved of up to seven years ago by every statesman and almost by every thinker is about to be mutilated or rent

asunder in order to erect in its stead a form of Government which never existed before in the world's history—not a federation nor yet a unity, but some incongruous and illogical combination of both, which while it secures to the smaller and weaker number the management of her local affairs, enables her to have a potent voice in the management of the local affairs of her neighbours and to derange and dislocate their governments. It is a monstrosity in constitutions, without precedent or parallel, without reciprocity or justice. And yet to judge from the speeches of its advocates all they seem to consider necessary to recommend it, is to say that the majority of the Irish representatives desire it and promise to work it well—who or what those representatives are, or who they represent, whether one class and interest or all the classes and interests in the community they seek to govern—what are their motives or their aims in seeking it—what their plans for government or the methods by which the demand they make has been created and formulated are apparently considered as matters quite beside the question, and it is deemed it would seem almost an impertinence to inquire whether wealth and commerce are on their side, or that intellect, culture and enterprise, which are the very soul and spirit of a nation, are with or against them; as if indeed statescraft was a mere question of Arithmetic, and there was some numerical formula by which to test the merits of all Constitutions. Well it is said the minority base their opposition to Home Rule on the assumption that the majority are all knaves—this statement is false—our grounds of opposition are more rational and just, but we of the minority might with much greater justice retort that the support of the measure is based on the supposition that the minority are all fools—we are convinced from the experience of our daily lives, and of our knowledge of the men to whom power will be given, and of the men who will lead and influence them, that the establishment of such a Government in Ireland as is proposed would be ruinous to her best interests, that capital and commerce would be exiled from her shores, enterprise paralysed, and civil and religious liberty

**Trampled under foot.**

We have ample opportunity of judging; none are more vitally interested in coming to a right conclusion than we. We may be right. If we are this bill is an infamy, the greatest misfortune, and the most cruel wrong ever inflicted on our country in all her chequered history. Surely the burden of proving that our conclusions are absolutely erroneous lies upon those who propose the change. Yet when we point out

that at the mere approach of the shadow of the Bill our Stocks fall millions in a week, and a shudder runs through the commercial world, the only answer we get is that we belong to the propertied classes, which must mean either that we are so idiotic that we know nothing of our own business, our own country, or the men amongst whom we live, and therefore treat our opinions as worthless, or that according to the new revelation a country is to be made rich, prosperous, and contented by the destruction of interests such as these. Well we have followed the debate upon the Bill with feverish anxiety in the hope that we should discover something to allay our fears, something to convince us our opinions are erroneous, but we have only found fanciful influences drawn from the comparison of the constitution of other countries in positions in no way analogous to our own—old men's fables about Ireland—mere travesties of her history, confident prophecies by one who, as regards Ireland, has always been

**A false prophet,**

and lastly, assurances of good intentions, good faith, and promises of contentment from men who in the next breath tell us these promises and assurances bind nobody, and are a greater disgrace to those who receive than those who give them, but no reasons, nor arguments to show how that which up to 1885 was by common consent bad and impolitic, suddenly became good, safe and desirable, or why these vital social forces and agencies represented by the minority, which civilize a nation, elevate and enrich her life, and make her progress possible may be safely disregarded or sacrificed in shaping her form of Government. Nothing indeed but the repetition of the statements I have mentioned. And lastly, as each new defect or danger is pointed out, a general exhortation to trust, trust, trust and believe in what would under the circumstances be well nigh miraculous. Mr. John Redmond indeed vouches safe one justification. He says that the Nationalists prefer to be ill-governed by themselves than well governed by others. Well, should this Bill pass in its present form, I have no doubt that they will be amply satisfied; but are the Minority to be sacrificed to that desire, or the Constitution mutilated "to minister to this mind diseased"? We can gain no comfort from these assurances, because we have no confidence in them: we think there is too much reason to believe that they are mere disguises to conceal the baseness of the surrender which has been made, and the

**Dangers to the Empire**

which lurk behind it. But we urge upon you that statesmen

and peoples should be guided in their decision on matters so momentous as these, not by confident prophecies, or ardent hopes, or solemn promises which cannot be enforced, but by a consideration of the powers which the proposed measure confers, and the capacities, training, fitness, passions, intents, and aims of those who are to enjoy them. Let me examine into these matters for a moment. In England the urban and rural constituencies and population are nearly equal. You have a number of classes, and a variety of interests so complex and so great that no one class or interest preponderates over or can oppress all others. But Ireland has only sixteen borough seats out of 103, and even of those sixteen several include many rural voters; while owing to the absence of a middle class in far the greater portion of this island, four-fifths of the representatives of both Houses will be elected by the votes of the small farmers alone, and will only represent their interests, and three-fifths of these will come from the three Southern provinces, so that they will be themselves outnumbered. All the Ulster members and the representatives of all other classes and every class and interest, will thus be at their mercy. Not only will this be so, but in addition the majority will be a permanent majority, and the Ministry supported by it will be a

**Permanent Ministry.**

No disregard of its duties by that Ministry, however absolute; no abuse of its power, however gross; no injustice, however flagrant; no oppression, however cruel, which it may be guilty of, so long as the small farmers of Ireland approve, can bring about one of those Ministerial changes which are the safeguards of parliamentary Government. While the Ministry feed the hunger, or serve the interests, or gratifie the revenge of that class, they are secure in place and power. In the administration of Government, and in the exercise of all executive authority, none can say them nay. For in this department the Lord Lieutenant must act on the advice of his Irish Ministers; there is no veto reserved to the Queen in Council. Rights or privileges given by statutes are valueless unless the Executive enforces and protects them. For instance, this Home Rule agitation has been swelled to its present dimensions, not on account of the alleged demerits of the Union, nor yet for love of Independence for itself, but by appeals to the peasants' master passion—Land Hunger Independence has been represented as a means to an end, and that end, as Mr. Healy stated in a speech in America, is to win back for the people of Ireland the land which has been robbed from them by the armies of Elizabeth and

Cromwell—a more unjust and cruel confiscation than ever took place in Ireland. Well, the Executive Government has only to omit to give police protection to carry out evictions, as Mr. Morley contends he has a right to do, or protect evicted farms, which it is free to do or abstain from doing, and the whole landed property of Ireland, can, in benefit result, be as effectually transferred from the landlords to the tenants as if there were a hundred statutes enacting it. Do you think the Majority, composed as it will be, and taught as it has been, will permit the Executive to do otherwise? In 1886 it was, according to Mr. Gladstone, an obligation of good faith and honour to settle the land question; while, according to Mr. Morley, it was a condition of any form of Home Rule that there should be some treatment of the Irish Land Question which would prevent the tenants from robbing their landlords. Well, by this Bill the obligations of

**Good faith and honour are thrown to the winds,**

and Mr. Morley apparently now contemplates with serenity the prospect of the robbery he must anticipate. The question is indeed postponed for three years, but whatever be the lines on which it may be ultimately settled, the landlords can in the interval be bled to death, or starved into the acceptance of any terms by the inaction of that Executive. Well, again, the life of a boycotted or obnoxious person may be rendered intolerable by the refusal of the Government to give him police protection, which they are free to give or refuse. There is no power to compel them. The man who assails his person no doubt commits a crime, but he may be prosecuted by the Government in a place and in a manner certain to secure his acquittal: witnesses may not be sought for, or for want of adequate protection may be terrorised into silence, and the culprit, even if convicted, may be pardoned or set at liberty next day. Many of these things may, no doubt, be done by the Executive under the present constitution. Recent events in Ireland have only too plainly demonstrated that possibility; but the check and corrective lies in the force of public opinion in England; the vigilance of the Imperial Parliament; the even balance of parties, and the vastness of the multitude of voters here whose love of justice is stronger than their party allegiance; and lastly, the certainty that a continued abuse of power by a Ministry here seals its doom. These checks, however, won't exist in Ireland. We are told that the Irish farmers will rise to the height of their great responsibilities, show a capacity for self-govern-

ment never yet shown by communities of the Irish race in any quarter of the world, exercise the vast powers conferred upon them wisely and govern the minority bound helpless at their feet in the fetters of the constitution with justice and consideration. If they do they will be false to the teaching they have received for the last fifteen years from their trusted leaders, and superior in their hour of triumph, to the gratification of those passions of

**Hate, greed and revenge**

which these same leaders have for years so industriously stimulated. If they are so they will indeed be more, not less, than human, but is it not irrational to expect such angelic goodness and make the safety of men's lives, property or liberty depend upon its existence? So much for the electorate and the rank and file of the Nationalist party. What of the leaders? They are, with one exception, in the main, the men who founded the Land and National Leagues, and launched them on their careers of tyranny, plunder and intimidation, and (whether anticipated or not) in the result crime, in order to bring about by these means the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation, who were by the Parnell Commission found guilty of "having entered into a criminal conspiracy to impoverish and starve out and drive from the country the Irish landlords because they were the English Garrison," of having omitted to denounce the system of intimidation which lead to crime and outrage, but persisted in it with the knowledge of its effects. The men, too, whom Mr. Gladstone punished as criminals, imprisoned without trial as malefactors, and denounced in the language so familiar to everyone out of which he now vainly strives to wriggle. These same men now pose before England no doubt as most

**Interesting penitents,**

but we cannot avoid having some doubts of the genuineness of that conversion. It is too marvellous. too sudden, too opportune, too obviously self-interested; we cannot stake everything on its sincerity or read backwards for their benefit the divine precept, "By their fruits ye shall know them; ye cannot gather grapes off thorns or figs off thistles." It seems, moreover, to have been brought about by the exigencies of this debate. The union of hearts did not effect it, for in December 1886, after that union is supposed to have taken place, they were still unregenerate. Mr. William O'Brien called upon his countrymen to "march together shoulder to shoulder until they had liberated their land from the twin curse of landlordism and English rule." Mr. Davitt who seems to be considered the most edifying and enterprising penitent, in June,

1887, boasted that "he had registered a vow to bear to England and the English Government all the accumulated hate of his Irish nature, and pledged himself to carry on the fight at any cost until landlord tyranny and English Government had been destroyed in Ireland." While Mr. Healy, in August, 1887, in speaking of the past practices of the Land League said, "I wish to say plainly that so far as I go I intend to practice the same form of intimidation in spite of all proclamations or persecutions they can enforce. If the operations of the League in the past can be correctly described by intimidation, then I say I intend to practise them and to preach them." Well, the Irish Ministry will in truth be the old Executive of the

**Land League under another name.**

The very parade that is made of the repentance of these men, and the great reliance that is placed on it amounts to a confession that opinions such as they formerly gave expression to unfit men for government while they entertain them. But even should their repentance be sincere, and there be no chance of backsliding, we doubt their power to protect us if they had the will. They have preached a gospel which has debauched the peasant mind. They have raised expectation they dare not thwart, they have opened the floodgates of corruption, "the which to shut excels their power," and the perilous stuff which weighs upon the heart of Ireland, of which Mr. Redmond asks that her bosom must be cleansed, is made up of the principles and cravings which he and those who act with him have by their own teachings planted there. But this is not all—commerce, capital, enterprise, industry, every interest and every class other than the one dominant class, the small farmers, will in both houses be either not represented at all or represented only to such an extent as will leave them powerless to protect themselves from injustice. We believe that in the first instance, at all events, a burden of taxation will be thrown on those unrepresented interests in relief of the interest which is omnipotent, so oppressive in its character as to lead, perhaps, to their ultimate extinction, certainly to their injury.

It is only human nature that it should be so though it may not be in accordance with that saintly nature with which we are told they are now endowed. We doubt, however, whether Mr. Gladstone, whatever else he may accomplish, can successfully

**Canonize at a stroke**

the Land Leaguers of Ireland. We believe, too, that our

civil and religious liberties will be endangered, because the peasantry, the future rulers of Ireland, are guided and influenced by a priesthood who claims the right to dictate to their flocks the course of action to be followed in nearly all political questions, because into nearly all of such questions questions of faith and morals enter, and also claim the right to exact obedience to their orders, under the terrors of their religion—a clergy, too, which in the main approve of the principles and encouraged the action of the Land and National Leagues and the Plan of Campaign—a clergy, too, which, if the Parnellites speak truly, have resorted, and resorted successfully, to the practices disclosed in the trial of the Meath Election Petition in nearly 71 constituencies cut of 80. Surely, liberty of thought and freedom of conscience must perish under Ecclesiastical domination such as this.

### The Safeguards.

No reliance can be placed on the safeguards provided by this Bill. We believe that as the Nationalist Members have already found English Ministers who were ready, with an apostasy as shameful as it was sudden, to turn their back on the profession of their lives and promote the policy which they before condemned in order to gain office by Nationalist votes, so they will find others ready for the same price to remove those restrictions and limitations. But, whether removed or not, a wide field of legislation is left to the Nationalist Legislature. They can, amongst other things, impose direct taxes and alter the laws in reference to contracts and to crime, while above all, and most important of all, the whole Civil and Criminal administration of the country will be in their hands, to mould and direct as they will.

It is through the Executive that Government comes home to the citizen and touches him in his daily life, and it is only by its prompt, just, and righteous action his rights can be enforced and his privileges protected. If once the Bill pass we look upon the possible interference of the Imperial Parliament either by Legislative or Executive action in the manner provided in hostility to the native Legislature and Government and in the face of the opposition of the Nationalist Members in the Imperial Parliament, in order to protect us from injustice or oppression, as the wildest dream

These are some of the grounds on which we oppose the Home Rule policy, and this Bill as its last embodiment We trust they will commend themselves to you. We are convinced that the materials do not at present exist in Ireland to enable you to build up a just, stable, liberal or free

autonomy on a popular basis. It must mean, as all Irish Parliaments have meant, Government by

**One class and one creed**

alone. We are convinced that this attempt to establish it would, if carried out, impoverish Ireland and make her a pauper and beggar amongst the nations of the earth, clothed in the rags and tatters of her former civilization, thrust backward in the path of progress she has for forty-three years been so steadily treading. Its main objects however will be gained, when the tenants will have got the rents and the agitators places. We do not know of any Englishmen or Scotchmen who have resided in Ireland or who have property in Ireland who do not share our views, but we find many who have neither residence nor property there ready to try upon us the experiment of autonomy which is much as if one proposed to test a man's honesty by entrusting him with one's neighbour's purse.

These are our deep and earnest convictions. We only wish we could have it shown that our apprehensions are groundless; that they are wrong. No greater blessing could possibly be bestowed upon us. It would bring back joy to thousands of terror-stricken homes where suspense and sorrow wring the hearts of men, and where the hopes of fathers that they could have been able to gather treasures for and have transmitted the rights and privileges of freemen to the little ones who have sprung from them are still struggling painfully for life. We have craved for proofs of it, but they have not been given us, because they cannot be given, they don't exist. And what is still more, this Bill if it be passed at all will be passed not by the voice of England, nor yet that of Great Britain, whose members we were told would represent us, but without a single proof of its necessity, in opposition to all that is best in Ireland, by the votes of those who are

**To get the loot.**

Nevertheless we know our destiny lies ultimately in the hands of the people of England. We have every confidence in their justice. Their generous instincts have been played upon and misled. Our danger consists in their want of knowledge of the facts and conditions of Irish society and Irish life. We beg of them to study them. If they do we have no doubt they will discover the evils of its disintegrating policy now begun, which would split up the three kingdoms into as it were a group of less developed social and political organisms and lower forms of political life. They will see that as in the case of the higher animals whose strength and energy

and endurance depend upon the firmness with which these several parts are knit and the fact that from one great heart there courses through their various members the warm current of their lives, so the Imperial strength of England, her power, her majesty, vitality and resource depend on the completeness and solidity of her Union with her sister kingdoms—the interchange and community of thought between them. The fathers and the friends of many of us have fought and bled in England's service. We glory in her greatness and her freedom, we rejoice at her success, we wish her God speed in her great mission and we implore of you who represent her people here to-day, in justice to us, in mercy to us, for the sake of your national pride, your national honour, your national safety, the great interests you share with us, the great causes and principles to which you have ever been attached, and the righteousness which exalteth a nation, not to force this detested yoke upon us which no power but yours can put upon our necks.

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# Ireland under Mr. Balfour.

## FIVE YEARS OF UNIONIST GOVERNMENT.

On Tuesday Evening, 23rd June, 1891, Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., was the guest of the Liberal Union Club at the Criterion Restaurant, London. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., presided. After thanking the Club for the great compliment paid him, Mr. Russell said :—

When I received and accepted your invitation for to-night, I had to think of what I should say. It is easy to talk the platitudes of politics. What I asked myself was, whether it would not be possible to say something which would be of use to the Members of this Club in the work they are doing all over the country. Looking at the matter in this light, I resolved to endeavour to do two things: first, to ask what had been the results of our action as a party in 1886 as regards Ireland; and second, to make clear what we had lost and gained by the Unionist Alliance. We are nearing a General Election, when we shall be called upon to make answer on these two points, and I hope that which I am about to say, and the facts and figures I am about to quote, may prove useful beyond the confines of this room.

### IRELAND IN 1885-86.

What then was the position in Ireland when the Unionist party came into power? It is quite true that there was a lull in Irish disorder between June, 1885, and June, 1886. The dates are full of significance. During the first part of that period the Conservative leaders were coquetting with Mr. Parnell, and, during the second, Mr. Gladstone had gone over, bag and baggage, to the man and the party he and his followers had previously denounced. During this period, therefore, Irish disorder was held in check. But with the advent of the Unionist party to power, the dogs of war were let loose once more. Agrarian crime at once began to increase. The plan of campaign was formulated. Juries disregarded their

oaths, and acquitted prisoners whose guilt was clearly established. Boycotting was extended and became an engine of savage and heartless cruelty. Evictions increased. Everything was, in fact, done to make Government impossible. This was the position of affairs shortly after the Government took office.

## IRELAND IN 1891.

Let me give some figures illustrative of how things stood then, and how they stand now. For many months England rang with the story of Irish Evictions. They constituted the staple of Gladstonian oratory all over the country. At bye-elections they were made to do enormous service. Now we never hear of them. Why is this? Here are the figures.

## EVICTIONS.

| Year. | Total of Actual Evictions. |
|---|---|
| 1886 ... ... ... ... | 3781 |
| 1887 ... ... ... ... | 3869 |
| 1888 ... ... ... ... | 1609 |
| 1889 ... ... ... ... | 1356 |
| 1890 ... ... ... ... | 1421 |

These figures speak for themselves. They are official, and cannot be questioned, and they prove that, so far from the Unionist policy having encouraged or increased evictions, the passage of the Land Act of 1887, and the Crimes Act of the same year has reduced them by over 60 per cent.

## AGRARIAN CRIME.

Agrarian crime has always been the special disorder of Ireland. We condemn it, and we do right. But we ought to remember (and the thought ought to make us not indeed tolerant of the crime, but anxious to find the remedy) that this evil tree sprang from a root of our own planting. It is a sad history the record of these three hundred years—the abolition of the old Irish land system under which tribal rights were acknowledged; the planting of Irish landlordism under the English system of tenure; the strife, the bloodshed, the misery which followed, and the wild revenge of secret societies, by means of which the peasantry sought to right their wrongs. It is a ghastly record—only lit up by the awakening of England in recent years to a sense of her duty and her obligations. But with all this I am only incidentally concerned to-night. The real question before us is, how has Ireland fared in this respect since 1886? I again quote the official figures.

| Year. | Agrarian Crimes exclusive of threatening letters. | Threatening letters. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1886 | 632 | 424 | 1056 |
| 1887 | 591 | 292 | 883 |
| 1888 | 411 | 249 | 660 |
| 1889 | 341 | 194 | 535 |
| 1890 | 320 | 199 | 519 |

Here, again, there is absolutely no room for doubt. A solid reduction of 50 per cent. in this class of crime is something worth boasting about; and the decrease still goes on, the quarter ending 31st March of the present year showing a downward tendency, with only one single offence against the person.

## BOYCOTTING.

This offence, in many respects the most heartless and cruel product of the Irish and Gladstonian conspiracy, assumed alarming proportions in 1886. Mr. Gladstone understood what it was, and denounced it in 1882. He invented the name of "Exclusive dealing" for it in 1887. But how much Ireland suffered, and how many people were hopelessly ruined by it, may be gathered from the official records:—

| Date. | Persons wholly boycotted. | Partially boycotted. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 30th June, 1887 | 866 | 4035 | 4901 |
| 31st Dec., 1887 | 287 | 2182 | 2469 |
| ,, 1888 | 56 | 656 | 712 |
| ,, 1889 | 2 | 150 | 152 |
| ,, 1890 | — | 472 | 472 |
| 31st May, 1891 | — | 403 | 403 |

It will be seen by these figures that this evil was almost extinct in 1889, and that it revived in 1890. This was due entirely to the Tipperary struggle, now happily being brought to a close. And the significance of these returns will be seen when I mention the fact that out of the 403 persons partially boycotted at the present moment 312 live in the area still left under the full effect of the Crimes Act. In other words they are in County Clare, or on the Clanricarde, Smith-Barry, and Olphert estates. Outside of this area there are only 91 persons partially boycotted in the whole of Ireland. It is almost impossible for those who have not seen the working of this system of torture to realise what these figures mean.

## THE PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

The Plan of Campaign has for several years been the great weapon of the Parnellite and Gladstonian alliance. I am aware that now, when it is dead or dying, politicians of the type of Mr. Samuel Smith and Mr. Rathbone are making haste to declare that they never approved of it. But whilst Mr. O'Brien was shrieking its praises and defending its palpable dishonesty below the gangway, these gentlemen, with a great load of Welsh Nonconformity weighing down their consciences, were conveniently silent. What are the facts to-day regarding the Plan? Mr. O'Brien maintains that it has everywhere triumphed. Has it triumphed at Tipperary? There, on a great scale, involving probably an expenditure of £50,000, this scheme of dishonesty and insanity had a fair field. It was blessed by an archbishop, who, now that the whole edifice has come tumbling about his ears, mournfully tells his people that "Home Rule is dead," and that he at all events "will not live to see it." It was backed by a system of terrorism almost infernal in its completeness. It has absolutely failed. Mr. Smith-Barry has not been ruined. Tipperary has nearly been destroyed. Has it succeeded at Luggacurren, at Coolgreany, at Gweedore, at Dunleer, or at New Ross? The fact is the Plan of Campaign is on its last legs. It is not quite dead. But it is dying. And those "Children of the Nation," who, Mr. O'Brien was wont to assure us, would be taken care of by the Irish race so long as they had a shilling to spend or a crust to spare, are now being handed over to that broad-shouldered but on the whole kindly gentleman, the British tax-payer. A few weeks, or at most months, will probably see the last of this wild and insane policy.

## THE CRIMES ACT.

Gentlemen, the Crimes Act constitutes the head and front of our offending. Coercion was not only doomed to failure, it was to sound our death knell as a party. Has it failed? So far from having failed, practically the whole of Ireland has been relieved from the provisions of that Second Section around which such fierce battles were fought in the House of Commons. But there are things so suggestive about the later history of this measure that I cannot refrain from mentioning them. I have two sets of figures—the first of which brings the working of the Act down to the end of 1890—the other to the end of April, 1891. Here is the first:—

| Period. Prosecutions under Act to | Total. | Discharged. | Convicted |
|---|---|---|---|
| 31st December, 1887 | 628 | 213 | 415 |
| ,, ,, 1888 | 1,475 | 393 | 1,082 |
| ,, ,, 1889 | 839 | 242 | 597 |
| ,, ,, 1890 | 530 | 130 | 391 |

These figures are highly satisfactory. But they do not possess the same interest as the second set to which I have referred. I secured them in reply to a question in the House from the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The figures deal with the first four months of 1890 and 1891.

ULSTER.

First Period.

| Courts Held. | Cases Tried. | Persons Tried. |
|---|---|---|
| 9 | 9 | 42 |

Second Period.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4 | 4 | 12 |

LEINSTER.

First Period.

| Courts Held. | Cases Tried. | Persons Tried. |
|---|---|---|
| 6 | 6 | 27 |

Second Period.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5 | 5 | 31 |

MUNSTER.

First Period.

| Courts Held. | Cases Tried. | Persons Tried. |
|---|---|---|
| 33 | 33 | 136 |

Second Period.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 15 | 16 | 48 |

CONNAUGHT.

| Courts Held. | Cases Tried. | Persons Tried. |
|---|---|---|

First Period.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 23 | 24 | 48 |

Second Period.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7 | 8 | 10 |

In the first period, the four months of 1890, there were 71 Crimes Courts held. In the second period there were 31. In the first period there were 72 cases tried. In the second there were 33. In the first period, the persons involved numbered 238. In the second, there were only 101.

These are most suggestive figures. What caused the drop of 65 per cent.? The answer is plain. This class of crime requires incitement. It requires organization. It requires the incitement of vitriolic speech. It requires the organization of the paid organizer. No Irish peasant goes moonlighting out of sheer gaiety of heart. No. It requires organization, and oftentimes coercion. During the past six months, the vitriolic speech has been entirely absent from Ireland—or, if it has been heard at all, the patriots were fiercely denouncing each other to the neglect of what they call the common enemy. And as for the paid organizer—he, too, has felt the pinch. His weekly allowance has been stopped to the immense advantage of the country. This, and this alone, explains the collapse of this form of crime—a collapse which has enabled the Government not indeed to dispense with the Crimes Act sword, but to return it to its sheath.

## THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

And, finally on this head, the House of Commons attests the reality of the pacification of Ireland. We are nearing the close of one of the most memorable Sessions that any Parliament ever witnessed. It was heralded by a great flourish of Opposition trumpets. It has been a triumphant success. Ireland has secured a great measure, under which it will at least be possible for 100,000 tenants to become owners in fee of their holdings, and on terms such as no State in the world ever dreamed of giving. She has also secured, and will shortly be in the full enjoyment of, an extension of her railway system, such as few Irishmen ever contemplated. A period of want in the congested area has been successfully met. Education is to be freed and made compulsory, and a great measure of temperance reform has received the approval and support of the Government. But, whilst all this has been done, or is in process of being done, the change in the House of Commons is very great. Mr. O'Brien no longer shrieks below the gangway. Mr. Dillon's pensive face is not to be seen. Mr. Parnell flits in and out, but does not stay. Even Mr. Healy prefers his briefs in Dublin to his duties at Westminster, and Mr. Sexton is all that is left of the famous band. What things have come to may be realized when I say that an Irish member in my hearing lately gave utterance to an opinion that "the Chief Secretary was not utterly depraved." Things are sadly out of joint when an Irish debate empties the House—when members go about declaring that there is nothing to equal it in dulness, save, perhaps, a Scotch discussion on a Roads and Bridges Bill

## COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY.

But, Sir, we have not only secured a peaceful, we are rapidly approaching a prosperous Ireland. In 1886 there were 18,640,000 passengers travelled on Irish railways. In 1889-90 the number had risen to 20,293,000. In 1886 the goods traffic amounted to £1,270,000. In 1889-90 it had risen to £1,369,000. The Irish Banks tell the same story. The cash balances standing in these Banks at the close of 1886 amounted to £30,172,000. At the end of 1890 they stood at £33,325,000, whilst the balances at the end of both years in the Trustee and Post Office Savings Bank stood at £4,710,000 and £5,696,000 respectively. It does not really matter into what path the enquirer strikes, the result is the same. The population is diminishing. This is the stock cry of the Irish patriot everywhere. It is true, and the pity is that the exodus is not always from the congested area. But even here the balance is on the right side. During the five years ending 1885, 398,658 persons left Ireland for other countries. For the same period, 1886-90, the number was 335,817, a reduction of 16 per cent.

## PAUPERISM.

If we turn to pauperism the figures are also satisfactory. The average number of paupers in Irish workhouses for the five years ending December, 1885, was 51,558. For the same period ending 31st December, 1890, the number was 46,110—a reduction of 11 per cent., whilst ordinary as distinct from agrarian crime has sunk to a lower figure than it has stood at for twenty years.

## FIVE YEARS OF UNIONIST GOVERNMENT.

I hold, therefore, that in the face of the country we can give not only a good, but a triumphant account of our work in Ireland. It is almost an unbroken record of success. Others may claim the credit. Those who laboured to make Government impossible, who launched the Plan of Campaign, who have ruined whole districts and thousands of people, may say that these results are due to their action, that we have had no policy, save that of coercion. This will hardly deceive the ordinary British elector. We have, undoubtedly, coerced people. We have coerced the evil-doer. We have coerced the coercionist, and by our action real freedom has been restored to the country. And, whilst doing this, we have redressed wrongs, remedied grievances, and gone a long way towards solving the Irish Land Question, the real root of all the trouble in that country. Whether, therefore, we win or lose at the General Election, I am certain that the historian will do us justice, and that these five years of Unionist Government of Ireland will stand out as the most successful of modern times. (Cheers.)

# FURTHER FACTS.

It is universally admitted that one of the surest indications of the prosperity of a country is the state of its commercial credit; and the improvement in the condition of Ireland during the last five years cannot be better tested than by examining the value of the shares in her leading commercial securities. We give below a table showing the market value of the shares in the leading Irish banks, railways, and tramways at three different periods:—First, in January, 1886, before the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill; secondly, in May, 1886, while that Bill was before Parliament, and its fate was uncertain; and thirdly, at the present time, when a Unionist Government has been nearly five years in office, and the fears which were excited by the possibility of the establishment of an Irish Parliament have died away. We commend these figures, which are taken from the Stock Exchange quotations, to the attention of business men, who can appreciate their full significance:—

| | 1886 January | 1886 May | 1891 Dec. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bank of Ireland Stock ... ... ... ... ... | 271 | 260 | 326 |
| Ulster Bank Shares (£2 10s. paid) ... ... ... | 10⅝ | 9⅛ | 10 15/16 |
| City of Dublin Steamship Company ... ... ... | 113½ | 110 | 121 |
| Belfast and Northern Counties Railway, Ordinary ... | 69¾ | 68 | 122½ |
| Belfast and Northern Counties Railway, Preference ... | 98¾ | 93½ | 116 |
| Belfast and Northern Counties Railway, Debentures ... | 105 | 101½ | 120 |
| Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford Railway, Ordinary ... | 54½ | 42½ | 43 |
| Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford Railway, Preference ... | 100 | 99 | 126 |
| Great Northern of Ireland Railway, Ordinary ... ... | 103¾ | 95 | 131⅝ |
| Great Northern of Ireland Railway, Preference ... | 104¼ | 101½ | 131 |
| Great Northern of Ireland Railway, Debentures ... | 107¼ | 105 | 123 |
| Great Southern and Western Railway, Ordinary ... | 102⅛ | 95 | 117¾ |
| Midland Great Western Railway, Ordinary ... ... | 68 | 61¼ | 105⅞ |
| Midland Great Western Railway, Preference ... ... | 100 | 94 | 116 |
| Midland Great Western Railway, Debentures ... ... | 103 | 100¼ | 122⅜ |
| Belfast Street Tramways ... ... ... ... ... | 11 1/16 | 10⅛ | 15¾ |
| Dublin United Tramways... ... ... ... ... | 10⅜ | 10 1/16 | 10 5/16 |

# Some Irish Facts for Nonconformists.

AN "unconvinced" English Nonconformist minister, writing in the *Daily News* of June 9th, 1892, states he duly received his copy of the Irish Nonconformist Ministers' appeal to their English brethren on the Home Rule Question. "The signatories lament," says "Unconvinced," "that those not resident in Ireland do not realise their position, but they do not help us much towards doing so by giving us facts. They tell us they know—but they do not enable us to know. One would like more proof than the words themselves may carry—and there is no other given—when it is said 'being at a distance you possibly do not appreciate the power 'which the Roman Catholic Bishops and Priests have over the 'great bulk of Irish Roman Catholics, and the determination 'which they display to compel obedience to their directions in 'temporal as well as in spiritual matters.'" Here are a few sworn facts for "Unconvinced" and his English and Scotch fellow-Nonconformists:—

## A PRIEST AND HIS PEOPLE.

An inquiry, which was opened on 31st May, 1892, in the Grand Jury Room, Court House, Castlebar, concluded on 2nd June, before Mr. R. C. Lynch, Local Government Inspector, relative to the late election of Poor Law Guardians for the electoral division of Castlebar. There were two vacancies and three candidates—namely, Mr. Alexander C. Larminie, J.P., agent to Lord Lucan; Mr. Michael Quinn (Parnellite), and Mr. Thomas M'Cormack (M'Carthyite). The voting was as follows:—Larminie, 304; Quinn, 194; M'Cormack, 189. Messrs. Larminie and Quinn were declared elected. Thereupon Mr. M'Cormack, the defeated candidate, questioned the election, alleging that votes had been

illegally received or rejected by Mr. Nixon, the returning officer. Mr. Quinn, on the other hand, alleged that, owing to clerical intimidation, many voters had been prevented from recording their votes in his favour, and had been compelled to vote for the M'Carthyite candidate.

Mr. M. Jordan, solicitor, appeared for Mr. M'Cormack; Mr. Manion, solicitor, for Mr. Quinn; and Mr. F. J. M'Cormack, solicitor, for the Rev. Patrick O'Flaherty, C.C., and Rev. Mr. O'Malley, C.C.

Mr. Larminie was also present, but as there were no allegations affecting him he was not professionally represented.

A considerable number of witnesses were examined on behalf of Mr. M'Cormack and Mr. Quinn.

Thomas M'Hale deposed that he was present at a station held in the house of a voter named Flannery shortly before the elections, and heard the Rev. Father O'Flaherty address the people. **He said, "The light of Heaven might never shine on them, and they might never prosper on this earth, if they voted for Quinn."** Father Heavy and Father O'Malley were also present. There was a collection of dues at the station, and witness saw Father O'Flaherty return money to persons because they would not promise to vote for M'Cormack. A man named Kelly said he was going to vote for Quinn, and **Father O'Flaherty then took the shilling Kelly had given and threw it back to him.**

Michael O'Connor deposed that he also heard Father O'Flaherty say, **"The sun of prosperity would never shine on anyone who voted for Quinn."** When witness went up to the table with his shilling the priest asked him who he was going to vote for. Witness said for Quinn, and then the priest said, **"Take back your money if you are going to vote for Quinn."** Witness voted for M'Cormack, but he had intended to vote for Quinn if the priest had not interfered with him; he did not like to go against the priest.

Witness could write, but **he did not fill his voting paper. He sent it to the presbytery to be filled by the priest.**

Peter Acton deposed that he saw the money returned by Father O'Flaherty. He asked every one personally as they came up with their money who they would vote for, and witness supposed it was because they would not vote for M'Cormack that their money was handed back. Witness had promised to vote for Quinn because he came first, and he was likely to keep his promise, but the priest asked him for his vote, and it was not convenient for him to refuse. **He voted for M'Cormack, and he would not have voted for him if the priest had left him alone.**

Thomas Kilcourse deposed that he heard **Father O'Flaherty say "The sun of prosperity might never shine on anyone who voted for Quinn."** He also deposed as to the returning of the money to those who said they would not vote for M'Cormack. A man named Burke first said he would not vote for M'Cormack, but **when his money was given back he said he would, and then his money was taken.** Two other men declined to make any promise, and took their money away with them. Witness afterwards met Father O'Flaherty in the street. The priest asked witness was his father going to vote for him. Witness said he did not know. Then the priest appeared to be getting angry, and witness walked away, being **afraid the priest was going to strike him with a stick.** Father O'Flaherty was after celebrating Mass, and was **partly in his vestments when he addressed the people.**

James Cannon deposed that when his money was handed back he made a promise to vote for M'Cormack, but he did not mean to keep it. He had the vote of his own free will, and he could do what he liked with it. He afterwards went to Mr. Quinn with the paper, and got him to fill it up for himself.

## BOGUS ILLITERATES.

Several voters who could write admitted that they **had got the priests to fill up and mark their voting papers as if they were illiterates,** while a number of voting papers on both sides were not forthcoming at all. It was also deposed that at the station **Father O'Flaherty called Mr. Quinn a walking devil.**

Anne Moran deposed that **Father O'Flaherty,** accompanied by Mr. M'Cormack, came to her house during her husband's absence and **asked to see the voting paper** which her husband had filled up for Mr. Quinn and Mr. Larminie. She showed it after considerable reluctance. **She turned her back for a moment, and the paper was never seen afterwards.**

Neither Father O'Flaherty nor his solicitor attended on the second day of the inquiry. It was stated that Father O'Flaherty was attending the funeral of another priest, and the inquiry was therefore postponed until to-day, for the purpose of enabling the rev. gentleman to complete a deposition he had begun on the first day; but at the sitting of the court to-day Mr. Lynch read a letter from Father O'Flaherty.

Mr. Quinn said he was prepared to prove on oath that Father O'Flaherty was not attending any funeral on the previous day (as stated in his letter), nor did he leave town beyond a mile or two.

Mr. Lynch said it would be quite impossible and irregular to do what Father O'Flaherty suggested. He had thought it right, in consequence of the very serious charges made against the rev. gentleman, to give him an opportunity of replying to them.

Mr. Quinn said it was clear the rev. gentleman was trifling with the court.

Mr. Lynch said he would forward Father O'Flaherty's letter to the Local Government Board.

Mr. Quinn thanked Mr. Lynch for the impartial manner in which he had conducted the inquiry.

The proceedings then closed.—*Irish Times*, 3rd June, 1892.

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# THE VOICE OF THE BAPTISTS

To the *Irish Baptists' Magazine* for April, 1893, the Rev. W. LORIMER (retired pastor) writes as follows :—

"Owing to extreme weakness of body, and the pressing infirmities of my eighty-three years, I am unable to write much or fully express my opinion on the evil of Home Rule as I should like to do. Decidedly Home Rule would ruin Ireland, both temporarily and spiritually. I can only join with our dear brethren in asking our Heavenly Father to deliver us from the cruelty of *Home Rule* and its evil consequences."

Another retired pastor, the Rev. S. J. BANKS, writes :—

"Does Ireland need such a change in the governing power over the people of this country? The people and circumstances of Ireland answer *No!* emphatically No!! And time will prove the answer to be wise. I feel in my heart that I hold the same regard towards my Roman Catholic brethren in the great family of mankind (without one spark of sympathy for their creed) that constrains me on their behalf, as well as that of my loved Protestant brethren, to say from my heart and before God, '*No Home Rule.*' And may the Lord who reigneth prevent it."

Pastor C. S. DONALD, of Regent Street Church, Belfast, writes :—

"It has been my rule hitherto to abstain from all reference to political matters in connection with Christian work, believing such to be foreign to the main purpose of the ministry. Inasmuch, however, as the issues involved in the present Home Rule measure seriously threaten the religious life and liberties of this land, I feel that to be silent now would simply mean disloyalty to Jesus Christ.

"So far as the Church over which I have the honour to preside is concerned, I feel safe in saying that we unanimously deplore the prospect of such a measure passing into law. It is our united hope and prayer that God in His mercy will graciously intervene to prevent this."

Pastor J. H. BOYD, of Lurgan, writes :—

"The unanimous voice of the Church and adherents is, '*We will not have Home Rule.*'"

Pastor A. JARDINE, of Fivemile Hill, County Armagh, writes :—

"We are unanimous and whole-hearted in our opposition to the Home Rule Bill. We look upon it as a most dangerous thing. I do not know a Protestant Home Ruler in all this part. Our church and congregation are opposed to it to a man, and we pray it may never be put into law."

Pastor J. HODGE, of Ballykeel, County Down, writes :—

"The church here is unanimous against Home Rule."

Pastor G. MARSHALL, of Banbridge, County Down, writes :—

"Our church is unanimous against Home Rule."

Pastor G. ROCK, of Derryneil, County Down, writes :—

"Our church is unanimously opposed to the Gladstone Government Bill now before the House of Commons, as they believe it would neither advance the temporal nor spiritual welfare of the country. They are convinced that it would upset the evangelistic work that is being carried on throughout Ireland by the Baptist body, as well as all other denominations. I think the people of God ought to take the Bill before the Lord, as Hezekiah took the letter, and keep it there, for He has said, 'Prove Me.'"

Pastor J. W. PEARCE, of Lisnagleer, County Tyrone, thus writes :—

"It is the *perfectly unanimous* opinion of the members of the Baptist *Church* and *congregation* at Lisnagleer, County Tyrone, that the Government of Ireland Bill of Mr. Gladstone, if passed and carried out, would be productive of discord, ruinous to commerce, a source of bitter strife and bloodshed, and a curse to our country, subjecting Protestants everywhere to insult and, wherever possible, to intolerance and boycotting.

"I have been 5 or 6 years in Ireland, and only know two Protestants who are Home Rulers. Many Roman Catholics who have anything to lose are as strongly opposed to it as we are. *I was once a Gladstonian.*"

Pastor M. SIMPSON, of Dungannon, County Tyrone, thus summarizes the situation :—

"The churches of Knockconny and Mullycar hold firmly as I do the opinion that Home Rule is—

"1. Antagonistic to civil and religious liberty.

"2. Baneful to commercial prosperity of this country.

"3. A change of legislation, not progressive but retrogressive, dragging us back to the sad and servile time of James II., which, if insanely effected, can only be remedied by another revolution.

"4. Destruction of equitable laws, social peace and order.

"5. Elevation to power of our merciless and implacable enemies, whose creed and conduct unfit them to be our supreme rulers.

"6. Fair road to Papal ascendency, and the appalling mutilation of the Empire.

"7. Grievous injustice to the loyal and peaceful minority of Ireland."

Pastor F. E. BURY, of Phibsborough Church, Dublin, writes :—

"We have not a single advocate of the Bill amongst our member

Pastor F. G. ELAND, of Athlone, writes :—

"The members and adherents of Athlone and Moate Baptist Church, situate in the heart of the country, are unanimous in their opinion that not only would Mr. Gladstone's Government of Ireland Bill prove disastrous to the truest interests of Ireland, but above all, humanly speaking, prejudicial to the advancement of the Gospel in this priest-ridden land of superstition."

In the absence of a pastor at Brannoxtown, County Kildare, Mr. JOHN LA TOUCHE, J.P., D.L., known for many years as an advanced Liberal, a personal friend of Lord John Russell and Mr. Bright, and, until recently, an ardent supporter of Mr. Gladstone, states that—

"Every member of the Baptist congregation at Brannoxtown is opposed to the Government of Ireland Bill."

Pastor P. A. HUDGELL, Waterford, says :—

"My people and myself, believing that, in the event of the Home Rule Bill becoming law, it would be a dire and unmixed calamity to Irish Protestants, are most strenuously opposed to it, and are united in the bonds of earnest prayer and active co-operation (the latter as far as feasible) to the end that our Heavenly Sovereign may graciously see fit to avert such a disaster coming upon us.

To the *Baptist* of 31st March, 1893, Pastor R. H. CARSON, of Tubbermore, County Derry, writes :—

"In order that our brethren in England may have no doubt about our views in regard to the Government of Ireland Bill, we beg to state, on behalf of the Baptist Church and congregation here, that, with one single exception, the whole people look with the most intense alarm and abhorrence upon the Government of Ireland Bill now before Parliament, believing, as they firmly do, that the passing of such a measure would in numberless ways produce untold misery, bring disaster and ruin upon our country, and be the death-blow to all civil and religious liberty. They believe also that it would inflict a deadly wound upon the integrity and welfare of the Empire.

"Privately, and in their meetings, their most earnest prayer is that God in His mercy will open the eyes of their brethren and co-religionists in England, Scotland, and Wales to the iniquity of this Bill, and avert such a dire calamity.

"We desire to add that, until Mr. Gladstone associated with the enemies of our country and of the Empire, we were all, *without an exception*, amongst his most devoted adherents, and many of us supported him at great risk and loss."

Pastor FENTON E. BURY, of Phibsboro', Dublin, writes :—

"We are unanimously of opinion that if passed into law it would wreck the best interests of Ireland; and owing to the strong religious feeling that prevails in the country, we are certain that a

separate Legislature in the hands of the present Irish majority would mean not merely very serious interference with religious liberty, but widespread intolerance, and, therefore, as a Church we appeal to our friends in England to oppose in every way the passage of this Bill."

Pastor C. S. DONALD, of Regent Street, Belfast, writes :—

"Ninety-nine per cent. of our Church are most strongly opposed to Mr. Gladstone's Government of Ireland Bill, or any Bill establishing a separate Parliament in Dublin."

Pastor M. SIMPSON, of Mullingar, writes :—

"The opinion of every member of the Baptist churches at Knockconny and Mullingar is that Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, if passed, would be a sad calamity, alike destructive to the commercial and religious prosperity of Ireland; would, in short, place us under the iron heel of political slavery."

Pastor T. STOREY, of Letterkenny, writes :—

"The Baptist Church at Letterkenny solemnly deplores the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's 'Government of Ireland Bill,' the dark shadow of which is already paralysing our industries, trade and commerce. Should it unfortunately become law (which God forbid!) it would not only be financial ruin, but would imperil our civil and religious liberty, and place the government of the country in the hands of the Romish hierarchy, as the vast majority of the Irish Parliament would be their nominees."

Many other letters to the same effect are printed with the above. The Editor of the *Baptist*, it may be well to state, had invited his co-religionists to send him their views on either side of the Home Rule controversy, promising to select as impartially as possible for publication a number of letters on both sides. Among the letters from Irish Baptists not one is in favour of the measure: while on the other hand the Editor remarks that—

"The protests to hand against it, especially from Ireland, are so numerous as to render the publication of more than we now print out of the question for want of space."

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# Mr. Froude on the Home Rule Bill.

MR. J. A. FROUDE has sent the following letter to a correspondent who asked his opinion upon the Home Rule Bill, and the contentions of Mr. Gladstone that Ireland prospered under Grattan's Parliament, and that there was an analogy between the case of Canada and that of Ireland :—

"CHERWELL EDGE,

OXFORD, *April 25th*, 1893.

"DEAR SIR,—I will answer your questions very briefly :—

"1. Ireland improved commercially under Grattan's Constitution, but merely in consequence of the removal of the restrictions on Irish trade. These restrictions were removed before that Constitution was conceded. The effect of that Constitution was to stimulate political agitation and the conflict of the two races; and the increasing trade would, probably, have been far greater than it was if the country had been left in peace.

"2. Constitutions were granted to Canada and the other great colonies with a distinct view towards their separation from the mother country. The Governor-General recommended the Canadians to prepare for separation at an early period, and they were given to understand that if they preferred independence the mother country would not interfere. Ireland is geographically and politically attached to this country, and cannot be allowed to leave us if she wishes. In passing over the Executive power to an Irish Parliament we only increase the difficulty of retaining Ireland. We

shall alienate the loyal part of the population, who will regard themselves as betrayed. ***The necessity of reconquest will remain, but the evils of it and the bloodshed to be occasioned by it will be infinitely enhanced.***

"3. Such respect for law and order as exists in Ireland is entirely due to English authority. Remove it, and ***the old anarchy will and must return.*** The Union has enabled Ireland to prosper better than it ever did before. If it has prospered no better, it is because we have made Ireland the battle-ground of our own political factions. Mr. Gladstone's proposal of Home Rule is only the latest and worst instance of this.

"4. Separation will not result from the passing of Mr. Gladstone's measure, because England cannot and will not allow an independent or hostile power to establish itself so close to us. ***But if that measure is passed there will be a dangerous and desperate war*** in which other countries may take part who would gladly see our power broken.

"These are my opinions, of which you may make any use you please.

"Your faithful servant,

"J. A. FROUDE."

# LORD SELBORNE

ON THE

# EVICTED TENANTS' COMMISSION.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said the Mathew Commission appeared to him as perfectly without precedent and in the highest degree unconstitutional, and so far as he was aware ***nothing equally unconstitutional had been done by any Government since the reign of James II.*** (Opposition cheers.) This Commission was an invasion of private rights which was highly unconstitutional. He commented upon the statements made before the Commission, and denied that in any sense they amounted to evidence. Every one of these statements was a subject of cross-examination, but no cross-examination was permitted. He could not conceive why they should have sent an English judge to conduct a political inquiry in Ireland. No one could speak more highly than himself of the manner in which Mr. Justice Mathew performed his duties as an English judge, but he appeared to have imported as little judicial flavour into the proceedings of the Commission as he was expected to import political bias into the discharge of his duties as a judge in England. This Commission had done much to upset arrangements which had already been come to, to unsettle the minds of the people upon matters about which there was a prospect of settlement, and it had set ***one of the worst precedents this country had ever known.*** (Opposition cheers.)—House of Lords, April 28th, 1893.

*The Earl of Selborne was Lord High Chancellor of England during two of Mr. Gladstone's Administrations, 1872-4 and 1880-85.*

# Mr. Gladstone's Ex-Lord Chancellor

ON THE

# HOME RULE BILL.

LORD SELBORNE (formerly Mr. Roundell Palmer, a representative of an advanced type of Liberalism) has stated his views on the Irish Government Bill as follows:—

1. I think that the Bill now before Parliament for the Government of Ireland, if it should become law, will go far to destroy the Parliamentary Constitution of England and Scotland, to create an Irish ascendency here as well as in Ireland, and to endanger in many possible contingencies the safety of the British Empire; and to Ireland itself I think it likely to prove disastrous instead of bringing peace.

2. I differ entirely from the view that the policy of the Union has failed, or that anything can make it fail, except the absence of firm and just government in Ireland.

3. I do not think that there are any provisions in the Bill which, when an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive at its command have been established, can maintain for practical purposes the principle of Imperial supremacy in Ireland.

4. Instead of closing on just terms a great difficulty, I think the measure would introduce new difficulties, far greater than any which have existed at any time since the Union.

5. I do not enter into the financial questions, not because they are not important, but because I regard them in this matter as of secondary importance, and others are more competent to form a judgment of them than I am.

6. I think that the presence of the Irish Members at Westminster, with an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive in Dublin, would practically enable Ireland to control our Government on a great many critical questions, as well as that of Ireland, even if the Irish Members were not allowed (as it seems quite possible that the present majority in the House of Commons would allow them) to overrule the opinions of the majority of the representatives of Great Britain upon English and Scotch questions.

The conclusion which the noble lord deduces from all this is thus expressed—***"A more flagrant wrong or a greater public mischief I cannot conceive."***—*Irish Times*, May 3rd, 1893.

# THE MARQUESS OF LORNE ON HOME RULE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *YORKSHIRE POST.*

SIR,—"Well, you know, we consider you quite mad," said a noted foreign Liberal to me. "Why?" "Because by the Home Rule Bill you are placing power in the hands of men who have over and over again declared themselves your enemies, and are looked upon with favour by the enemies of England abroad. ***We on the Continent strive for Union.*** You are backing those in Ireland who say they will have no union except on their own terms. Those terms provide that in any difficulty England can be coerced into surrendering her predominance. ***Are you blind?*** For what else is national separation demanded, except to fly in the face of English Liberalism? Mr. Gladstone, when he was a Liberal, saw this clearly. Can that which he denounced as evil be made good because a local majority demands what he denounced?" This gentleman saw that Liberal views have been abandoned for supposed party necessity. In some countries it may be said that principles have been sacrificed to make union. In the United Kingdom only can it be said that there is danger that both principles and union are forsaken by those who uphold Irish Nationalism against union.

And what will be the reward of this political cowardice? ***Labour will have to pay for it.*** Each increase in taxation in future may be called a new Irish tax levied on the United Kingdom. The Government proposal is not accepted in many important points by the Nationalists. Their Parliament will agitate as an Irish House of Commons against the vetoes—the "denials of justice" of the British House of Commons. ***Each demand will be made in the name of the Irish nation as against the British.*** How can such an arrangement work for peace? Ireland will be poorer, and will imagine each restraint to be the reason of her poverty. She has not a people accustomed to help themselves by the art of government known and proved in England. The result must necessarily be that the blame for poverty is put on England's back. No Nationalist dreams of accounting for any Irish evil by any Irish backwardness. This frame of mind has been maliciously fostered of late by their false English friends, who have told them that the British Parliament has always been wrong. Is it unnatural that untaught and ignorant men should believe this when they are told it again and again by a man who is perpetually called the greatest statesman of the age? If you attribute any misfortune to Irish mistakes you are immediately told that you are insulting the Irish nation. Disappointed when they find that this does not bring

success, the Nationalists will demand things that England cannot yield, unless she loses the little common sense the Separatists will allow her to retain. ***Then will come real enmity between the people,*** who are very good friends at present, in spite of agitators' assertions and the politics of men who in England are quite willing to sacrifice Ireland provided they can obtain some favourite fad at home.

Enmity means more taxation in England, Ireland, and Scotland, less work and less wages. It means further competition in the labour market here. ***Instead of keeping the Irish labourer in Ireland, Home Rule will drive him by poverty to England and America. Each manufacturer, each country house owner, each landlord driven out of Ireland means less work there and more competition in the labour market here.*** We get along well enough with our Irish friends in our big towns at present, but do they or we desire to see their numbers doubled? Do they even now truly form part of the labour party of this country? Do they not keep themselves to themselves, refusing to join either the trades unions or to occupy any steady position with those who do not belong to such unions? The labourers in English towns can best answer the question. Do they desire to have more of the element which, whatever its excellence may be, is not English? ***If British labourers are not prepared to vote against Home Rule, they must be willing to have prices ruled at home by their Irish competitors*** in a far heavier degree than now. The Irish priests in our towns are excellent people, but does the English Churchman, does the English Wesleyan, does the English Baptist or the English Nonconformist of other Churches desire that the Irish priests shall rule British wages as well as Irish homes?

Not a man on the Continent doubts that England's foes will in future consider a Nationalist Parliament as a means of playing on England's fears. What does this mean to us? ***It means a greater armed force kept at home,*** and in addition to the direct taxation for these forces, more taxation owing to the uncertainty and weakness in our political position among nations. The Irish question is indeed a labour question, as Mr. Gladstone says, but it is this in the sense of Home Rule meaning Tax Rule. We should have to live in doubt and debate instead of in safety, and for this the British workman will have to pay down "on the nail."—Yours faithfully,

LORNE.

Kensington, April 20.

The Marquess of Lorne was Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada from 1878 to 1883.

# LORD FITZWILLIAM

ON THE

# HOME RULE BILL.

THE extraordinary advance which this country has made since the Union with England in 1800 is the best proof that can be given of the benefits which that Union has conferred upon Ireland. Men who, like myself, can look back sixty years and more, can hardly realize that it is the same country we remember as boys; so great is its improvement in every aspect of life. In this peaceful and prosperous County of Wicklow we wish to maintain for ourselves and our children, and to extend to others, the blessings which we here enjoy; largely because we have turned a deaf ear to the demagogues and agitators who have unhappily succeeded but too well in some parts of Ireland, in inculcating a spirit of cupidity, of ill-will and discord between man and man, in checking industry, in paralyzing trade, and in stifling the mutual confidence between all creeds and classes, by which alone the prosperity of the whole community can be promoted. The present state of County Clare, and the ruins of New Tipperary are some of the practical and visible results of the teachings and efforts of the agitators. Many of the advocates of Home Rule are holding out promises and expectations which cannot possibly be fulfilled, and which can only bring disaster and disappointment to those who believe in them.

Some of the results of the Home Rule Bill, if passed into law, would be :—

1. That all grants and loans from the Imperial Treasury to assist in the development of Ireland and of Irish industries would be withdrawn.

2. Taxation would be largely increased.

3. The want of security for capital would compel large employers of labour to leave the country, and thousands of labourers would, consequently, be thrown out of employment.

Home Rule might gratify the Irish sentiment of a certain number of the community, but we require something more substantial than sentiment on which to exist and to prosper. That there were grave errors and much misgovernment in the past we all admit and deplore, but since the Union there has been a steadily increasing desire on the part of the English people and of successive Governments to atone for and to remedy the errors of past generations; and the United Parliament has given to this country, and especially to agriculturists, far greater privileges than England has ever asked for herself. For many years the spirit in England has been one of true friendship for Ireland, and she has never withheld a helping hand when famine and distress have shown themselves here. The warm-hearted and generous impulses which are characteristic of Irishmen should, therefore, make us willing to forget past errors; and, as an old and tried friend, I counsel all patriotic Irishmen to unite in using every legitimate means in our power to resist the disastrous Home Rule Bill with which our country is threatened, and to maintain the blessings of the Union.—*Irish Times*, May 2nd, 1892.

THE

# Women of the North-West and Home Rule.

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## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

AT

## UNIONIST DEMONSTRATION OF LADIES

HELD IN THE

**GUILDHALL, LONDONDERRY,**

*On WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8th, 1893.*

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# The Women of the North-West and Home Rule.

A demonstration remarkable in its character, unique in its conception, and successful beyond the most sanguine anticipations of its promoters, took place on the 8th of March, 1893, in the Guildhall, Londonderry. The audience consisted of over 2,000 ladies of all classes of society. The great demonstration was presided over by a lady. The speeches were all delivered by ladies. Surely never in the history of the city was such a meeting held. The object was to protest against the Home Rule Bill. The original intention was a modest one. It was assumed that at least as many women as would fill the fairly-spacious Council Chamber would assemble in response to the notice issued by Mrs. Beresford, of Ashbrook, and Mrs. Tillie, of Duncreggan, and chairs were arranged for over 200. The meeting was fixed for one o'clock. But long before that hour striking illustration was given of the intensity of feeling entertained against the Bill by the Loyalist ladies of the North-West. The audience trooped up the staircase in hundreds, and literally took possession, not of the Council Chamber, but of the large Assembly Hall. A building twice the size would not have afforded accommodation to all who sought admission. At five minutes before one Lady Reid and a large number of other ladies were compelled to leave, unable even to get into the *foyer*, and during the hour and three-quarters of the meeting's duration, the dozens who were unable to remain to the close had no sooner left than their places, even when only standing room, were taken by others. Within the hall the spectacle was an unwonted one, abounding in the picturesqueness which brilliancy and variety of colouring always imparts to a great assemblage of ladies, and which is necessarily

absent from mass meetings of males. The platform was ablaze with the newest greens and greys and reds, the effect of which was heightened by contrast with the costumes of black here and there appearing. With the exception of the Mayor, no gentleman ventured on the platform, and even he dared not monopolise a seat, but stood beside the organ. The body of the hall was a sea of hats and bonnets, so closely were the chairs set. The passages at the side were utilised as standing room, and the handful of clergymen and laymen who attended were forced to crowd themselves into little knots at each side beneath the platform. The meeting from first to last, judged by the impression which it conveyed to the ordinary spectator, was a truly magnificent one, suggesting in the sense of responsibility evidenced by the speakers and the almost solemnity with which their words were followed much of the success of the great Ulster Convention. There was no mistaking the spirit of the meeting. The speeches were not only stirring, but thoughtful and critical, and the various points were quickly caught up. One or two references to the heroism of the Derry women in 1688 caused the audience to burst out into a hearty cheer, while Mrs. Alexander's quick wit in ridiculing the title of the Bill for the "better government of Ireland" was quickly seized upon. "Mr. Gladstone, if he could propose a Bill to submerge Ireland, would, no doubt, describe it as 'a measure for the irrigation of the Emerald Isle.'" Mrs. Louis Gilliland's *naive* remark that, while not claiming ability to wield much physical force, women exercised not the less a power in the country, found ready sympathy. Mrs. Ritter's speech, both in matter and manner, evoked the envy of not a few males who heard it, and the quiet eloquence of Mrs. Boyton, Mrs. J. L. Bigger, and the other ladies roused the audience to a pitch of excitement, which at the close of the meeting found expression in the coming forward of dozens of volunteers to get petitions signed, and in the collection of a very substantial sum as the nucleus of the Loyalist Women's Emergency Fund. To even indicate the representative character of the audience would be impossible. Ladies were present who had come nearly fifty miles to attend the meeting, and many factory workers, who intended merely to spend the dinner hour in the hall, were so intent on promoting the success of the demonstration that they remained to the close, and willingly sacrificing their half-day's wages in consequence. At one o'clock Mrs. MacCullagh took the chair.

The Mayoress, who was heartily cheered, said—Mr. Mayor, ladies, and gentlemen, I feel greatly honoured at being asked to take the chair at this important meeting of the Unionist women of the North-West—a meeting which has originated in the desire to aid in some measure, however small, in averting from our beloved country that utter ruin with which she is threatened, and to protest against that measure which we sincerely believe will, if passed, deprive us of all that we cherish and hold dear. (Applause).

Miss Munn announced a large number of letters and telegrams of apology and congratulation.

Lady Heygate wrote that "she much regrets she is unable personally to attend the 'Women's Unionist Demonstration' on Wednesday next, although her heart is in the cause, and she hopes to send her daughters to represent her on such an important occasion."

Mrs. Watt telegraphed from Oldtown, Naas—"Sorry not to be present; hope for successful meeting; will help in any arrangements made."

Mr. Ross, Q.C., M.P., wired—"Glad to hear of meeting; hope your example will be followed by women of Ireland."

Mr. Dane, M.P., telegraphed—"Heartily approve of the action of Derry women; wish them the best success."

Mr. Story wrote from Oakfield Park, Raphoe—"My Dear Mrs. Beresford—I am so very sorry that I cannot attend the meeting of the Unionist women in the Guildhall on the 8th, as I should like to do so. The cause has my fullest sympathy, and I am quite prepared to carry out any resolutions that may be determined upon at the meeting."

Mrs. John Ross wrote as follows—"Dear Mrs. Tillie—I have heard with great pleasure of the Unionist women's meeting which is to be held in the Guildhall on Wednesday, March 8th. Believe me the undertaking has my warmest sympathy and approbation, and regret extremely that my engagements will not permit me to be present on that occasion. From my unvarying experience while among them, I feel sure that there will be no lack of that wisdom and heroism which has proved to be the characteristic of the women of Derry."

Mrs. S. M. Alexander, writing from Hatfield Court, Leominster, said—"My Dear Miss Munn—Nothing would give me greater satisfaction than to be present at the meeting of the Unionist women of Derry and district, and I regret extremely that it is

impossible. I hope the meeting will have an excellent effect in this crisis. I will gladly send a donation."

Lady Templetown wrote to the Mayoress—"Dear Madam—I regret very much that a previous engagement prevents my accepting your kind invitation ; also, I fear I should, in any case, not be competent to address such a meeting, never having spoken in public, save to say a few words at the opening of a bazaar or such like. I think if I could speak anywhere it would be at Londonderry, whose glorious traditions must inspire the coldest heart. Please express to the committee my thanks and the deep sympathy I feel with the meeting."

Amongst others sending letters and telegrams were—The Duchess of Abercorn, Lord Ranfurly, Miss Fanny Curry and Miss Keane (Waterford), Mrs. R. Beresford, Mr. H. Seton-Carr, M.P. ; Mrs. Chambre, Stewartstown ; Mr. John Morgan, Vice-President Salisbury Club, Leytonstone, Mrs. J. Sinclair, Bonnyglen ; Mrs. Colquhoun, Mrs. Lloyd, Lady Lea, &c.

Mrs. J. Barre Beresford proposed the first resolution as follows :—"That, while affirming our unchangeable devotion to our beloved Queen and to the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, we desire to place on record our determined hostility to Home Rule, and our resolve to use every means in our power to aid in averting the disastrous consequences sure to result from the enactment of Mr. Gladstone's great betrayal Bill, which, if passed into law, would be most detrimental to the best interests of the country —commercial, social, educational, and religious—and remove the safeguards which now exist for the protection of life and property." The present, Mrs. Beresford said, is the most grave crisis that has occurred to us in our generation. Our future happiness and welfare hangs, humanly speaking, as it were, upon a thread—namely, the passing or not passing of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. It is our duty to make every effort to avert such a disastrous purpose, not only for our domestic peace, but for the good of our country, and having done all we can, then to place our trust in a higher power, who orders all things for the best. (Applause.) I have been asked, will this meeting do any good ? I answer it will ; it must, for the unusual circumstance of women meeting together for a political object shows how deeply-rooted in every family is the hostility to and dread of Home Rule. (Applause.) If England would only realise what we, the loyal minority, as the Home Rulers call us (and we are proud of the term)—(applause)—if England

would only realise our feelings, I scarcely think she would allow us to be sacrificed to the interests of those who have only their own ends in view, and are no true lovers of their country. (Loud applause.)

Miss M'Clintock, Dunmore, in seconding the resolution, said—God gave the splendid gift of genius to a man who used it to disestablish a Church; to enrich one class of the community by impoverishing another class, and who at last as his foot nears the boundary of mortal life is seeking to secure for himself fame and power quite regardless that the fame and power of Great Britain are endangered by his own personal success. Can any woman's mind understand selfishness like this? (A Voice—"No.") (Applause.) How can we hinder him in his career? I do not advise you, ladies, to use unduly strong measures, although, perchance, a Jael or a Judith may be present here to-day. (Applause.) No! Our mode of procedure will be gentler! To any work that may be decided upon as likely to help to defeat Gladstone's ruinous plan we will give our aid. (Applause.) You know that if the Home Rule Bill was to pass the loyal minority would be given up bound into the hands of the Nationalists, among whom are Archbishop Walsh and his clergy. We of a different faith would, however, in that case not have the fires of martyrdom to fear. The hand on the dial of time would not go back 300 years. You would not be in peril of stake, or rack, or dungeon; there would not be an auto-da-fe in the Green Isle, and no Torquemada or Titelman would arise to make you afraid. (A Voice—"Don't be too sure of that.") (Hear, hear.) Neither would you have to dread any lesser form of violence from the then dominant Church. The gentle clerics of Meath would reserve their playful little amenities for their own flocks. (Laughter.) Ladies, spare a tear for those flocks, whose bishop and under shepherds preach to them the terrors of the law, but no Gospel. (Applause.) Yet all the same religion would suffer among us. My Church, once called the "Church of England," and the Presbyterian Church, which have both held on high the Light and Life in Ulster, and made our province what she is—these Churches, so loved by us, would fall. They could be maintained no longer. No more should we hear in our own tongue wherein we were born the wonderful works of God. Were Home Rule to pass the laity could not support their churches. They could not support themselves. The landlords naturally wish

to keep what has been left to them. The farmers wish to keep what they have won. The farmers of Ulster, who helped largely to put power into Gladstone's hands some years ago, now, like Frankenstein, are filled with horror at their own creation. The merchant would lose the fruit of his labour ; the peasant would soon find no use for the plough ; we should most surely all be plundered in the course of a few years were Home Rule to pass, for Healy, Sexton, & Co., would by degrees grasp everything. Don't we know what the Nationalist leaders are ? Are they patriots ? ("No.") Is there the spirit of a Regulus among them. ("No.") I trow not. (Applause.) They would sedulously enrich themselves, and Ireland would be poor. I want you, ladies, to pause for one moment and give a thought of pity to the mass of our poor Nationalist fellow-countrymen who fondly believe that they will be much better off when they get Home Rule than they are now. Poor men ! Misled by agitators and promised too much ! They fancy that works of every kind at high wages would be opened at once for them. In truth, the poor would not be better off under Nationalist rule than they are now. Their magnificent hopes would all be doomed to disappointment. All Ulster's prosperity would come to an end. Ireland bankrupt, her greedy leaders would run away with their own comfortable spoils. But we won't let this evil happen if we can help it. (Cheers.) I think there is a work that ladies might do in County Donegal before the next general election. Ladies may be useful in encouraging isolated voters in districts of the North-West who think it unnecessary to vote because the odds are so overwhelming against them. In conclusion, suppose that the worst should happen to us, suppose that we saw ourselves in danger of losing all we possess, why, then, a day might arrive that would try your courage to the very utmost —a day when you might be forced to send your husbands, sons, fathers, brothers, forth to fight for life and liberty. (Cheers.) Is it needful to inspire the women of Derry with fortitude to meet such a day as that ? (Cheers.) Your city has her glorious history : you have your memories of the brave Thirteen who shut the gates ; you have heroes among you still. Two of them reminded me the other day that women received the French colours, and that women had renewed them. (Cheers.) We believe in them, and they believe in us. I do not speak of Derrymen alone, but of all the men of the North-West—landlords, farmers, labourers—should such an awful thing as war require them they would be ready. But it is

not too much to say that Derry's heroic history will help them to fight with more assured confidence.

"The mighty past steals o'er us,
We gaze on glories bright;
The future holds before us
A crown of equal light.
Heroic phantoms lead us—
Their dim swords wave us on—
The Crown and hearthstone need us
To strive till victory's won."

(Cheers.) Yours, ladies, would then be the hardest part, for you must stay at home. There may be a Deborah among this audience—a Deborah who would arise a "mother in Israel." There may be a Spartan matron here who would sternly say, "Return to me with thy shield or upon it;" but most of you would have bleeding hearts should such a struggle ever come. Unable to suffer with those you love, you would suffer tenfold in imagination at home. Still you would not spend your time in tears. No! You would lift up your eyes unto the hills and implore the King and Lord of Hosts. (Cheers.)

Mrs. John A. Alexander, in supporting the resolution, said she wished to say a few words with regard to Mr. Gladstone's alcoholic finance. How could Mr. Gladstone's devoted temperance admirers swallow the facts which Miss Tod placed before the country in a letter to the *Northern Whig* of 21st February, in which she pointed out that under the proposed Bill Ireland could only maintain her solvency if the people kept on drinking as much as they have done during the past few exceptional years? Mr. Gladstone took the excise figures of 1890-1 as a normal revenue estimate. As Miss Tod wrote, "God help us if that be so." It was clear that if the Irish Parliament attempted any temperance legislation it would soon land itself in bankruptcy. (Applause.) This was only one part of the Grand Old Deceiver's Bill for the "better government of Ireland." She rather thought the measure should be described as one "for the speedy ruin of Ireland." (Applause.) It seemed as if neither Mr. Gladstone nor his party had a spark of honesty in their policy. Home Rule was called "the better government of Ireland." The disestablishment of a Church was a "Suspensory Bill," and she felt sure that if Mr. Gladstone could bring in a Bill

to submerge Ireland he would call it "a measure for the irrigation of the Emerald Isle." (Loud laughter.) Mrs. Alexander concluded by reading the following letter from Miss Tod, Belfast :— Dear Madam—I am very sorry not to be able to attend your meeting to protest against the Home Rule Bill. It is a matter which concerns women as deeply as men, and it is right that we also should state publicly our settled conviction that there is absolutely no good to be gained by it for any class in Ireland, but that many and irremediable evils would necessarily result from it. What is proposed is not only a political revolution, but a social revolution, which would be as injurious to the poor misguided people who follow the Nationalist leaders as to the Unionists. The mischief that would be caused by the withdrawal of capital from Ireland, and even of the merchants and manufacturers, has been often pointed out. I am even more grieved at the prospect of the utter paralysis of all reforming work which would be caused by the rule of a petty, one-sided, and irresponsible Legislature in Dublin. The people who have worked for temperance, for general education, for fair play for women in all the affairs of life—in short, for all broad and unsectarian reforms of a social kind, are almost all Unionists. What possible chance of usefulness would they have under a Legislature which is inimical to personal freedom and social freedom? The spirit of compulsion, which finds its expression in boycotting, kills the free action of free-born men and women who try to do good to their neighbours by voluntary methods. Besides, no Nationalist Legislature would even listen to persons of known Unionist views. Social reform would be killed in Ireland. It is our duty as women to resist this destruction of all guarantee for civil and religious liberty.

The Mayoress put the resolution, and it was carried amid great enthusiasm.

Mrs. Hime moved the second resolution as follows :—"That, for the purpose of giving practical effect to the foregoing resolution, we hereby resolve to create a Unionist Women's Emergency Fund, to be used as circumstances may hereafter dictate, at the discretion of an Executive Committee." She said—Now, I would like to say a few words to you, for all unused as I am to speaking, on such an occasion as this the exigencies of the time are such that

none of us should hesitate to speak out. Is it not a curious fact that in all times and in all ages it has been considered suitable and feminine for women to raise their voices in lamentation and mourning? To me it seems far wiser, and quite as suitable, that women's voices should be heard in protestation—in such a protest as we, the women of North-West Ulster, are now striving to make. (Applause.) A great danger threatens us, and threatens us at no distant period. We all know the trite old saying "Coming events cast their shadows before them," and at the present moment a dark shadow is creeping over our beloved country, and over our homes and hearts—a terrible presage of sorrow in our immediate future. The shadow I speak of is visible in two ways, for we find that the prospect of the Home Rule Bill becoming law has so filled the Irish people with lawlessness (which has been engendered by the actions as well as the promises of the Ministry who are at present misgoverning our country) that a leading Roman Catholic Judge describes the present condition of a southern county as a place "where no security any longer existed for property, for the person, or for life, so far as it depended on the law." This is a slight foretaste of what we may expect should the hopes of the Nationalist party be realized and Home Rule be given to Ireland. Only no judge will then dare to speak out, or, if he does so, it will be for the last time. (Applause). Then again, we see daily by the papers that all Irish investments are rapidly falling in value. If the threatened introduction of Home Rule so depreciates the value of invested capital, what are the prospects should the Bill be passed? Do we realize the terrible position in which we shall be placed? Not only we (the small Protestant minority), but all law-loving, law-abiding Roman Catholics who have property to lose; they will object as much to confiscation and communism as ourselves. (Applause.) Yet their prospects in other ways will not be so dark. They and their sons can at least hope for employment in the public offices and in the endless appointments in the gift of Government, while ours must seek their fortunes in some country where being loyal Protestant subjects of the British Crown will not be a disqualification. Now, it does not require to be a politician to understand such signs as these. They can but point to one conclusion—namely, that a terrific, stupendous danger threatens our country, is ready to burst over it, and that in order to avert it every means must be used, every nerve must be strained, and we women must

add our protest to that of the men of Ireland. (Applause.) We know that we have power and influence; never was woman's influence so great as in this Victorian era. We can do much; we can cheer and strengthen our menkind to fight in the good cause. (Applause.) We can help to gather funds for the purpose. Nothing can be done without money. We must have money, it may be, to send deputations to London, and able speakers throughout England, Scotland and Wales, to teach and tell the real facts that are but little known. There are numerous organisations for carrying on the work, and to some one of these we would add our contribution as soon as it is collected. Remember, protesting is very good, but money is absolutely required if we are to achieve anything; nothing can be done without it. Even we cannot hold such a meeting as this without outlay, but I am sure we shall find the funds for more than this. If necessary, let us deny ourselves something, be it finery, pleasure or indulgence of some kind, and lay the price of it as an offering on the shrine of our country's liberty. (Applause.) This is such a crisis in our national life as none of us shall probably see again. Have we not been somewhat apathetic until now? Have we not been lulled into a sense of false security, and bewildered by words and promises that have been most misleading? It reminds me of an incident in the famous Irish Epic, which possesses the unpronounceable name of the Tain-Bo-Cuailgné. (Laughter.) We read there that the northern portion of Ireland was threatened with invasion, which had been planned for the purpose of robbery and spoliation. The invading army, through the aid of magic spells, lulled the Northerners into a state of sleepiness and lethargy, and filled all the land with mists and clouds, so that they but dimly knew or cared for the fate that awaited them, and would have overtaken them, but that a hero lived who could not be held by such enchantments, but, breaking through the sleepiness and mists, he meets and beats back the enemy, until his country people rouse from their lethargy and join him in the fray. This was Cuchullin, the Hound of Ulster; and Ulster shall again, as one man, withstand those who would first bewilder us, and then rob us of all we prize most dear. (Applause.) We ask for nothing but what we already possess. We enter our most emphatic protest against any measure that would deprive us of our birthright, the liberties and privileges of British subjects—the subjects of the greatest empire in the world. (Loud applause.)

Mrs. G. K. Gilliland, in seconding the resolution, made an appeal for subscriptions for the fund, pointing out that owing to the shortness of time between the proposal to hold the women's meeting and the meeting itself the objects to which the Emergency Fund would be devoted could not be exactly defined. Most of them were new to the work done by women's political associations and their modes of procedure, and she suggested that it would greatly advance the cause they had in hand if they appealed for advice and practical help to such associations in England. (Applause).

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mrs. Ritter proposed the third resolution as follows:—"That the form of petition submitted be adopted, and sent immediately for obtaining signature to the ladies who will kindly undertake the duty in their respective districts." Fellow-countrymen, she said, we are not an assemblage of political ladies used to confront audiences and able to hold your attention by close reasoning or oratorical powers, but simply a number of women who feel that all we hold dear, the property, the liberty, perhaps even life itself, of ourselves and those belonging to us, is at stake. (Applause.) We have met to-day that we may help and strengthen each other in our protest against this iniquitous Bill. I have carefully read the Home Rule Bill. Its safeguards are, I believe, illusory, but what shall we think of a statesman who declares that his new Legislature shall not be able to make laws "whereby any person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law"—(laughter)—a wise provision I think—(applause)—and Mr. Gladstone estimates his new Legislature very shrewdly. But while thus placing his opinion of them on record, he proceeds—though denying them any national powers whatever, even the trifling ones of naturalising a foreigner or making a law on patents—he proceeds to give them full powers of taxation in Ireland. (Hear, hear.) With the exception of the Customs, which go to England, and the Excise, with which also they may not meddle, they may "impose any other taxes," I think our Ulster manufacturers and all our industrious, hard-working people will soon be made to feel the force of this. (Applause.) Some people say, "Oh, this opposition to this Bill is the concern of the landlords." Yes, it is the concern of the landlords, no doubt; but I think it is even more the concern of the vast army

of artisans, tenant-farmers, even labourers. (Applause.) The large manufacturers may move their concerns, taking their capital, except what is sunk in building, with them—capital and credit, those very timid articles that disappear so suddenly when trouble comes on a country. Whence, then, can the artisans get work? (Applause.) The tenant-farmer, who is attempted to be cajoled with the prospect that if he goes with the Home Rulers he will in three years' time sit rent free, having carried out a gigantic no-rent campaign, will find that though the landlords may be ruined he is no better off than they are, and the labourers will not even have the present solace of emigration, for America now demands that each emigrant should be able to show some means of living when he arrives. Our police force, whose loyalty and discipline have been unequalled—(cheers)—in praise of whom it would be difficult to say enough, are to be disbanded within six years—as soon as a sufficient force for any part has been formed (I don't exactly see how this force is selected) the Constabulary for that portion is to be withdrawn and discharged. These men, who have risked their lives in their duty, who have chosen this as a profession for life, may either go with such gratuities as may be grudgingly given them—this schedule is blank—or they may submit and become the tools of those they have alternately had to arrest or protect. (Laughter.) It is because I see that the result of this Bill will be widespread misery that I am desirous that every one here, while doing their utmost to promote solidarity among ourselves, should so far as they can interest their friends and relations in England and Scotland, and explain to them what a momentous question this is to us, and also to them. Some of us are Irish only by the ties they have formed; possibly they are the most Irish among us. (Applause.) They are Irish by choice. Few, perhaps none, but have relations and friends in England. Let each strive to interest all they can. English people will bear a good deal of repetition before they quite wake up to the meaning of anything. I am an old woman, and I can remember that there has always been an Irish agitation. They say, "From O'Connell to Tim Healy, they have always been wanting to go. Let them go, and peace be with them." (Laughter.) Alas, they will find that peace will be neither with Ireland or England. (Applause.) They will not have propitiated the Nationalists, who will soon discover that a country without capital or credit is not a good milk cow. They will have alienated the Protestants throughout Ireland, and we in

Ulster, the descendants of those sent here originally to plant religious loyalty and civilisation, because they have fulfilled their missions, because as hard-working, God-fearing men and women they have worked and brought order out of disorder, are to be handed over to the tender mercies of the merciless with a cynical indifference. If England thinks that she will—as some of her orators tell the English working man—get rid of the Irish, who compete in the labour market of her great cities, she is mistaken. (Applause.) Where now one hungry Irishman competes there will be three or four. An Irish Legislature will not alter our climate nor give habits of industry to those who have not got them. It may ruin our Ulster manufactures, but will not raise better ones in Munster or Connaught. (Applause.) Destruction is easy. Ireland poorer than ever, with the North smarting under her undeserved abandonment, will be a worse neighbour than ever. (Applause.) When England was in trouble "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity" was the Fenian cry; but they knew that law and order reigned in Ulster. But if this Bill passes will it be wondered at if Ulster, sad, sullen, and dispirited, shall sit apart, only saying: "She drove me away. When she was strong she abandoned me. It is not my business." I am Irish—(applause)—Irish by birth and by temperament; but I love England, and have spent the larger part of my life there, and it is because I feel how she is lowering herself in the eyes of this nation and in her own eyes that I say to all who can influence, if but one person, try to make England see what is right. Some people here speak lightly of war. Ulster will fight. God forbid it should ever come to that. (Applause.) We only know of war by what we have read of it, but God forbid that it should come to our experience. War is the last, the very last, arbitrament, a thing to be held in horror by all, but particularly by women. Let each of us do all in our power to avert even the shadow of it. (Applause.)

Mrs. Louis Gilliland, in seconding the resolution, said it was one which especially commended itself to that meeting, as it asked them to undertake a task for which women might be supposed to be peculiarly fitted. They might not be of much use if physical force had to be resorted to—which she sincerely hoped might never be the case. (Applause.) But when it came to a question of patience and persuasion, they were well to the fore. (Laughter and applause.) I think, Mrs. Gilliland continued, there can be no

doubt that the signing of this petition is of great importance. No matter how many meetings, whether women's meetings or men's, may be held in Derry City, it will not have half so much effect in England and in the House of Commons as a monster petition such as I hope ours may be. (Applause.) I think I need say nothing as to the merits of the Home Rule Bill. Our minds are fully made up on that point. (Hear, hear.) As far as I can understand the subject, it means ruin to the prosperity of our country, on which the welfare and happiness of our women is equally bound up with that of our men. (Applause.) What treatment can Loyalists expect from a party who never condemned—nay, rather condoned—the conduct of some of their members guilty of those unspeakably horrible acts of cruelty to dumb animals and helpless women? (Shame.) I, therefore, hope we women will spare no efforts to make the petition a success. (Applause.)

The resolution was put by the Mayoress, and carried without a dissentient voice.

Mrs. James L. Bigger proposed—"That the foregoing resolutions be forwarded to the Prime Minister, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Right Hon. J. Balfour, the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, the Duke of Devonshire, the Right Hon. the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and to all the Ulster Unionist members of Parliament." Not, said Mrs. Bigger, that these gentlemen will be greatly electrified by our eloquence or influenced by our action—(laughter)—but, believing in the power of littles, we wish to give a little help. (Applause.) If anything were needed to show the depth of feeling which the present crisis has evoked, I think it would be the fact that all over Ulster it has roused women who have never before taken part in politics. You have an example of it here to-day in seeing so many women who have never spoken in public coming forward to add their protest to that of their fathers, husbands, and brothers against what they believe to be a great calamity threatening their native land. (Applause.) We do not profess to make powerful speeches or to throw any new light on the subject. In fact, the notice of the meeting has been so short that, even were we able to do so, we have not had time. But we do believe that in these days, when women have so much influence, they should do all in their power to make it felt in the cause of liberty and right. Another indication of the importance of the present crisis is the calling of special meetings of the Synod and of the General

Assembly, representing the feelings of two of the great Protestant Churches of our land. Clergymen in this country usually avoid politics, but they feel that this is a question above politics, that so many religious and moral interests are involved that it becomes their duty to express their opinions. This is evident when we consider that it is only during the present century, and under English rule, that the Evangelical churches of this country have enjoyed rest and security for any length of time. We meet to-day as Unionist women, not to convince one another, but to express our convictions. If the Unionists were taken out of Ireland how many employers of labour would be left? (Applause.) How many promoters of education? (Applause.) How many temperance reformers? How many philanthropists? Those who have gratuitously given their self-denying efforts for the social and religious reforms which have made some parts of our country so prosperous, are they not principally Unionists? (Applause.) The industries and manufactures, the schools and colleges of Ulster, compare favourably with those of any country. Distinguished places in scholastic competition and in civil and military service under our gracious Queen, both at home and abroad, are taken by her sons. Why cannot all Ireland flourish under the rule which makes Ulster so prosperous? As Miss Tod has so well expressed it, "we must pray that no personal feeling shall be permitted to sway our judgment, nor personal passion to affect our language. We must remember with special care the case of our fellow-countrymen who are persuaded that this great revolutionary movement would benefit them. I am sure no one here would assume the attitude of resistance if she did not believe that every right and liberty of our Catholic countrymen is as fully protected under the Imperial Parliament as our own is, and that the law under which industry and philanthropy flourish in this district is equally conducive to similar prosperity in the rest of the island." (Applause.) We may well ask what possible benefit is to accrue to us from the proposed change of relationship to the rest of the empire. Would it bring peace? ("No.") We believe it would arouse and increase discord. Would it bring prosperity? The almost unanimous opinion of those who have the right to speak is that it would bring ruin. Would it improve the character of our Legislation. ("No.") We cannot believe that the granting of wide legislative powers to former members of the Land League would be an improvement on the collective wisdom of the Queen, the Lords,

and the Commons. (Laughter.) We are in danger of forgetting that the liberties and privileges which we now take as matters of course were won for us by our fathers through years of sore struggle and strife. They purchased them with their blood, and prized them as men prize that which costs them dear. It has cost us nothing. We were born to it. We do not know its value by contrast as they did. We believe that if this Bill become law we shall forfeit many of these blessings which have been so dearly bought. (Applause.) The nations which embraced the Reformation movement of the sixteenth century have never ceased to advance in political power, social prosperity, philanthropic enterprise, and general enlightenment, while the nations who refused and held fast to the corruptions of Rome have as steadily retrograded. We do not wish to be added to the list of retrograde nations. One of the greatest curses of our land is drunkenness. From a temperance point of view alone, as Mrs. Alexander has pointed out, were there no other objection to Home Rule, every supporter of temperance legislation should offer determined and uncompromising resistance to the measure. (Applause.) There is a remedy for all the ills of Ireland, but we do not believe that it is provided by this Bill. It is the remedy of an open Bible, read by the people—(loud applause)—that the whole land should be flooded by "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ;" that Ireland should become, as of old, "The Isle of Saints." It is because we believe that the passing of this Bill would be one of the greatest hindrances to the bringing about of this glorious consummation that we oppose its introduction.

Miss Holmes seconded the resolution. What we want to do, she said, is to express our feelings on the subject of this Bill, and that very strongly, so that Mr. Gladstone and England may have no doubt as to the sentiments of the women of Derry. (Applause.) Suppose the Bill pass, there is not the least doubt, on either side, for or against, that the loyal minority must suffer. (Hear, hear.) In Ireland every man in office will endeavour to enrich himself at the expense of the best interests of the country, for those who have worked so eagerly for the Bill will naturally expect rewards, and, like the daughters of the horse leech, they will still cry "Give, give," until nothing be left, and Ireland become bankrupt. (Hear, hear.) She will not begin her new life very richly equipped, so that a very few years will bring about that happy state. The

question has often been asked, what right has Mr. Gladstone to cast us off against our will? We are poor relations, and we shall show the tenacity of such, although Mr. Gladstone has of late ignored our existence. Will Protestant England allow us to fall a prey to the Roman Catholic Hierarchy? Or is she no longer Protestant? Does she wish to show the sympathy which Cardinal Vaughan has said she has so long felt with Rome? (Hear, hear.) Education would become entirely sectarian. The beginning of that wished-for end has shown itself pretty strongly in the appointments in the Royal University, and under the Intermediate Education Commissioners, in the harping of Lord Emly on the subject of a Roman Catholic University. Secondary schools depend largely on intermediate grants, and how long would Protestant schools have a chance? (Applause.) Have we not already seen how, through the influence of the priests, an effort was made to alter the system of intermediate examinations, requiring boys and girls in future to be examined together and to compete on the same terms, and not separately, as heretofore; besides an attempt has been deliberately and persistently made through Chief Baron Palles to sectarianise education in the elementary schools, though, happily, as yet the attempt has been frustrated. (Applause.) There is no doubt that if the Home Rule Bill become law education will be sectarianised not only in elementary schools, but also in colleges and universities. This change will issue in the absorption of the Protestant minority by the Roman Catholic majority in districts where the Protestant population is small, and will deprive Protestant children of the benefits derived from the national system unless they conform to the tenets of the Church of Rome. We regard this as a Bill not to be further discussed or criticised, as this has been already sufficiently done in the House of Commons, and in the country, but to be resisted to the death, as we are resolved to do. (Cheers.)

The resolution was adopted amid cheers.

Mrs. Boyton proposed that Mrs. J. A. Alexander, Miss Munn, and Mrs. MacCullagh be honorary secretaries of the executive committee, and Mrs. M'Corkell (Richmond) and Mrs. J. L. Bigger (Riverview) honorary treasurers. In moving the resolution, she said—I can hardly find words to express the reluctance with which I come forward on a platform to say even these few words. A wife's, a mother's, and a daughter's duties lie mainly, by God's

appointment, in the quieter atmosphere of home, and no one could feel more strongly than I do that to perform those duties properly is as much as most of us are capable of, and no small tax on our powers. (Applause.) And it is just because so many others also feel this so strongly that I am obliged to be here, and also because we, one and all, are so desirous of being left in peace to perform those duties. But now trouble is hard at hand. The welfare of our country and the peace and prosperity of our homes are threatened, and it seems to be the plain duty of every one of us, however slight our strength, or small our influence, or humble our lot may be, to do what we can, if we can do anything at all, to avert so great a peril. (Applause.) There can be no doubt that we are in the face of a great danger. The Government under which we have lived in peace, and with increasing prosperity, for a hundred years, is about, if this Bill passes, for us, to come to an end, and another Government to be placed over us in its stead. This will be new government—an experiment that in itself is a danger—but we have little reason to hope for anything but evil to ourselves and to our country from such a government as is proposed for us. Mr. Gladstone's Bill puts the minority in this country absolutely in the power of the majority, without any effective appeal against oppression, and without power of protecting ourselves. This is the opinion—the unanimous opinion—of all in this country who understand the Bill and foresee its effects. It is the opinion of all the newspapers in the kingdom—Liberal as well as Conservative—except a few pledged to Mr. Gladstone, and they say nothing. (Hear, hear.) And it is significant that when this objection was brought before the House of Commons the only answer attempted by Mr. Morley was in effect—"You don't want any guarantee or protection; trust your Irish fellow-countrymen." But can we trust them? ("No.") (Applause.) Have we any reason to trust the men who will be supreme in the Irish Parliament, and even if we had, would they be the men to stand up for right and justice against the pressure that would be brought to bear upon them? (Hear, hear.) Trust those men, says Mr. Morley, put confidence in them, in their generosity, their fair-mindedness, their wisdom. Care for the real welfare of their country will make them forbearing with the minority. Care for the honour of their country will make them just. But have they showed much care for that honour? We have had one warning, at least quite lately. (Applause.) What a crime is murder

under any circumstances! But there are circumstances which go to heighten its atrocity. When it is the murder of one who has given no offence—when it is the murder not of one, but the indiscriminate murder of many unoffending persons—when such a murder is coldly and deliberately planned, and when it is planned in such a way that the wretch who attempts it may run no risk himself; such is the crime of the man that commits murder by dynamite. (Applause.) Yet, lately, when scarcely a single member of an English, Welsh, or Scotch constituency could be found to do so, the whole Nationalist party voted unanimously for the indiscriminate release of such criminals. (Applause.) Why did they do this? Why did all these Irishmen do what English, Scotch, and Welsh gentlemen would not do? Are they gentlemen in any sense of the word? Have they any sympathy with such horrible cruelty? Why did they do it? Simply because they could not face their constituencies with any chance of re-election had they done otherwise—(applause)—and the better we think of the Nationalist members personally the more reason we have to dread the power behind them which compels them to give such a vote. (Hear, hear.) Under such circumstances—under all the circumstances of our unhappy country—can we trust ourselves, our homes and those we love, to such a government as Mr. Morley invites us to do? It is the privilege of the weak at least to cry for help, and we women have a right to lift up our voices to ask the English Government, the English Parliament, the English nation—not to cast us off and leave us unprotected in our danger—danger which the Government of England and the policy of England in the past has mainly created for us. (Hear, hear.) Is there any portion of England or Scotland or Wales that would for an hour submit to the government which is to be imposed upon Ulster? And can Ulster be expected to submit to it? We think not. (Cheers.) But we beseech England to save us from the misery of such a struggle, and from the dreadful necessity of having to look to our husbands, our brothers, and our sons for the protection that we have every right to expect from her strong arm. For our part our duty in this great crisis is plain. We must neglect no means and spare no effort to attain our end. Whether our petition succeeds or not, whether the storm is to burst upon us, whether the clouds are to be rolled back once more—at least let it be said of each one of us, "She hath done what she could." (Cheers.)

Mrs. F. Macky said she had much pleasure in seconding the resolution so ably proposed by Mrs. Boyton.

Hon. Mrs. M'Causland, in supporting the resolution, assured the ladies of the city that the ladies of the county would do all they could to help the movement. (Applause.)

On the motion of Mrs. Tillie, seconded by Miss Moore, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mrs. MacCullagh for presiding.

Mrs. MacCullagh said it had given her the greatest pleasure to preside.

The entire audience sang the National Anthem, and cheers having been given for the Mayoress, the notable gathering broke up.

# SPEECH

OF

# LORD DUNRAVEN

AT

# LIMERICK,

## WEDNESDAY, MARCH 22nd, 1893.

# SPEECH OF LORD DUNRAVEN AT LIMERICK.

MY LORDS, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN—

We are met here to-day in a very critical moment in the history of our country—perhaps the most critical that it has ever passed through—and we have a very solemn duty to perform towards her, and towards ourselves. We, Irishmen, who are filled with the profound conviction that our civil and religious liberties and rights will be seriously jeopardised by the Repeal of the Union, are met here to protest against the most iniquitous measure ever sought to be imposed upon free men. We who believe, we who know, that the material welfare of our country, and her industrial prosperity, is inseparably bound up with the preservation of the Legislative Union that now exists between Great Britain and Ireland, are here assembled to make our voices, our sure convictions, and our determination heard in the only constitutional way open to us.

We have no direct representation in the House of Commons. Our opinions are represented, most ably represented, by members returned for other portions of Ireland, but as far as this county, and the South and West are concerned, we have no direct representation of our views in the House of Commons. The Unionist voice is silent in that chamber; but it will not be silenced. We can by meetings, by petitions, and by resolutions give evidence of the faith that is in us, and make our fixed resolve known to the Legislature, the constituencies, and the electorate of Great Britain; and that we intend to do.

### *WHO ARE THE MINORITY?*

We are in a minority, but that minority is, numerically, of a size that entitles it to be heard; and it is a minority which, when you consider the elements of which it is composed, and its constituent parts, deserves and must command great consideration and respect.

It is usually supposed by the constituencies of Great Britain that Unionism in the South is the political creed of a few fanatical country gentlemen—an utterly false conception of the situation diligently put forward by the advocates of appeal. It is not true. Consider that petition against Repeal signed by many Roman Catholics of position in the country, and by numbers of their co-religionists. Look at this great meeting—of what is it composed? Both religious creeds represented on this platform, and representatives of all classes and creeds in the body of the hall. It is absurdly false to pretend that devotion to the Union burns in the breasts of

country gentlemen and Protestants alone. And what about the country taken as a whole? By far the greater part of the industrial population of Ireland—that is to say, the population engaged in manufacturing industries, is on our side. It is no exaggeration to say that property, the foundation of prosperity in any community, and capital that started our industries and keeps them alive is on the side of Union; and we can fairly claim a practical monopoly of the cultivated intelligence of the country. It is absurd to suppose that a minority so constituted ought not to receive more attention than it is entitled to by its mere numbers because it comprises within its ranks all the qualities, characteristics, and elements, which are essential to the well-being and which combine to create prosperity in any community. And our numbers are not insignificant. We are far stronger merely numerically than is currently supposed, and no man who knows anything of the condition of the country would pretend to deny that our numbers would receive an immense accession of strength if the farmers and the labourers dared to speak out. But, alas, they dare not. They understand and know and dread the organisation below the surface most carefully concealed from the electorate of Great Britain by the subterfuges of the Government. They feel, and regret, the difference between the firm and just grasp and administration of the law by the late Government, and the trembling and uncertain touch of those who, to the misery of Ireland, have succeeded them in office. Public opinion is not free in the South and West. It is intimidated, coerced, and gagged, and the Executive Government, to their infinite shame, condone the intimidation. Still some men have dared to speak out, and I greatly honour them for doing so. Animated by a strong sense of duty to their country, they have spoken out their minds at an undoubted risk to themselves. They are brave men, and I honour them.

### *MR. MORLEY'S PETTY SPITE.*

I cannot help thinking that the growing strength of feeling in favour of the Union in the South is creating considerable uneasiness in the minds of the party who advocate repeal; in the minds of those ingenious gentlemen who manufacture public opinion for exportation to England. It has been seriously alleged in the House of Commons by three honourable members, all of whom have been convicted of conspiracy and practicing intimidation, that landowners are compelling their tenants and labourers to sign the Petitions against the Bill. If the occasion were not so solemn, I might truthfully say so tragic, there would be something irresistibly comic in the idea of men who for years have tyrannised over and intimidated their countrymen, getting up without a smile on their faces in the House of Commons, and pretending that the ferocious landlord, brandishing evictions, and hurling writs, is abroad in the land, bullying those unfortunate slaves, his labourers and tenants, into signing Petitions against their will. And there is something very sad in the meek acquiesence of the Chief Secretary in the unwarrantable insinuation of his political allies—an insinuation which he had

no reason, whatever, to suppose contained a single grain of truth in it. What did he say? That he did not know anything at all about the matter, but thought it very likely. If he did not know anything at all about it, what right had he to say anything at all about it? If he did not know, well it was his duty to have known. He might, perhaps, be excused for thinking that owners of land would do such a dishonourable thing if they could, for doubtless he considered that all Irishmen were of the same complexion as his political allies. But as a reasonable man he cannot think that landlords can afford the luxury of evicting tenants for political motives. Eviction is an expensive process, and landlords are not in very affluent circumstances, as Mr. Morley well knows; and he must be perfectly well aware that even if a landlord wished to do such a thing, and could afford it, he has absolutely no power whatever in the matter. I was pleased to see this ebullition of spite—glad to note this absurd attempt to discount the value of public opinion—because it proves positively that the supporters of this iniquitous Bill are finding the ground growing very shaky under their feet, and are beginning to perceive that the class of small owners and occupiers of land have more sense and more courage than they gave them credit for. Yes, we are in a minority, it is true, but it is a strong one; strong, and growing stronger every day in numbers; strong in the elements composing it; strong in the strength and sincerity of the motives that actuate it; strong in the certainty of ultimate success, and I am glad to have the honour of participating in a meeting such as this, so thoroughly representative of that minority; assembled to set out our unalterable opposition to the subject matter of this Bill.

## *AN UNWORKABLE BILL.*

What is the nature of the issue before us? Nothing less than the dismemberment of the United Kingdom. It is proposed to tear up the instrument by which, in the opinion of a large minority in Ireland, their civil and religious rights and liberties alone can be secured. A Bill is before the House of Commons of the most perplexing and complicated kind. A Bill full of absurdities and anomalies, of simulated safeguards, and restrictions so rotten that they are not even worth considering. A Bill utterly unworkable, dangerous in every clause, revolutionary in every line. A Bill which proposes to deprive us of our birth-right, to rob us of a constitution which we passionately love; to take from us rights to which we have an inalienable claim; rights to which we were born, and which we will not abandon as long as we have life. A Bill which seeks to break up the Union that we hold to be essential to our material prosperity, to narrow down our nationality, and to transfer our allegiance from the Parliament and the laws and the constitution to which we cling to a constitution and a legislature which we will never accept.

Never before has a treachery so gratuitous been contemplated, never has a proposal so contrary to the essence of constitutional government, so intolerable to the natural rights of men, been

formulated by responsible ministers. Of course, nations have before now been broken up under the stress of some great national calamity, such as the shock of a great and disastrous war; but never before in the history of the world has dismemberment been deliberately proposed to a people free to act, never before has a nation been asked to cast adrift a population loyal in its allegiance, and protesting vehemently against the unjust cruelty of divorce. Well, gentlemen, what, under these circumstances, is it our duty to do? As Irishmen, and as I claim patriotic Irishmen, it is our duty to look most critically into this matter; we must strip from it all the fanciful flights of oratory and the mere verbiage that clothes it; we must turn off the coloured lime lights that disguise the true proportions and details of the Bill, and look at this bundle of anomalies, absurdities, and enormities, in the clear light of reason and common sense. What effect is this Bill likely to have upon our beloved country? What chance has Ireland of making a living, of paying her way, of raising income and obtaining capital to carry on National affairs and to develop the resources of the country? that is practically the most important question before us. What will be the financial effect of the Bill upon Ireland? I believe the Bill will, in that respect, be entirely disastrous, absolutely ruinous to the country.

## *WE SHALL START SMOTHERED IN DEBT.*

Let us consider our liabilities first. Ireland owes Great Britain a sum of about £8,650,000 as a direct debt—a sum due without any intermediary between the Irish Exchequer and the Exchequer of Great Britain. This sum is repayable in a term of years, capital and interest, by an annual payment of £360,000. That is the first direct charge upon our estate. But that is not all. Other advances for Land Purchase and various public purposes have been sanctioned, amounting in all to about thirty millions, which are ultimately chargeable upon the Irish Consolidated Fund. To that amount Ireland is in debt to Great Britain. We are, therefore, going to begin business, to set up for ourselves with a debt of about thirty millions hanging over our heads, a debt unsatisfied, and, in my opinion, unsatisfiable, because I cannot see the smallest possibility of paying off the principal, or even keeping down the interest on that vast sum. We are going to start for ourselves simply smothered in debt. That is not a very hopeful aspect of the case. Well, then, let us see what we shall lose.

## *HEAVY LOSSES.*

Ireland will lose her share in the aggregate Probate Duties of the United Kingdom, amounting to £197,000 a year, assigned to the aid of local taxation by the Local Government Act of 1888, and she will lose £40,000 a year contributed by the Imperial Exchequer to cover possible losses in connection with the Land Purchase Act. That is what we lose, and what shall we be deprived of?

## *PRESSING CLAIMS AND NO INCOME.*

Hitherto Ireland has had the benefit of British credit, the best credit in the world, and has received advances on the most favourable terms that British credit can secure for a variety of purposes. We obtain advances and loans for the purchase of freeholds, for main drainage and reclamation, for the erection of labourers' houses, towards the maintenance of asylums, towards education, science and art, towards the construction of railways, harbours, and docks —in fact, towards everything that is necessary for the industrial prosperity of the people. For the future, not one penny shall we receive for those purposes from that source. Every farthing will have to be found for herself by Ireland, or will not be found at all. All these advances and loans will, after the appointed day, have to be paid out of Irish revenue, or from Irish loans, and will fall upon the Irish Consolidated Fund. How are loans to be obtained? I fancy your chairman under-estimated the case when he suggested as possible that Ireland could borrow money at double the rate of interest that the United Kingdom could borrow it. My impression is that though the United Kingdom can borrow money at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., that Ireland by herself, deprived of the security of Great Britain, would not be able to borrow money on any terms whatever. And now what will our expenses be?

After we have paid for the ordinary civil administrations of the country—and by calculations we are supposed to have just about enough income to do that—we shall find ourselves without revenue, but with pressing claims upon us accruing from various causes. We shall have to provide pensions and compensation for existing civil servants, and for the police; we shall have to provide for the Judiciary and the police force of the future; we shall have to pay a small army of Irish M.P's., of various denominations and kinds; we shall have to pay their travelling expenses backwards and forwards between Dublin and London, and for comfortable lodgings for them in London, whenever they may desire to pay a visit to the metropolis; we shall have to maintain a large army of Excise officers, or a little cloud of smoke from a private still will be seen curling up from every hill-side, and our main source of revenue will disappear; and we shall have to keep up an army of Customs officers, or every creek and bay will harbour a smuggling fleet, and we shall find conflicts arising between British Revenue officers and the people, backed by their police—not a very pleasant matter to contemplate. For all these things we shall have to pay in addition to the ordinary expenses of governing the country, and where is the money to come from? Can any man tell me where we are to get the funds to do this? What income can Ireland have? What are her resources? Practically her income would be entirely derived from Excise and from income or property tax. Let us consider the elasticity and solidity of these sources of revenue.

## *WE MUST FLOAT ON WHISKY.*

It appears to me that Excise is a somewhat unreliable source of income with a diminishing population. Its value obviously depends upon the drunkenness of the people, and their drinking capacity depends upon their physical constitution. I daresay our constitutions are very strong, but there are limits to human endurance. It is impossible for any man to consume more than a certain amount of whisky, and nothing but universal individual drunkenness can save us from complete collective insolvency. It is a question whether alcoholic poisoning or national bankruptcy will overtake us first. Surely the Government might have appointed a medical commission of enquiry to try and ascertain what is the maximum capacity of the Irish people for drink ; and they might have set out in a schedule to the Bill how many bottles of whisky per head per day might suffice to keep the nation out of the workhouse, in order that the Irish Legislature might have some idea as to the nature of the criminal code necessary to propose, and of the character of the punishment to be inflicted against temperance and total abstinence. The penalty would needs be severe, because it is perfectly obvious that, under this Bill, temperance would be high treason, and total abstainers would be the most dangerous enemies of the State. Drink we must if this Bill becomes law, and drink to the utmost limit of human endurance, for if the nation is to float at all it is on a sea of whisky that she must swim.

## *FARMERS TO BE HUGELY TAXED.*

Then there remains an income or property tax. My impression is that income will be conspicuous by its absence in a very few years, except, perhaps, in the North ; and if capital remains there it will simply put its back against the wall, and with that politeness that distinguishes the Ulster people, but also with that firmness that is indigenous to the soil, will refuse to pay the tax. You know what the capitalists of the country have said. What do you suppose will become of all the British money in Ireland? Of the ten millions of money belonging to insurance companies in England for instance? What will become of all the capital invested in breweries, distilleries, linen manufactures, ship building, and the other industries of the country? Capital will pluck up her skirts, shake the dust off her feet, and go. Capital will take wings and fly. Insurance companies and other investors will clear out, preferring to realise at a loss rather than risk losing all. Mills, breweries, distilleries, will be closed and removed to Great Britain or some other country. Millions and millions of money will leave Ireland, and thousands and thousands of Irishmen and women will be thrown out of work to starve. There will be very little income left in Ireland to lose after a year or two of Home Rule. But you may say there is the land, the land cannot take wings to itself and fly away. That is true. Landowners can be taxed, and suppose they are, and taxed out of existence? What then? Will that profit labour, or will it in reality profit anybody?

Bear in mind that the tax must fall ultimately upon the land. It must fall upon and be borne by owners and occupiers, both great and small alike. It must fall upon the soil itself. How is the farmer to live, much less thrive, with the whole burden of the taxation of the country upon his shoulders—with no assistance from the Imperial Exchequer, deprived of the benefit of British security, and with everything to find for himself? Farmers would find themselves compelled to pay double and treble the taxation that they now do. Perhaps they think they would be compensated for that by getting their land very cheap, or for nothing at all. Perhaps they would get it very cheap, but not so cheap as they expect. The Irish Legislature cannot deal with land at all for three years. The Irish Legislature cannot at any time deal with it, except by due process of law, nor can it deprive any man of his property without just compensation. The estimate of an Irish Legislature of just compensation may be a low one, and their processes of law may be peculiar processes, but you may be sure of this, that nothing in the shape of confiscation would be attempted, because Great Britain, as you know, retains the right of concurrent legislation, and it would not do to stock public opinion in Great Britain too much. Assuming that farmers get their land at the very lowest price at which even the kind of Irish Legislature we are to have could give it to them, they would have to pay compensation for it. Where is the money to come from? British credit and British loans would no longer be available as they are in the Ashbourne and other Acts dealing with Land Purchase. The Irish people would have to find the money for themselves on their own security. The money for compensation could only be obtained at ruinous rates of interest, if it could be obtained at all; and all those interested in land, occupiers and farmers, large and small, may be perfectly certain that with the huge income tax that they would be compelled to pay, and with the enormous addition of local rates consequent upon the withdrawal of Imperial grants and loans, and with the interest on money that the Irish Legislature would have to borrow at usurious rates in order to enable them to purchase their holdings—they would, I say, find themselves paying infinitely more in interest, rates, and taxes, than they are paying now in rent and taxation put together. And what is to be done for the labourers? Do you suppose they will not want land to be provided somehow for them, and money for the purchase and stocking of it? The country could not stand it. The land could not bear the load upon it. This miserable Bill, if it become law, whatever else it would do, would be the ruin of every farmer in the country. It would break the neck of every industry, and crush agriculture to the ground. And now a word as to our borrowing powers.

## *COULD NOT RAISE A £5 NOTE.*

What credit shall we have, what chance of negociating a loan? How do we stand now in finance? We have the whole resources

of Great Britain at our backs, the best credit in the world available for our needs; any amount of money required for any legitimate purpose can be obtained at a lower rate of interest than is possible in the case of any other community outside the United Kingdom. What could an Irish Parliament do? It is true that an Irish Parliament has before now had fairly good credit. Grattan's Parliament could borrow, and did borrow, money at about 4½ per cent. But how was that Parliament constituted? Entirely of men of property, of men having great interests in the country, the class of men in short that form the Grand Juries of the present day. Property was absolutely secure under that Parliament, and the credit of the country was proportionately good. And Ireland was richer then than now. The long war had put up prices. England was becoming an importer instead of an exporter of Wheat. Wheat growing land in Ireland was worth infinitely more in those days than it is in these, and last, but not least, the whole Executive was in the hands of a British Parliament. That Parliament was ultimately responsible for property, law, life, and liberty. Now it is proposed to place the whole executive, judiciary, magistrates, sheriffs, and police in the hands and under the control of the Legislature in Dublin. And of what elements will that Legislature be composed? Facts cannot be ignored. Capital, property, industrial enterprise, business capacity, are almost exclusively opposed to the policy of repeal. The Irish Legislature will be composed of those men who now represent Ireland in the Imperial Parliament—very able, very talented men doubtless; but it must be admitted, to put the matter as mildly as possible, that their close association with American societies, their own methods of seeking to encompass their ends, their own social and political opinions, and their general attitude towards property and legal obligations, have not been such as to inspire confidence. In the war that they have waged against property they have forgotten one little thing—that the credit of any country and of any community rests absolutely and entirely upon the sacredness and security of its property. They have deliberately deprived Ireland of any possible security, any possible borrowing power that she might otherwise have had. A Legislature so constituted might possibly raise half-a-crown as a matter of charity, but I do not believe that it could raise a £5 note as a loan in all the financial centres of the civilised world.

## *THE CRAZIEST CONCEPTION.*

With a large and unsatisfied debt hanging over our heads, with no income to pledge, no security to offer, no friends to back our bills, what chance should we have of negotiating a loan? We should only subject ourselves in the attempt to the insult of being kicked out into the street as an impudent impostor, and having the door slammed in our faces. To cast Ireland adrift from the solvency, the capital and credit of Great Britain is the craziest conception of the craziest brain. To start her on an independent career as a nation; to set her up in business for herself

without plant, machinery, or credit, is a proposition so childish and pre-eminently absurd that it is almost impossible to realize that it can hold its place for a moment in the estimation of sane men. That is all I have to say on the subject of finance. I will turn for a moment or two to what I consider if possible a more serious aspect of the case—that is to the danger, the infinite danger, of revolution, and of the greatest horror that can happen to any people—civil and religious war.

## *BLOODSHED FOR IRELAND.*

History cannot be ignored in these matters, and history shows that whatever their origin and initial impetus, all what may be called national movements in Ireland degenerate into sectarian strife. There are fires in Ireland smouldering, but not yet extinguished, forces slumbering, but not yet dead; fires that might be kindled into furious activity by a spark; forces that can only be kept in check by the strong, impartial regulation and control of a United Parliament; forces and fires that would die down by degrees and expire in time if Ireland were only let alone. But she is not let alone, alas, and the elements of danger are yet alive. Not over much is needed to kindle a conflagration in Ireland that would scorch her from end to end. Just and good men of all classes and all creeds would do all they could, but what could they do to stem the tide of human passion and prejudice that might be let loose. You know the attitude that the plantation counties of Ulster have taken up. They have spoken out their minds. They deny the moral right and legal right of Parliament to break faith with them, and to break the solemn engagement of the Act of Union. They deny that allegiance to a statutory Parliament in Dublin can be imposed upon them, and they assert that, rather than submit, they will oppose force with force. That is civil war. I will not consider—it is immaterial to my purpose—whether Ulster is right or wrong. In my opinion every man has an inalienable right to the Constitution, laws, and liberties under which he was born; but that is not a practical consideration now. What we have to consider, what every man who loves his country has to consider, is the nature of the elements that have to be dealt with. Right or wrong, these men say that they will not submit, and they will not. Rightly or wrongly, in spite of all that just men may do on both sides, the cleavage will be on religious lines. Race and religion will split the country. Whether Protestant intolerance bring it about, or Catholic intolerance; whether it be due to race animosities in the North, or race animosities in the South, is of no practical consequence to us. What matter which party is to blame? It will not be a question to be decided in a court of law, but by the fearful arbitrament of force. The first blood shed, whether justified or unjustifiable, whoever and whatever is the cause, will be the signal for the worst horror that can befall a people—civil and religious war. God knows that no man can wish more earnestly, or pray more earnestly, than I do that this awful calamity may be spared my country; but this I maintain, and I am justified in maintaining it.

that if it does happen the consequences will be upon the heads of those who are endeavouring to force upon us a measure and to create a situation infallibly certain to bring it about.

### *DISPUTES WITH ENGLAND.*

And there are many other causes of inevitable friction that must arise between the Irish Legislature and the British Parliament. I have only time to allude very briefly to them. Questions connected with the payment of debts, with the collection of customs, and with great Imperial matters, such as peace, war, and neutrality. Suppose that we do not pay our debts, won't pay them, or cannot pay them. What is Great Britain to do? Put a man into possession? That would mean putting a couple of army corps into possession and selling up the country. What is to happen if the customs duties cannot be collected? If their collection is opposed by the people, and the police, and the Legislature? Well, I suppose the Lord Lieutenant will be instructed to collect them, and what is he to do? He might attach the person of his Prime Minister. He might serve writs upon his Cabinet, and sue the whole Irish Legislature. What then? He won't have a single officer of any kind whatever to carry out his warrants and to execute his decrees. You must remember that if this Bill becomes law the Crown, the British Parliament, and the Privy Council, and the Exchequer Judges, and all the other contrivances of the Bill may say whatever they like but they can do nothing. They have no civil process, no constitutional means whatever of carrying out their decrees, judgments, and vetoes, they won't have a single policeman in the country to carry out their behests.

### *PREPOSTEROUS ABSURDITIES.*

Is it unreasonable to suppose that in a great European war in which Great Britain maintained an attitude of neutrality that Ireland might favour one side or the other? How is she to be compelled to remain neutral? What is to prevent her opening her ports to one of the belligerents and closing them to the other? Suppose Great Britain herself to be at war how could she collect her contribution from Ireland? There is absolutely no machinery whatever in the Bill for doing so, and even if machinery were provided what is the good of machinery if there is no hand to set it in motion. There are several checks and safeguards and contrivances in the Bill. There are two Exchequer Judges, for instance, to hear revenue cases, and who can decide whether an act of the Irish Legislature is legal or illegal. Anybody who feels themselves aggrieved can appeal to these Exchequer Judges; and the Bill, with sweetly, touching simplicity, enunciates that if the Exchequer Judges decide that the Irish Legislature has done anything wrong, committed any injustice, they can enforce their judgment by despatching an officer to do so. Well, the officer would be very soon despatched. Nothing shows more clearly the utter absurdity of this Bill than the proposal that two Exchequer Judges should exercise a protecting

influence over the minority by sending out an officer to enforce their decrees in the face of the opposition of the people, and the Legislature, and the whole police force of the country. That is a good example of the preposterous absurdities that this Bill contains.

Then there is the judicial committee of the Privy Council, and the British Parliament has concurrent power of legislation, and, of course, the Crown has the power of veto. But what civil process exists for carrying out the judgments of the Privy Council, for putting in operation the legislation of Parliament, for enforcing the veto of the Crown? None. Absolutely none; nor can any effective administrative means be introduced into the Bill as long as the whole Executive is appointed and controlled by the Irish Legislature. What is the use of all these clauses and contrivances when there is no means of enforcing them? They may serve to deceive the British public who are ignorant; they are simply insulting to the Irish Loyalists who know. They are merely the decorations, the trappings, and plumes of the hearse that is to carry Irish liberties to the grave. Force, military occupation, martial law, constitute the only means whereby the restrictions and safeguards of the Bill can be made operative. The tenure of the Crown will be the tenure of the sword. The will of Parliament, if writ at all, can be written only in letters of blood. I protest against degrading Ireland into this condition of vassalage, into the state of a poor, tribute-paying province; and against the intolerable thraldom involved in thus substituting physical for legal, constitutional action, I vehemently protest.

## *CIVIL WAR FOR THE WHOLE EMPIRE.*

There is only one other point I wish to call your attention to. That is the Imperial aspect of the case. Consider for one moment what may happen. I have alluded to the position that has been taken up by the plantation counties in the North, and you know that offers of assistance to them are being sent from Canada, and from other colonies. If such a terrible calamity befall us as is involved in the repeal of the Union, and civil war ensued, as it undoubtedly would, help would assuredly be sent to the North from Canada and other colonies, and help would probably be sent to the other side from the United States. The whole power of Great Britain could not confine civil war within the limits of this island. Great Britain would find herself confronted with fratricidal strife throughout the whole British Empire. She would not only have to strive to keep the peace here, but she would be compelled to restrain British ships and British subjects from coming to the assistance of one side in Ireland, and foreign ships and foreign men from coming to the assistance of the other side. The whole Empire would be involved in the struggle; and it is more than probable that civil war in Ireland would lead to a great and general European war. Gentlemen, if you come to examine this Bill, even casually, you will be convinced that it involves not only the financial ruin of Ireland, but that it contains within it the seeds of disasters and

catastrophes of the most far-reaching and appalling kind. And can any reasonable man suppose that Ireland would be unmoved amid such a shock of circumstances? Be sure of this, the natural and acquired relationship and community of interests between Ireland and Great Britain and the Empire are too closely interwoven to permit of that. Ireland must acutely feel anything affecting the stability of the Empire and of Great Britain.

### *ARE WE CATTLE?*

Has Parliament any right to inflict these infinite evils upon us, to force upon us this Bill? Has she any right to refuse to fulfil her part of the bargain entered into with our forefathers, and which we, their children, wish to fulfil and see fulfilled? If Ireland were absolutely unanimous; if uninfluenced by American agitators, she with one voice speaking from one heart, petitioned for this change, Parliament might then consider whether, in the interests of Great Britain, it was possible to gratify her. But Ireland is not unanimous. A very large and powerful minority, a minority which, it must not be forgotten, contains the major part of the industrial population, and represents the greater portion of the capital and cultivated intelligence of the country, is bitterly opposed to it, and says that to this suicidal and disastrous change it never will be a party, or submit. The power of Parliament to bind and loose may be difficult to gauge. The moral sanction of resistance may be hard to define; but this I will say, that there are principles and rights antecedent to forms of Government. There are moral rights inherent in a community, human rights and privileges, primitive and essential, underlying the whole foundation upon which organized society and systems of government are reared. We are not protesting against an ordinary Act of Parliament, which we even bitterly object to; but we are protesting against being outlawed from that Parliament. We object to having our allegiance transferred from a Parliament and a Constitution which we trust, to a Parliament and a Constitution that we do not trust, and which we will not accept. Allegiance is not a marketable article to be transferred like a bale of goods in satisfaction of a Prime Minister's promises to pay. Free men cannot, in their allegiance, be sold like cattle in the market. There are human rights and human liberties underlying all systems of Parliament or Government, and upon those primary, essential, and primordial rights we take our stand, conscious of the integrity of our position. This Bill never will become law; but if it did, and if its operations were resisted, who could deny that the felony lay with those who wish to rob us of our rights and liberties, and that the treachery and the treason lay on the heads of those who sought to deprive us, unwilling, of the laws and the Constitution of the United Kingdom, whose citizens we are.

### *CONCLUSION.*

They taunt us who hold to the Union as being unpatriotic and untrue to the interests and aspirations of our country. They

arrogate to themselves an exclusive right to the title of patriots; these men who think that Ireland, poor distracted country, can stand alone. Well, they may be patriots but they are very mistaken patriots to my mind. Nationalists they call themselves, those men who would degrade Ireland from the proud position of equal enjoyment and equal partnership with a great and wealthy nation, and would make of her a ragged, starving, poor relation, cringing for charity, or bullying for black-mail. That is not my idea of patriotism or nationalism. I yield to no man living in my love for my country. There is not any man alive who has more reverence for her past history and her traditions; who is more saturated with her legendary lore; but I am not such an unmitigated fool as to be deluded into founding dreams of an impossible future upon an improbable past. Bitter hatred of England, the dominant passion of those Irish-Americans who, under the guise of friendship, have brought such misery on Ireland, won't put one penny in the Exchequer. Tall talk about the past glories of Ireland won't feed the people. It is not in abstract ideas of national existence that you can clothe and educate them. However fond I may be of the past, I will never forget the necessities of the present day. What does Ireland need? Her needs and difficulties are not political, they are economic. What Ireland wants is capital. Capital to develop her industries, and to give employment to her people. What is the condition precedent to capital? Security for property, full sense of the absolute sacredness of property. That is the only thing that will bring the fertilizing stream of capital to our shores and to our industries. I wish my country well. I want to see that security for property which alone can supply the life-giving stream of capital to her undeveloped wealth. I want to see employment for her sons and for her daughters, and that development of industries which British capital alone can effect. And would this Bill do it? No, indeed. In a few short years after the appointed day—the day of doom for Ireland it would be—her mills would be closed, her manufactories transferred across the Channel, her lands would be untilled, her labour unemployed, her people flying from starvation, suppliants for charity in other lands. This is no class question. Yes, it is a class question to this extent. It is a question that affects every tenant-farmer, every small freeholder, every artisan, and every labourer in the country far more than those who are possessed of capital and wealth in money. Capital can be transferred to more favourable localities, but the population, the people, the labour, of the country cannot. Capital can take care of itself, but who will take care of the people dependent upon that capital? I love my country far too well to believe in any such nonsense as that contained in this Home Rule Bill. I long to see her prosperous, contented, and happy. I will not sit silent and see her become a pitiful, but not a pitied mendicant, among nations. I will never agree to a measure which will bring degradation upon my country, ruin to her industries, and misery upon her people. I only wish I could make my voice heard by my fellow-countrymen all

through the South and West. I only wish that I could appeal to them, to their sense, and to their patriotism; their sense of what is due and necessary for themselves, and to their love for their country. I would appeal to them to retain for Ireland what is now hers through participation in the wealth and strength and power of Great Britain. I would appeal to them not to reduce her from the present proud and honest position of equal partnership, equal right, and equal responsibility in the present and future of the United Kingdom, and of the greatest empire that the world has ever seen, into that of a tribute-paying province, a wretched poverty-stricken hanger-on, begging for charity where now she has the right to ask for help. I protest against the Bill because it would over-turn civil society, because it will bring financial ruin upon my country, and because it will let loose forces of disorder that the Irish Legislature will not be able to cope with. I denounce it because it involves the forfeiture of our liberties, civil and religious, the destruction of our industries, and the beggary and bankruptcy of Ireland; and as long as I have got a voice to raise I will raise it against a Bill which will bring ridicule, disgrace, and disaster upon the country I love so well.

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