THE

TRUTH ABOUT THE LAND LEAGUE,

Its Leaders, and its Teaching.

BY

H. O. ARNOLD FORSTER.

"MAKE A NOTE. HERE ARE ABUNDANT MATERIALS. SPREAD THE LIGHT THROUGH ENGLAND."

"TRANSATLANTIC" in the *Irish World.*

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

Since the first edition of this work appeared, many important events have taken place. It is not, however, intended here to discuss those events, or the controversies to which they have given rise. The additions which will be found at the end of the book are inserted in furtherance of the original design of the compiler, namely, to throw light upon the methods of the Irish Land League and its Leaders, and the arguments used by the latter in Ireland and in the British Parliament.

Several points to which attention has recently been called seem capable of further elucidation, and for the sake of convenience they have been dealt with separately, instead of being appended to the chapters to which they might specially be referred.

H. O. ARNOLD FORSTER.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT THE LAND LEAGUE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

"Though a young member of the Whig party, I will venture to speak in the name of the whole body. I tell the honourable and learned gentleman, that the same spirit which sustained us in a just contest for him will sustain us in an equally just contest against him. Calumny, abuse, royal displeasure, popular fury, exclusion from office, exclusion from Parliament, we were ready to endure them all, rather than that he should be less than a British subject. We never will suffer him to be more."—*Macaulay's Speech on Motion for Repeal of the Union, in answer to O'Connell.*

INTRODUCTORY—SOURCES OF INFORMATION—PROBABLE CRITICISMS—THEIR VALUE—QUESTION AT ISSUE—RESPONSIBILITY OF LEADERS—IRISH POINT OF VIEW—THE LEADERS OF THE LAND LEAGUE.

A few words of introduction are necessary in submitting this pamphlet to the public. It is not, and does not pretend to be, exhaustive. No complete history of the Irish Land League can be written until its secret history is before the world; and that is not likely to be for a long time to come. It is safe, however, to prophesy that when it does see the light, the reputation of the organization which it describes will not be improved.

Meanwhile, there are many sources of information already available, and it is from these sources, and from these alone, that the passages contained in the following pages are taken. With few exceptions the extracts are from documents published by, or with the authority of, the Land League. The quotations from speeches are in nearly every instance from sworn reports which have been put in evidence and never challenged. The correctness of the quotation, the effect of the context, and the circumstances of the publication, can in every instance be verified by any member of the public. It must not be

supposed that because the passages selected are short or few in number their paucity or brevity is due to any failure in the supply. The contrary is the case. The Land League has raised up for itself an indestructible monument in the literature which it has created. That literature is voluminous, but it is uniform in its character. What its character is it is the object of this pamphlet to show.

One word may be added in anticipation of the criticisms which are tolerably certain to be made upon this compilation. It will be said that to devote attention to the coarseness and brutality of a few men, is to indicate forgetfulness of the circumstances which make that coarseness and brutality a danger and a curse.

Of course, the argument is illogical, but that has not prevented its doing duty very frequently in the past; nor is it likely to prevent it in the future. But, indeed, whatever weight there is in the proposition that the unhappy past of Ireland is in the main responsible for her unhappy present, it is wholly in favour of the expediency of making as clear as possible how the traditions of that unhappy past are being aggravated and traded upon for the purpose of rendering doubly sure an unhappy future.

It will be no answer to the strictures which the subsequent passages may seem to imply, to say that without English tyranny there would not now be Irish crime. That is a truism, but that is not the point. The point is whether the so-called leaders of the Irish people have or have not used the expressions and given the advice attributed to them in these pages; whether, granting that they did so, the expressions which they used and the advice they proffered were not coarse, brutal, and criminal, calculated to bring about the very consequences which, beyond all controversy, invariably followed them.

For the unfortunate people of Ireland, to whom want, oppression, and the sense of injustice are realities, and who, above all, are ignorant of the wider learning of the world, of the feeling of Englishmen towards them, and of the desire of England to befriend them; for those whose sole idea of what is passing outside their own localities comes through the lying columns of worthless journals, every excuse ought to be made, and indeed is made. But what is to be said in favour of those who, removed from the madness which comes from despair, and free from the perverted ideas of morality which are the fruit of ignorance, have dared deliberately to inflame the vilest passions, and to pander to the

lowest desires of the men whom by every reason of patriotism, of honesty, and of humanity, they were bound to elevate and to protect? (1.)

Once more the question is: Did the men referred to in these pages say and do the things therein attributed to them? If so, did they say them and do them deliberately and of malice aforethought?

Lastly: One remark as to the invariable stock argument about taking the Irish point of view in these matters. Once for all, as far as these men are concerned, there is no Irish point of view. Even within those limits to which with some justice the doctrine may be applied, it has been terribly abused. It is true that in rare instances crimes have been committed in Ireland which, in the popular estimation, were not crimes, or, at the most, venial offences. English politicians, prompted by a charity which has overrun its object, have sometimes sought to palliate the fault because they pity the perpetrator. The tendency is natural enough, but it is not without its perils in Ireland. The lax way in which Englishmen have at times allowed themselves to speak of acts of vengeance for real or fancied injuries committed in Ireland, has done an infinity of harm among a people who are certainly not too ready to appreciate the enormous difference between the infliction of the sentence of death under the sanction of a court of law, and the killing of any human being, however guilty, by an unauthorised and irresponsible fellow-creature.

But whatever may be the moral guilt of those who offend against the law under a fancied claim of right, there is surely no question about that of those who not only know every intricacy of the law, but are able to protect themselves by it when they please, and to influence public opinion in their cause, and are at liberty to choose without interference any and every method of relief save the one which they have deliberately preferred to adopt.

It is right also that the world should realise who the leaders of this Irish Land League really are. Some of them, it is true, are Irishmen others are not; but there is scarcely one among the number who, by his education, by his position, or by his occupation, has not acquired ample opportunities of studying the past history and present condition of his

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(1.) This is how a leading member of the Land League speaks of the relations between England and Ireland: "I will not mince my words, and I say that the one prevailing and unchangeable passion between Ireland and England is the passion of hate."—*Mr. Sexton, M.P., at the meeting of the Central Land League in Dublin, October 14th*, 1881.

country from the outside. For them the excuses, which are perhaps justly to be made for the ignorant and suffering tenantry of the West of Ireland, are not available. Brought up, many of them, with the same advantages, and under the same conditions as the representatives of English constituencies, they deserve the same measure of justice as those representatives receive, and no more. If it be true that their countrymen are prone to be led away into the commission of outrage, it was their duty to denounce outrage in terms that could not be mistaken. If it be true that the history of the past has sown hatred between England and Ireland, it was their duty to join with the people of England, who for forty years have been striving to remove the causes of that hatred. If it be true that they had their country's welfare at heart, it was their duty to repudiate the doctrine of public plunder that their countrymen have been urged to accept. Have they done any of these things? That is the question which the following pages may help us to answer.

It is usually considered that no greater service can be rendered to a politician or to a party than to give publicity to the views which they entertain, and to the objects which they have in view. It is intended in these pages to perform this friendly office on behalf of those politicians and of that party whose words, methods, and actions are therein recorded.

It is the aim of the compiler throughout to allow the facts as far as possible to speak for themselves, and to reproduce, whenever practicable, the actual words, whether written or spoken, of the persons whose careers it is intended to illustrate. Fortunately it is not difficult to obtain a vast amount of information without transgressing these limits. The literature of the Land League is abundant, and the extracts which have been made from that literature in this work are, as has been said, in all cases capable of verification, and if need be of correction.

The Irish National Land League has appealed to the world upon the justice of its cause, and the purity of its methods. It is at least fair that the world should have the opportunity of forming its judgment by the aid, not only of the carefully selected utterances which are reserved for the House of Commons and for English platforms; but by the light also of the teaching which, with equal deliberation and far greater energy, has been inflicted upon the people of Ireland.

CHAPTER II.

THE FOUNDER OF THE LAND LEAGUE.

BOSWELL.—I cannot think his intention was bad.

JOHNSON.—Sir, that will not do. We cannot prove any man's intention to be bad. You may shoot a man through the head, and say you intended to miss him; but the judge will order you to be hanged.

Boswell's Life of Johnson.

MICHAEL DAVITT—THE CHARGE AGAINST HIM—HIS TRIAL—LETTER ATTRIBUTED TO HIM—OPINION OF THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE—VERDICT AND SENTENCE—SUBSEQUENT CAREER OF DAVITT.

Michael Davitt was the founder of the Irish National Land League, and by universal consent it appears that Michael Davitt is, of all the leading members of that Association, the most entitled to our esteem, admiration, and respect. Public opinion is probably quite correct in its estimate, and, apart from all other considerations, there can be no doubt that real suffering and real imprisonment must and ought to excite our sympathy, even though that suffering and that imprisonment be justly inflicted. This is more likely to be the case where constant publicity brings the realities of the situation closely under the public observation. It is not desirable to interfere in any way with the existence or expression of this very commendable sentiment of pity. It is possible, however, for it to assume dimensions, and to lead us to conclusions, which the circumstances in no way warrant; and when a particular individual is singled out as its special object, it seems but natural to enquire how far we are justified in extending to one man, convicted under the ordinary law of the land, a sympathy which we are not accustomed to accord to his many companions in misfortune.

It may be as well, therefore, to recall, as simply as possible, 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.

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 what 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."

It was proved that "a family" in the Fenian phraseology meant a secret society ; that the "pen we have been selling" referred to revolvers.

The theory of the prosecution was that this letter referred to a plot to murder some unknown person who was considered unsafe by the leaders of the gang, and they maintained also that Davitt was a consenting, and approving, party to the execution of this plot. The friends of the prisoner maintained his innocence. It is impossible to arrive at a moral certainty about this or any other matter, but 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. As men presumably of reason and of sense 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."

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.

It would be unnecessary to revive the recollection of these facts were it not that some allusion to Davitt's antecedents seems due, by virtue of the prominent place which has been assigned to him in the organisation of the Irish Land League.

He was detected in an attempt to distribute firearms in the large towns of the kingdom ; he was detected in what the Lord Chief Justice of England and twelve jurymen were unanimous in believing to be a scheme of private murder. Our English towns were saved from the unpleasantness of having to suppress a Fenian outbreak, and the life of the unknown victim was rendered secure.

As Davitt was fairly tried, so was he fairly and even generously dealt with. After serving a portion of his sentence he was released by the clemency of the Crown. He chose to ally himself with an

association whose attributes and objects are described hereafter, but which, it suffices to say, boasted of its determination to elude or to defy the law. He took the consequences, and must have expected to take them. Whether he did so or not, however, there was plainly only one duty before the Executive of the country, namely, to revoke the licence which its holder thought himself compelled to abuse.

In justice to Davitt it must be said that he has throughout maintained the reputation of being the most dignified and possibly the most entitled to respect of his colleagues.

CHAPTER III.

TEACHINGS OF THE LAND LEAGUE, 1880.

PART I.

SPEECHES BY MEMBERS OF THE LAND LEAGUE.

A trumpeter being taken prisoner in a battle, begged hard for quarter. "Spare me, good sirs, I beseech you," said he, "and put me not to death without cause, for I have killed no one myself, nor have I any arms but this trumpet only."

"For that very reason," said they who had seized him, "shall you the sooner die, for without the spirit to fight yourself, you stir up others to warfare and bloodshed."

Moral.—He who incites to strife is worse than he who takes part in it.

Æsop's Fables.

LAND LEAGUE SPEECHES IN 1880—MR. PARNELL AT NEW ROSS—MR. BIGGAR ON MURDER—MR. BIGGAR ON GRAZING FARMS.

Having said a word or two as to the founder of the Land League it now becomes our duty to enquire in what spirit, and by what means, the Institution which he created was formed and conducted.

Here, as in all cases, it is best, because fairest, to go to the leading members of the Land League themselves, and learn from their mouths what it was that they were teaching to the unhappy peasantry of Ireland during the summer and autumn of 1880.

Luckily, there is abundant material at hand upon which we are able to draw. The speeches made by the leading members of the Central and Local Land Leagues are on record, and have been preserved with a fidelity and accuracy such as only the most perfect system of short-hand writing, practised by masters in the stenographic art, could have achieved. In these records we shall find the information we require.

First in point of time, first too perhaps in its mischievous brutality, is the well-known speech of Mr. Parnell at New Ross. The words of

this address have become to a certain extent historical; but the circumstances under which they were delivered, and the rider by which they were accompanied, are not perhaps equally fresh in the recollection of the public. It is permissible, therefore, to recall them. Speaking at New Ross on September 26th, 1880, almost on the grave of a young man who, though innocent of any offence, real or imaginary, had been brutally murdered in broad daylight; speaking within a few weeks of the event, and while the enquiry to which it gave rise was still in progress, the leader of the Land League delivered himself of these words :—

"I had wished, in referring to a sad occurrence which took place lately—the shooting, or attempted shooting, of a land agent in this neighbourhood—I had wished to point out *that recourse to such measures of procedure* is *entirely unnecessary, and absolutely prejudicial*, WHERE THERE IS A SUITABLE ORGANIZATION AMONG THE TENANTS THEMSELVES."

As above suggested, the rider is important, not as demonstrating a fact, but as enforcing a theory. The *fact* is exactly the reverse of what Mr. Parnell chose to assert. The increase of crime in a district has invariably been in almost exact proportion to the increase in the number and violence of the Land League meetings. So far was it from being the case, that the extension of the Land League organization was considered an adequate substitute for the crime of murder, that it is true, to use the words of Mr. Gladstone, that "crime dogged the footsteps of the Land League." Wherever the organization was most perfect there the terrorism and lawlessness were the most complete.

This was Mr. Parnell's first protest against murder; we shall see that it was not his last. His indignant denunciation did not, however, have much effect in dissuading his admirers from indulgence in "the unnecessary and prejudicial measure of procedure."

Mr. Parnell was worthily seconded. Mr. Biggar, his colleague and ally, contributed the weight of his counsel to the common fund of advice tendered to the people of Ireland by their leaders. During the month of October, 1880, this gentleman made several speeches to public meetings in Ireland; and as Mr. Biggar is a member of Parliament, and as his utterances were endorsed by the presence of two of his most distinguished colleagues (Mr. Sexton and Mr. A. O'Connor), it is worth while to quote them at some length.

"There is another question," said the member for Cavan, "which has been raised, very much. The Land League are unfairly charged with the shooting of landlords. It is no part of the duty of the Land League to recommend the shooting of landlords

for a great variety of reasons. They never have given any advice of the sort. Mr. Hussey (a land agent) may be a very bad man, and plenty of other men are as bad as Mr. Hussey, but I can tell you what the Land League can do. If anyone is charged with shooting or offering violence to the landlord or his agent, it is the duty of the Land League to see that that person who is charged with the offence shall get a fair trial. Well you, the members of the local *Land League, can use your exertions to get everything in favour of the person who is charged with such a crime as shooting a landlord.* You can take care an innocent man shall not suffer the penalty he is not entitled to suffer. These are all things which are thoroughly legitimate, and which you can do, and which will have the effect of bringing about a beneficial state of things."

At a meeting in the same month the speaker said :—

"It is your duty and it is your interest to give your assistance in such a manner as you can easily do—in certain ways—which manner I will now point out to you. We do not recommend shooting landlords. *That is an extreme measure, and certainly we cannot recommend it ;* and besides, it is held undesirable, for the interest of the cause, that it should be done, *for this reason : that when such a thing takes place it is blazoned forth in all the English newspapers, and prejudice is excited in the English mind against the Irish tenant farmers,* which is calculated to interfere to a material extent with the advocacy of my friend Mr. Parnell and others on behalf of the tenant farmers."

A third and last quotation will suffice :—

"Now our worthy chairman in his speech said that it was undesirable that anything in the way of violence towards the landlords should be perpetrated. Now on that subject I will say this : that the Land League as a body wants to do what is most beneficial, and they do not want that any violence should be offered to the landlords. Now *one of the reasons is this—that persons who have undertaken to shoot landlords have missed the landlord and shot some one whom they did not intend.* Now that is one objection which is palpable on the face of it. But there are other objections which have been raised against this agitation as a body—that deeds of violence have been committed on the part of people who come to Land League meetings ; and the result of that has been that it is calculated to injure the cause of the tenant farmers of Ireland in public opinion with those likely to have the decision of the Irish land tenure. And you should discourage deeds of violence then. Then there is another objection, which will undoubtedly be palpable to you all. If acting violently to any class of people became the general thing the result would be that deeds of violence would become general, and then bring discredit on the Irish people. These are reasons that are sure to be felt."

Such are Mr. Biggar's reasons against committing the crime of murder ; they may be briefly summarised thus :—Do not commit murder because—1. You may miss your man. 2. You may be tried by an unfair tribunal and convicted. 3. You will create a prejudice against you in England. 4. You may, perhaps, suffer yourselves if you murder too freely, because the country will become demoralised.

But this is not quite the end of this matter. The coarse ruffianism

of these addresses would be harmless enough in England; and it is, perhaps, those who forget that what is contemptible in England is dangerous, and known to be dangerous, in Ireland, who are disposed to treat Mr. Biggar's vile phrases as amusing whimsicalities. The consequence, if not the result, of one of these harangues was that within a district twelve miles square, which had been previously tranquil, no fewer than eighty-seven outrages were committed in a few weeks after its delivery!

It is a maxim of the English law that a man must be responsible for the natural consequence of his acts. If Mr. Biggar was not aware that the probable consequence of such speeches as those quoted above would be the actual result which followed them, he was probably the only man professing to be acquainted with Ireland and Irish feelings at the time who could be accused of such ignorance.

One more speech of Mr. Biggar's is worth quoting, for it throws some light on a crime which has not been unfrequent during the present agitation.

Speaking at a Land League meeting in the autumn of 1880, he says:—

"Now you would not be justified—I can tell you this—in threatening the herd off a big grazier, you would not be justified in using any personal violence towards him; but, as I have told you, you would be justified, and thoroughly justified, in trying to persuade him to leave the occupation which he then followed, and try to get one which would be less injurious to his neighbours. (Cheers.) If this herd would refuse to take the laudable advice of his neighbours, why then other means might be used. For instance, the shopkeepers in the village might cease to supply him with the things he requires; he might get no assistance in any of his difficulties, and his position would become so intolerable that he would probably give up that occupation. Then, when the matter had gone so far, of course it would be inconvenient for the landlord to look after his cattle himself. (Laughter and cheers.) Well then, you know, when there is no one to look after the cattle, if by any means—of course I have told you before that above all things you should not attempt to maim or injure the cattle of anyone, because no one could defend conduct of that sort—but I tell you what I might say on this subject, that there is no law, human or divine, that would force you to look after this man's cattle if you were not in his employ, and if you found the cattle straying on the road it really would be nothing criminal to avoid taking any notice of the cattle. (Laughter.) Then again, my friends, suppose the stone fences—any of the stone fences along the road-side—were broken down, and the holes were in them, of course you would not be called upon at all to repair these fences, and you would not be called upon to point out to this landlord who is doing such incalculable injury to the country—to point out to him that that injury had taken place in his fence." (Laughter.)

CHAPTER IV.

TEACHINGS OF THE LAND LEAGUE, 1880.

PART II.

SPEECHES BY MEMBERS OF THE LAND LEAGUE.

"A species of men, to whom a state of order would become a sentence of obscurity, are nourished into a dangerous magnitude by the heat of intestine disturbances; and it is no wonder that, by a sort of sinister piety, they cherish, in their turn, the disorders which are the parents of all their consequence."—*Burke.*

SPEECHES DELIVERED AT LAND LEAGUE MEETINGS—THEIR UNIFORM CHARACTER—SPEECHES BY BRENNAN—M. O'SULLIVAN—R. LALOR—MUFFENEY—HARRIS—GORDON—NALLY.

We shall now proceed to quote, with but little comment, a few other passages from the speeches of speakers at Land League meetings during the year 1880. It must not be supposed, however, for a moment that the selection of a few brief portions can convey any adequate idea of the real nature of the Land League teaching during the period in question. To understand properly what were the doctrines which were deliberately implanted in the minds of the Irish peasantry, it is necessary to realize the persistency with which they were inculcated, and the almost absolute uniformity of their character. No isolated indiscretion, no single recommendation made in the heat and excitement of the moment, would deserve to occupy our attention. But here there is neither haste nor excitement. The same unfailing incitements to crime and to dishonesty occur over and over again with "damnable iteration," varied only by fresh extravagances of false illustration and misplaced metaphor, which at once stamp them as being the prepared and considered utterances of the speakers. Only by wading through page after page and volume after volume of the oratory of the Land League

spokesmen, can a just idea be formed of the flood of poison that rolled over Ireland during the first year of Mr. Parnell's agitation.

We will begin with a few passages from the speeches of the Secretary of the Land League, Mr. Brennan (1). These are his words :—

"From next Tuesday morning every man in this assemblage, every man in Ireland, has a right to have a gun (cheers), and not only has a right *to have a gun*, for you always had that right, *but you have now* a right to show it; and before many weeks will have *passed away you will have a right to use* it. You will have a right to use it in shooting the rabbits and the hares (cheers); so I trust you will no longer live on Indian meal, but that you will have something better in the pot. (Laughter and cheers.)" (2).

Again, he says :—

"Well, I do not know whether I am preaching Communism or not, but if it be Communism to say that the earth was made by God for the people, and that the people have as much right to the earth as the free air of heaven, then I am a Communist, and I glory in it. (Cheers.) We had a good deal lately about giving to Cæsar that which belongs to Cæsar. Most readily and heartily do we accept that doctrine; but if Cæsar is to get his due what compensation are Irish landlords to give you? Unfortunately they cannot restore some of the things of which they have robbed you. They cannot restore the many happy homes in the land. They cannot restore the two millions of your people whom they murdered in '47; and this is the institution and these are the men that some land reformers told us that we should make a fixity in the country. *France, when she was getting shut of her landlords, did not give them twenty years' compensation.* No; *she gave them twenty feet of a rope.* (Cheers.) We are the followers of Stein; we want to accomplish a peaceful revolution." (3.)

A little later on he appears inclined to abandon strict adherence to the policy of Stein, for he says :—

"When I think of these things I ask myself and I ask you what compensation are Irish landlords entitled to?

'A Voice: Nothing.

"Mr. Thomas Brennan: When I advocate the programme of the Land League, and ask you to adopt it, I do injustice to my own feelings, for I believe the compensation most Irish landlords would be entitled to *would be a prison or a rope* (cheers) for having robbed or murdered the Irish people." (4)

Mr. Malachi O'Sullivan, a very prominent member of the Land League and a traverser at the trials, is responsible for the following :—

"I am here to-day in open insurrection to landlordism in every shape or form; you must have that before you, you must have that in your mouths. If you are not

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(1.) Mr. Brennan was one of the signatories of Mr. Parnell's "No Rent" Manifesto and a member of the Central Land League.

(2.) Teevnacreena, May 30th, 1880. (3.) Cardenstown, May 23rd.

(4.) Rosscahill, November 14th.

determined to have that you are not determined to have your rights. Who can give them to you? Organise! Organise! Organise! In other countries peasant proprietary has been established. In France the peasants were first in much the same way as we are. The people rose together as one man and won. Then I would like to ask you people to come together, only that we are a hundred years behind the French peasants; we are not as determined as they were, but we might be. (Cheers.)" (1.)

Mr. R. Lalor's words at Athy can hardly be called an effective protest against murder. As to his assertion that the Land League controlled the crime, as has been shown (2) it is simply the contrary of the fact. He says:—

"How many have been shot in this country, or deprived of their lives, since this Land League commenced? No, I am convinced that only for the National Land League there would have been ten murders to the one since it commenced. *What we have, and what the Land League has to try, is to show you another road besides shooting those men, because they are not worth shooting. (Cheers.)* Recollect who these poor wretches are, these landlords. They are foreigners. You can judge of who they are by the people who gave them a footing here." (3.)

Mr. Muffeney has the merit of being frank. This is his advice, given in the name of the Land League:—

"The Land League counsels you to hold the harvest, and pledge yourselves, before God and your country, that you will not take a farm from which another has been evicted. *You can carry and use guns and pistols. You may shoot ground game and overground game, such as rattlesnakes, which you may point your gun at, and if they bite shoot them.*" (4)

One other passage may be quoted here, although the speech in which it was contained was delivered at a much later date than those hitherto referred to. The words are those of Mr. Boyton, (5) the organiser of the Land League, and were spoken on the 5th March, 1881. They were as follows:—

"We have seen plenty of landlords and agents that deserve to be shot at any man's hands. I have always denounced the commission of outrages by night, but meet him in the broad daylight, *and if you must blow out his brains*, blow them out in the daytime. . . . If the police come at night and you have an old musket or an old pistol, and your wife or daughter is frightened, you can blow out his brains."

It is not necessary to continue these quotations, nor need we waste much time in recalling the brutal recommendations of such persons as Harris, Gordon, and Nally. Had it not been that their services were

(1.) Finea, May 27th, 1880. (2.) P. 10. (3.) Athy, October 10th.
(4.) Knockmore, October 31st.

(5.) Member of the Executive of the Central Land League. Messrs. Egan, Sheridan, and Boyton are the gentlemen whose services have been proffered by Captain O'Shea, on behalf of Mr. Parnell, as persons "who would use all their exertions, if placed in a position to do so, to advance the pacification of the country." It must be allowed that if the Triumvirate are half as successful in laying the wind as they have been in raising it, their efforts are likely to produce most happy results.—See Letter of Captain O'Shea to the *Times*, May 19th.

throughout the agitation accepted by the Land League ; were it not that they spoke openly and frequently at Land League meetings ; and were it not that no rebuke of any kind from those who led the agitation ever reached them, they might be passed over as altogether too contemptible for notice. Remembering, however, the facts stated above, and remembering too that the counsels which they were permitted to give in the name of the Land League were faithfully followed over and over again, by those to whom they addressed themselves, it is perhaps best to give a few specimens of what they actually said.

Mr. P. J. Gordon, speaking at Abbeyknockmoy on the 3rd October, speaks thus :—

"Well when I arrived in Clonbur I had the *pleasure of hearing* that some great land robber [Lord Mountmorres] was murdered or shot himself."

Again, he says :—

"There has been a return asked in the House of Commons the other night for the number of cattle slaughtered in Ireland maliciously the last two years. *I say the cowardly fellow who would slaughter the sheep belonging to the landlord would not have the courage to slaughter the landlord himself.* I tell you I'd neither injure the sheep nor cow of the land robber who threw me on the world to starve. I would say with the fellow who had his white trousers destroyed by a mad dog, '*I will neither beat you nor abuse you, but I will cry mad dog till the people hunt you down and kill you.*'" (1)

It is interesting to know what is considered the appropriate treatment for a "mad dog" in Ireland, for at a meeting at which Mr. Dillon, M.P., Mr. O'Kelly, M.P., Mr. Brennan, and Mr. Walsh were present, we find a gentleman who lays down the unwritten law in the following terms :—

"One passage of the resolution must apply to everyone, that no one should take a farm from which another has been evicted. He should *be as a mad dog.*"

But to return to Mr. Gordon. On the 13th June we find him telling the people "not to pay or obey the Government of England, or any other Government which is inclined to rule you with an iron hand. If you are evicted the Land League will assist you." A few days later he says :—

"The only way that you have, to let the Government see that you are not cowards any longer is to arm yourselves, and if you have no way of getting the rifle sell the old

(1.) Caherlistrane, November 14th.

cow and buy one. You have a privilege now to buy a gun, and if you can afford to pay for it, you can be a policeman in town with your gun on your shoulder."

This is how Mr. Parnell's policemen are recruited!

The following passage is instructive:—

"In referring to the land sharks and land grabbers, unfortunately we have them in our midst. I ask you in the name of Ireland to treat them with contempt, pass them by, don't speak to them in the fair. (A Voice: Give them what Lord Leitrim got.)

"Mr. J. W. Nally: You are too cowardly to do that.

Mr. Nally's services to the Land League were frequent, and his usual adjuration to the people took the form of asking them to "use his pills"—a playful synonym for committing murder. He it was, too, who wished the people "to unite to scatter that blasted Government [the British] with dynamite and gun-cotton;" who suggested also that a ten shilling licence should be taken out to entitle the owners to shoot the police and landlords as vermin.

But it is useless to waste any more space in reciting the utterances of Messrs. Gordon and Nally. They were tried, together with other Land League supporters, at Dublin, and discharged, the jury not being able to agree. They have always claimed to be ardent supporters of Mr. Parnell, and their services have never been disavowed.

CHAPTER V.

TEACHINGS OF THE LAND LEAGUE, 1880.

PART III.

SPEECHES INCITING TO REBELLION AND TREASON.

"Everyone who is convicted of High Treason must be sentenced to be hanged by the neck until he is dead.

"Everybody who in the case of felony would be an accessory before the fact is, in the case of High Treason, a principal traitor."

Digest of the Criminal Law.

Amendment to the Address proposed by Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P. : . . "That this House regards with grave concern the action of the Executive in Ireland whereby . . . . hundreds of your Majesty's subjects in Ireland are detained in prison without the right of Habeas Corpus, many of them on the alleged suspicion of offences for which, even if duly tried and found guilty, they could not have been subjected to punishment as severe as that which they have already undergone."—February 9th, 1882.

SPEECHES BY BOYTON—BRENNAN—WALSH — NALLY — M. O'SULLIVAN—T. D. SULLIVAN—SHERIDAN—DILLON.

The passages we have referred to are not by any means the most significant indications of the nature of this "constitutional agitation" which was going on till it was rudely interrupted by a "brutal and tyrannical Government." Again we will let the Land League speak for itself, and the lesser lights shall begin the recital.

Let us commence with an official of the Land League, the "Paid Organiser," Mr. Boyton. He says :—

"Men of the North, I ask you to-day, and I do so in the name of God—in the name of your common country—I ask you to sound the knell of despair to the power of Britain. And I to-day want you to lift your voices and hands [all hands raised] to fight for the green soil of Erin. (Cheers.) There are great but misguided men who state and write that we are leaving aside the great, glorious cause of Irish nationality, and occupying our attention with the lesser one. It is false. Until you can take the green colour, which God Almighty printed on that ground, you can never separate the greater from the lesser of these glorious causes. Furthermore, I say to you that for the short time this movement has been on foot no leader ever gained as much for us as our illustrious Parnell."

Again he says :—

"Now, I want to see side by side with every police barrack a good rifle club. You have a right to organise these clubs, and to purchase these rifles under the British Constitution until they make any patching or tinkering of it again, and you have also the right to keep the arms, and to also keep your temper, and do not allow yourselves to be trapped by my language, or by the inflated bombast of any other man, into making 'a fool' of yourselves. Do not go boasting, but go to work honestly, determinedly, like men, first to create free crops, next to keep your farms until the sheriff comes, backed by the soldiers, for they are not policemen—(cheers)—backed by the army of occupation in Ireland. I tell you, in God's name then, that in adopting this resolution you are doing something serious, and more than may appear here to-day. You are sending a message beyond the sea. Do not deceive them. They would if they could send one hundred thousand men like me, with the benefit, the advantages of a freeman's education, and of a soldier's training—(cheers)—to help you ; but they do not think—and I do not think—you ought to be helped if you do not shew some determination to be no longer like a rope of sand." (1.)

He continues :—

"Therefore your work to-day is not agitation ; it is not speeches, or bands, or music, or banners ; it is the solid stern work of combining to bring on its knees the mainstay of the English rule in Ireland. (Cheers.) Mr. Dillon has told you, that which we knew all along, never to look for anything from any British Government, no matter how Liberal, that you are not prepared to tear out of their teeth. (Cheers.) Mr. Gladstone has instructed his satellites in Ireland to institute proceedings against the men who have led the people in this movement, to prosecute them for conspiracy. Well, for my own part, in the cause of justice and humanity, that I believe this cause to be, I am proud of the name of conspirator. (Cheers.) The last conspiracy that I was engaged in politically numbered 100,000 Irishmen with rifles in their hands—(loud cheers)—and that conspiracy succeeded in doing in the United States of America what we propose to do with your help, with God's help and yours, here in Ireland, to blot out the stain of slavery. (Cheers.) Therefore, if we be conspirators, every man in that assemblage, I hold out my hand to him as a brother conspirator." (2.)

At Dunmanaway he recites the following anecdote, and gives his explanation of it :—

"There was a little story told by Mr. Parnell, at a meeting in the Rotunda, at the conclusion of his address, to the effect that a certain American gentleman came upon the platform and said, 'Parnell, there is twenty-five dollars, five for bread and twenty for lead.' Now that simple little bit of humour has put your hereditary enemy in a great flutter. Therefore, I am not authorised by the President of the Irish National Land League to tell you that was a *bonâ fide* transaction, that the man gave him twenty-five dollars. I am authorised to tell you here, and I came all the way down to Dunmanaway, that those twenty dollars are perfectly safe, and that as Mr. Forster, in the House of Commons on Friday night, refused to tell your representatives what he was going to do with the £30,000 of Secret Service money, and that he has displayed admirable reticence in doing so, we, in like manner, are not going to tell Mr. Forster what we are going to do with the twenty dollars that has since swelled into 20,000. The money gives 4 or 5 per cent. interest on it, and we are turning it into good round sovereigns, with the

(1.) Carndonagh, July 4th. (2.) Thurles, November 14th.

imprint of Her Most Gracious Majesty upon them. Therefore I ask you in the name of God, in the name of every honest Irishman, in the name of your long-suffering country, to stick together like brothers, one and all. Shew us evidence that you are in earnest to help us, and take a share in this twenty dollars by shewing us that you will stand together. Daniel O'Connell never had half such a following on Tara or Mullaghmast as our illustrious young leader, Charles Stuart Parnell—(cheers)—and I tell you that if you stick together you will see that this assemblage will be historical in the county of Cork. You will stand together for peasant proprietary for Ireland. (Cheers.) We have at the back of that more than great agitators had before. We have moral force, and we are going to use it; and, perhaps, we have something in the shape of physical force, but we don't want to use it. We may some day come down and see you, and talk about something else." (Cheers.) (1.)

From the paid organiser of the Land League, let us pass to the Secretary, and see what advice he gives on behalf of the organisation which he represents.

Mr. Brennan says:—

"I do not believe in the efficacy of Parliamentary representation in the English House of Commons. I believe that if this country is ever to be redeemed, socially or politically, it will be by the might of mind and might of arm of Ireland's democracy. I ask you to keep before your minds the one ultimate object, the sovereign independence of your country." (2)

Again, at Westport, he declares himself in these terms:—

"It is the duty of every man to work to make Ireland a nation. I mean no mockery of freedom. I mean Ireland mistress of her own destinies—(cheers)—Ireland with a national army to guard her shores, Ireland with a national senate, and Ireland with a national government that will know no higher authority than the sovereign will of the Irish people." (Cheers.) (3.)

On May 30th, he says:—

"As an Irish Nationalist, I hope for and will work for my country's independence, and I believe that I cannot at present adopt a more feasible plan to accomplish that purpose than by the destruction of what has been the enemy's garrison in this country. ('Down with landlordism.') There will be very little use in talking of making Ireland a nation when what should compose that nation will have been swept away from the country. Let us then go on in this work for the destruction of landlordism. Let us take it ourselves, what are our manifest rights. (Cheers for Mr. O'Kelly, M.P.) Yes, cheer for your member—(cheers)—because in the House of Commons to-day there is not a more sincere Irish Nationalist or a more determined opponent of landlordism than James J. O'Kelly." (Loud cheers.) (4.)

Mr. Walsh (5), afterwards one of the traversers, early learned to appreciate the connection between the Land League and Fenianism.

(1.) Dunmanaway, May 30th. (2.) Carrick-on-Shannon, October 24th.
(3.) Westport, October 17th. (4.) Teevnacrena, May 30th.
(5.) Member of the Central Land League.

He says :—

"I would ask the men of Sylaun not to marry any young lady who works for 6d a-day, and I'd ask the women of Sylaun not to marry any man unless he is a member of the Land League or a Fenian. You will find you will do more by works of this kind than if you were cheering for a lifetime." (1.)

The same gentleman, speaking at Milltown, says :—

"Mr. Parnell, Mr. Davitt, Mr. Brennan, and others, recognise that the first distinction of national independence is the successful carrying out of the Irish National Land League." (2.)

In October we find Messrs. Nally and Walsh together on the platform at a Land League meeting at Shrule.

Mr. Nally delivered himself as follows :—

"But I am firmly convinced that by first uprooting this system . . . by first laying the foundation stone of national independence in the destruction of Irish landlordism, you will then be able gloriously to build that edifice for which Emmet died, and for which Lord Edward bled. I have been told that there are here to-day only two parties, the National Land League and the Fenians. (Cheers for the Fenians.)

"Mr. Walsh : Three cheers more for Fenianism. (Cheers.)

"Mr. Nally : Are we to be told here to-day that the National Land League and the Fenians cannot unite? We have only one enemy—the English Government. For seven hundred years they have tried to destroy our nationality. We lived through the Elizabeths, the Marys, and the Victorias, and we are destined to-day to live until our nation is a glorious one—an independent one and a glorious one. The cause of every tenant farmer who is a Land Leaguer is the cause of every man who is a Fenian." (3.)

The following extract is from a speech by Mr. M. O'Sullivan, already referred to as an active member of the League (4.) :—

"It is not by words and by cheers that we can accomplish that end. If it were it would be easy enough to gain independence. ('Hear, hear.') Let us look to America to-day. Let us look to every country in the world. Can you point me to one——? What is it that has gained it? The sword, and the sword alone ; the rifle and the man——. These are the only powers that can gain your independence, and any person that tells you the contrary, tells you a lie. 'What rends in twain the dungeon's chain?' 'The sword.' What is it that will right the oppression——? What is it that will right Irishmen, and no man will say there is no oppression——? Who can stand here and tell me that the Irish tenant farmer is not a slave, a slave to his landlord? 'What rends in twain the despot's chain?' If we had no despots, if we had not the prison, we have got too much of it. It is only in one way we can get rid of it. What is the —— of the sword? To free the slave ; to make all men free before the nation. Are Irishmen cowards enough that they will not stand up and free themselves as other nations have done? It rests for you to say whether you will or not. This is a great day. Will you ask them another year to send you alms? Will you not stand up and say to them to-day, when they are celebrating their anniversary

(1.) Caherlistrane, September 5th. (2.) Milltown, July 25th.
(3.) Shrule, October 31st.
(4.) The omissions are owing to interruptions, during which the reporter was unable to continue his notes.

of independence, will you not say, 'You are our brothers, we are ready to sacrifice our lives for our country as you have done to free yours?' Will that cry go to the world? ('Yes.') Are you determined? ('Yes.') Will you have that in your hearts? ('Yes.') It is rarely you are spoken to like this. Men have come forward to gain notoriety to get into Parliament. They have duped you. The time has come now when men, no better than yourselves, mean to shake off the landlord yoke in this country, and also the yoke of British domination." (1.)

Mr. T. D. Sullivan is responsible for the following :—

"Now, one word in conclusion. There are people in this country who are foolish enough to think that if the farmers of Ireland were made secure in their holdings, if they were made comfortable and happy, they would forget the national cause of Ireland. That slander has been uttered upon the tenant farmers, who are the bone and sinew of the Irish race. Here to-day, I denounce it as a slander—(cheers)—and if I could believe that story for a single minute, I never would stand upon a land platform. But, my friends, I have a different opinion of the Irish race, and my belief is this, that as you make them strong, as you clothe them and feed them, and raise their hearts to a true perception of what the condition of the people should be, according as you educate them, and according as their young people grow up about them, reading and thinking and learning for themselves the history of their country and the history of the world, stronger and stronger will grow the spirit of Irish nationality in the hearts of the people." (Hear, hear, and 'Bravo.') (2.)

The next fragment is by Mr. Sheridan, a colleague of Mr. Parnell's in the Central Land League in Dublin :—

"Mr. Chairman and fellow countrymen, I feel proud at seeing you assembled here to-day in your thousands. We must assert our rights, and if we do not get them through our members of Parliament, I would ask you then to ring out your voices *through the muzzles of 'Minié'* rifles as well as from those platforms. We have America at our back, and she is watching over us and helping us in the hours of our distress. (A Voice: 'Cheers for America.') There are evictions in all parts of Ireland; the landlords are fighting against us with a strong hand. Organise yourselves, then; join the National Land League, and by this means you will see your country what she once was, a free and prosperous country." (Cheers.) (3.)

He goes on :—

"God forbid that we will ever forget to make Ireland a nation; and when I say Ireland a nation, I mean more than a green flag floating from Dublin Castle; I mean Ireland for the Irish. If the government of Ireland . . . Most of us here will agree that the highest form of government is a republic. Well, you may establish an Irish Republic on Irish soil; but as long as the tillers of that soil are forced to support a class, your Irish Republic would be but a mockery of freedom. (Cheers.)"

Mr. Dillon, who is always frank, declares himself thus :—

"It has been asserted, men of Tipperary, that the Nationalists of Ireland are hostile to the movement to set free the tenant farmers of Ireland and make them freemen in the land of their birth. (Cheers.) We come here to-day to a town where

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(1.) Rainsborough, July 4th. (2.) Ennis, September 19th.
(3.) Lackagh, August 1st.

no movement can shew its head that is hostile to the Nationalists of Ireland ; and I say that when the Irish Land League has assembled in Tipperary a meeting so large as this, that the man who will, in the face of this meeting, tell me that the Irish Nationalists are against the Land League is nothing better than a common liar. (Cheers.) No, neither are the Irish Nationalists hostile to the Land League, nor is the Land League hostile to the Nationalists." (1.)

At Holyford, Mr. Dillon expresses the same idea with equal clearness :—

"This is the cause which every Irishman can go into, whether he be Catholic or Protestant, whether he be a Nationalist or not. It is a cause which the Irish Nationalist can go into, because its object is to break down and defeat the English garrison which holds this country for England. Its object is to clear the path for Irish nationality by emancipating all the people of Ireland from the control of English landlordism, and settling them in their own homes as free men." (2.)

Of course the sentiments contained in the passages above quoted are in a certain sense unobjectionable from the moral point of view. If men really do make up their minds that treason and rebellion are the only remedies for the misfortunes of their country, no one can well blame them for saying so. But what some of these speakers seem to forget is that treason and rebellion have their penalties as well as their pleasures. The individuals who produce this kind of talk have probably good reason to be thankful that they have aired their opinions in the British dominions. What is a playful exercise in Ireland might be a serious matter in the United States, or on the Continent. But this is not the gravest part of the matter. Mr. Sheridan may urge the people to join the Land League, and "to ring out their claims from the muzzles of their Minié rifles ;" or Mr. M. O'Sullivan may brag about using the sword, and not much harm may be done in the way of upsetting the British Empire. Neither of these heroes is likely to be called upon for an exhibition of his prowess. But the real mischief appears when week after week, and sometimes day after day, the record comes in of heartless and brutal murders or attempted murders of men shot down, not by rifles used in open warfare, but discharged in the darkness by the secret assassin.

(1.) Tipperary, October 31st. (2.) Holyford, October 19th.

CHAPTER VI.

TEACHINGS OF THE LAND LEAGUE, 1880.

PART IV.

MR. PARNELL'S SPEECHES.

"Held up the buckler of the people's cause
Against the Crown, and skulked behind the laws.
. . . . . .
Weak arguments which yet he knew full well
Were strong with people easy to rebel."

Dryden.

SPEECHES BY MR. PARNELL—REMARKS UPON THEIR CHARACTER—SPEECHES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—IN IRELAND—BANQUET SPEECHES—AMERICAN SPEECHES.

Hitherto we have not referred to the utterances of the Leader of the Land League in the direction of treason. It must not be supposed, however, that the omission is due to any lack of material. But Mr. Parnell's speeches stand upon a somewhat peculiar footing, and deserve, therefore, a special and separate notice.

It has been already observed that the material provided by the Land League for the edification of the British Parliament and of the English people, was of a totally different nature from that which it is considered desirable to present for the instruction of the Irish peasantry. The speeches which will be found below are a striking illustration of this proposition. It may be said, to use a mathematical figure, that Mr. Parnell's sentiments on the subject of treason "vary in proportion to the square of the distance." The difference between the hon. member for Cork in the House of Commons, and the "Uncrowned Prince of Ireland" starring it in Pittston or Cincinnati, is as great as that between the temperature of the pole and of the equator.

Let us first hear what he says upon the floor of the House. He is

explaining the object and purposes of the Land League, which he declares to be as follows :—

"The objects of the Land League are very simple. First, to prevent rack-renting; second, to enable tenants to become owners of their own farms by paying a fair rent for a limited number of years; third, to facilitate the working of the 'Bright Clauses' of the Land Act. Those are the objects which we have been working to bring to a successful issue. . . . I can only say that for my part I think at every meeting at which I spoke in Ireland, up to the time when the Chief Secretary sent extra constabulary into the starving localities of Galway and Mayo, that I took care to reprobate outrage and to point out that we did not wish outrage, but we wished to act in a peaceful and constitutional manner." (1.)

In the course of the same debate he again states the aim of the Land League, as prepared for English consumption, in these modest terms :—

"I should say that our desire was, by acting upon public opinion, to replace the bad portion of the law of the land."

Soon after this Mr. Parnell appears to have realised that, in the opinion of some, there appeared to be a marked discrepancy between the constitutional and loyal sentiments which so frequently animated him in the House of Commons, and the ideas which invariably suggested themselves to his mind when speaking outside the walls of Parliament. He accordingly favoured the House with an explanation and an apology, which he commences thus :—

"I would ask you to allow me to remove some misapprehensions which have arisen in the minds of many hon. members of this House with regard to my position in this land movement. I have been charged several times, and the impression seems extremely prevalent, with desiring to make the land movement of Ireland a lever for disintegrating the Empire. (Hear, hear.) I am very glad if I have stated the idea that prevails correctly, and I admit that isolated sentences which have been read from time to time from my speeches are, taken by themselves, capable of that construction. But these sentences have usually been taken from speeches which I have delivered in the open air; from speeches of a very brief character, in which I was unable thoroughly to explain the views which I then assumed, and still hold." (2.)

And then follows a long explanation of the speaker's views upon the ultimate result of the Constitutional suppression of landlords, and its probable effect upon the relations of England and Ireland.

It may seem strange that after this explanation the misapprehension referred to should still exist. Yet, beyond all doubt, it does exist in the minds of many. It is certainly most unfortunate that on none of the

(1.) Hansard's Debates, January 7th, 1881.
(2.) *Ibid*, January 17th, 1881.

occasions on which Mr. Parnell delivered himself of the opinions which he considers so unfairly attributed to him; neither on the platform nor in the Land League meetings; neither at banquets in Ireland, nor at Irish gatherings in America, did he find time to append the explanation which he vouchsafes to the House of Commons and the English Press.

For England there is the Constitutional agitation, the integrity of the Empire, and so forth; for Ireland there are the regiments of armed Irish and Americans, and the breaking of the last link between England and Ireland.

At Galway, in the presence of a Government reporter, the member for Cork is a little, but only a little, more explicit:—

"I expressed my belief at the beginning of last session that the present Chief Secretary, who was then all smiles and promises, would not have proceeded very far in the duties of his office before he would have found that he had undertaken an impossible task to govern Ireland, and that the only way to govern Ireland is to allow her to govern herself. (Cheers.) And if they prosecute the leaders in this movement, it will not be because they wish to preserve the lives of one or two landlords—much the English Government care about the lives of one or two landlords—('Nor we; away with them all')—but it will be because they see that behind this movement there is a more dangerous movement, to have a hold over Ireland; because they know that if they fail in upholding landlordism here, and they will fail, they have no chance of maintaining it in Ireland; because they know that if they fail in upholding landlordism in Ireland, their power to misrule Ireland will go too." (1.)

And again:—

"We will see that the people will not be swept from the country while there is money to defend them in the courts of law. The National Land League has plenty of money at its disposal for the purpose of defending the tenantry of Ireland. Your fellow countrymen in America will send you as much money as you want. Everywhere throughout the States I found the greatest anxiety to help you. Do not, then, be afraid; band yourselves together; organise yourselves—(cheers)—against the landlord system; and, believe me, the day is dawning when we shall have taken the first great step to strike down British misrule, and the noble dreams of Grattan, Emmet, and Lord Otho Fitzgerald, and of every Irish patriot, ought at all times to be brought to a triumph and realisation." (Cheers.) (2.)

Free from the observation of an unpleasant witness, however, Mr. Parnell becomes more explicit. Speaking at a banquet at Cork he says:—

"Now we are a party occupying an independent position in the House of Commons, pledged to remain aloof from every English party who will not concede to Ireland the right to home government; pledged, in the words of Mr. Fred. Lucas, to be a separate element in the Legislature, and, if necessary, 'disorderly, disorganising,

(1.) Galway, October 1st. (2.) Beaufort, May 16th.

interfering with every business that may be transacted, as far as it is expedient or feasible.' (Cheers.) We can push the policy just as far as we like. We may never trench on it at all. We may let this weapon lie in its scabbard, as we did last session; but the weapon is there ; you have it in your hand, and when all other resources have failed, it is as sharp and as potent and as powerful for a party of forty against the present Whig Ministry as it was for a party of seven against the last Tory Government." (Loud cheers.) (1.)

At a similar entertainment at Galway he says :—

"Well, we sailed for New York, and it was only on my entry to New York that I first commenced to appreciate the undeveloped power that is available for your succour, not only in the matter of charity, but in other matters of a very different nature if you call upon them." (Loud cheers.) (2.)

He continues :—

"Well, I pass from this subject of our countrymen abroad with this remark—that I feel confident that if you ever call upon them in another field and in another way for help, and if you can shew them that there is a fair and good chance of success—(enthusiastic cheering)—that you will have their assistance—their trained and organised assistance—for the purpose of breaking the yoke that encircles you, just in the same way as you had their assistance last winter to save you from famine." (Cheers.)

The following declaration is evidently for Irish consumption only :—

"At one time it is the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, at another time it is a Coercion Act, again it is the sending of extra police into counties, the proclamation of martial law. They cannot suspend the Habeas Corpus Act without an Act of Parliament, and they cannot pass a Coercion Act without an Act of Parliament, and so long as we are able to stand in Parliament I will undertake to say they will pass neither one nor the other. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) And I am sure that these forces are amply sufficient for the task which we all, Mr. Mayor, ladies, and gentlemen, have before us, the task of breaking the neck of English misgovernment in Ireland, and chasing from the country the usurpation which has long had its heel upon our necks." (3.)

And later on in the same speech he says :—

"We stand to-day in the same position that our ancestors stood. We declare that it is the duty of every Irishman to free his country if he can. (Cheers.) We refuse to inflict needless suffering on the masses of our people. We will work by constitutional means as long as it suits us. (Great cheering.) We refuse to plunge this country into the horrors of civil war when she has not a chance; but I ask any man at this board, I ask any true Irishman, be he priest or be he layman, whether he would not consider it the first duty of an Irishman to do what he could to enable his country to take her place among the nations of the world. (Cheers.) If it could be shewn to him that there was a fair prospect of success from the sacrifice, I ask my reverend and lay friends whether they would not consider it their highest duty to give their lives for the country that gave them birth. (Cheers.) I call for no vain, no useless sacrifice. I

(1.) Cork, October 4th. (*Irish Times'* report.)
(2.) Galway, October 25th. (*Irish Times'* report.)
(3.) Waterford, December 6th. (*Freeman's Journal* report.)

don't wish to be misunderstood for a moment. Our present path is within the lines of the Constitution. England has given us that Constitution for her purposes. We will use it for ours." (Loud cheers.)

It is considerate of Mr. Parnell to undertake not to "plunge us into the horrors of civil war" just yet. Sometimes, however, he appears to forget his pledges. By the time he gets 3,000 miles away from the House of Commons, and the tyrannous restraints of English law, this is what Mr. Parnell has come to :—

"I have said that we are fighting this battle against heavy odds. I have also said that we feel confident of winning it. It has given me great pleasure during my visit to the cities of this country to see the armed regiments of Irishmen who have frequently turned out to escort us; and when I saw some of these gallant men to-day, who are even now in this hall, I thought that each one of them must wish with Sanfield of old, '*O that I could carry these arms for Ireland.*' (Great applause.) *Well, it may come to that some day or other.* The peaceable and proper solution of the question has been roughly put to one side by the British Government, as it has so frequently put aside measures of reform for Ireland; but if things are allowed to continue as they are in that country, I cannot help seeing that some day or other *the time will come when the landlords and Government* will get very much sharper and worse terms from somebody else." (Great applause.) (1.)

A few weeks later he says :—

"I promise on our side to fight this battle as pluckily as you can wish. (Loud applause.) Up to this time the landlords and Government have failed to give assistance, but the fiendish work of eviction is still pursued, *but from the blood of the brave Connemara women who resisted the home destroyers shall spring up a power which will sweep away not only the land system, but the infamous Government that maintains it.*" (Cheers.) (2.)

At Cincinnati, in the same month, he is still more explicit; there are none of the fine distinctions about the *link of the Crown, local government,* or the other common forms which we are accustomed to hear in speeches on this side of the Atlantic. This is how the gentleman who has taken the oath of allegiance talks :—

"Justice and the many, against injustice and the few, must win. (Applause.) With your help in keeping our people alive this winter I feel confident we shall kill the Irish landlord system. (Applause.) And when we have given Ireland to the people of Ireland, we shall have laid the foundation upon which to build up our Irish nation. (Loud applause.) The feudal tenure and the rule of the minority have been the corner stone of English misrule. Pull out that corner stone, break it up, destroy it, and you undermine English misgovernment. (Applause.) . . . And let us not forget that that is the ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim. *None of us—whether we are in America or in Ireland, or wherever we may be—will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England.*" (Applause.) (3.)

(1.) Cleveland, Ohio, January 26th. (2.) Pittston, February 16th.
(3.) Cincinnati, February 23rd.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LITERATURE OF THE LAND LEAGUE.

PART I.

THE "IRISH WORLD."

"Anyone who proclaims himself or allows himself to be represented as a member of a party, will be understood as identifying himself with the rest, and giving his sanction to whatever is said or done, at least by the leaders or by any considerable portion of the party, except so far as he *expressly*, and *publicly protests* against it. He will be considered as a *partner*, not under the system of limited liability, but according to the rules of ordinary partnership which make each partner responsible for all the acts and all the debts of the firm. And since this is the mode in which it is known the public will judge, it is vain to complain that it is an unjust mode. A man who, with his eyes open, does that which he knows will convey a certain impression to the minds of others, must be prepared to take the consequences."

Archbishop Whately.

THE "IRISH WORLD"—ITS CHARACTER—ITS CONNECTION WITH THE LAND LEAGUE—OPINIONS OF MESSRS. PARNELL, BRENNAN, DAVITT, AND REDPATH, WITH REGARD TO IT—MR. REDPATH—PECUNIARY SUPPORT GIVEN BY THE "IRISH WORLD" TO THE LAND LEAGUE.

We now come to the consideration of another method by which the views of the Irish National Land League were, and indeed still are, disseminated among the people of Ireland. Perhaps the most effective way of stating the nature of this journal, and its connection with Mr. Parnell and his friends, will be to affirm certain propositions with regard to it, and then to adduce proofs in support of those propositions. The statements which the facts appear to justify are these :—

The *Irish World* is the advocate of—

(*a*) 1. Private murder.
2. Rebellion and treason.
3. Mutilation.
4. Plunder and robbery.
5. Assassination on a large scale by means of explosives.

(*b*) The *Irish World* is the recognised authorised organ of the Irish National Land League.

(*c*) The *Irish World* is under the special patronage of Mr Parnell.

(*d*) The Irish National Land League is alike the patron and pensioner of the *Irish World.*

(*e*) The *Irish World* is disseminated throughout Ireland with the knowledge of, and by the aid of, the Irish National Land League.

These are strong statements, and they require strong evidence to support them. Strong evidence, however, is forthcoming. Before considering the charges against the paper, it will perhaps be best to establish beyond doubt its connection with the Land League

The "Irish World" is the recognised authorised organ of the Irish National Land League.

This is beyond dispute. For months the special Irish correspondent of the *Irish World* was Mr. Brennan, the paid official secretary of the League. His signed contributions appeared weekly until the time of his arrest. Here is one of his letters :—

"No copies of the *Irish World* have been received in Ireland during the last two weeks. It is thought the Government is intercepting them . . . . . Let those who have so generously assisted us *in spreading the light* relax not in their good work. Let them continue to aid us in the Holy Work in which we are engaged. The *Irish World* will find its way into Ireland in spite of the efforts that are made to keep it out."

(*Signed*) THOMAS BRENNAN.

The date of this letter is March 12th, 1881, and is worth recording because, as we shall see later on, the "Holy Work of spreading the light," as understood by the *Irish World* at that date, was, to say the least of it, peculiar. Again, writing on January 2nd of the same year, the paid secretary of the Land League says :—

"In the name of the Land League I beg to tender to the readers of the *Irish World*, and to all co-operators, its sincere and most grateful acknowledgments."

(*Signed*) THOMAS BRENNAN.

The nature of the co-operation for which this fervent gratitude is expressed, will also appear a few pages further on.

In August, 1881, Mr Parnell was openly challenged in the House of Commons with his connection with the paper in question, which was

declared to be the official organ of the Land League. Mr. Parnell denied that it was his "official organ."—"Unofficial then?" was the reply. —"Yes," said the Land League leader. It is not of much importance by what particular formula Mr. Parnell chooses to describe his relations to the organ of assassination; the public are able to form a sufficiently clear idea from the facts themselves. But it is worth while to put the admission on record.

The "Irish World" is under the special patronage of Mr. Parnell himself.

If this fact were not otherwise manifest, it would be made clear by the following extracts from a telegram despatched by "Special Cable to the Editor of the *Irish World*."

It commences thus:—

"The Land League has scored a victory. The ten-to-two disagreement of the jury in face of the tremendous pressure of the Court, is everywhere accepted as having the effect of an acquittal."

The conclusion is 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 for its ultimate success."—Jan. 26th, 1881.

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.

To the diligent reader of the *Irish World* it certainly seems no unnatural to thank that journal for the disagreement of the jury. (1.)

The Irish National Land League is alike the patron and the pensioner of the "Irish World."

Enough has perhaps already been said to carry conviction on the first point of this proposition, but one or two facts throwing light upon the same subject are so remarkable that they cannot be omitted. For many months there has appeared regularly in a prominent position in the *Irish World*, the following passage:—

"*Davitt's Advice.*—By all means send the *Irish World* into Ireland. Its power for good is wonderful; it is an all-strengthening force among the Irish people, and I cannot speak too strongly on the subject."

"MICHAEL DAVITT at St. Louis."

(1.) Immediately before the opening of the trial here alluded to the following threat appeared in the *Irish World*: "I dare them to convict," says the writer; "I say dare agree advisedly. Let my words go forth. Accursed be the juryman who will dare to find these men" (the traversers) "guilty of any crime against the people of Ireland."—Nov. 20th, 1880.

For an almost equally long period, this valuable advice was followed by a no less valuable "exhortation," to this effect:—

"*Redpath's Exhortation.*—You don't know how much they appreciate the *Irish World* over in Ireland, and one of the things I seek most to impress upon you here in America, is the necessity of supplying them at home with literature of the right sort. I would urge this in the strongest terms."

(Signed) JAMES REDPATH.

We shall see what was the nature of the "literature of the right sort," whose "influence for good was so incalculable;" but first we must say a word or two in passing with regard to this James Redpath whose opinion seems to be so highly valued by the unofficial organ of the Land League. He is the gentleman to whose utterances Sir William Harcourt called attention in the House of Commons. (1.) He it was who, speaking on the same platform as Mrs. Parnell, delivered himself as follows. After alluding lightly to "a dastard, a flunkey, a coward and a parasite by the name of Hepworth, who disgraced America by toadying to an infamous wretch and debauched young man" (the "debauched young man" apparently being the Duke of Edinburgh), he proceeds thus:—

"Ireland's landlord system is the old feudal system of tenure, and the landlord regards the tenant merely as a machine for making rent for him, and such men, I say, with all deference to the ladies, should exist in only one place,—hell . . . . . Many of you may think I am prejudiced when I say that the Scotch Presbyterians are superior to the Catholics of Ireland. I'll tell you why. When they were *oppressed by landlords they shot them down like rabbits.* About thirty years ago there were more landlords shot than rabbits, and I think it was perfectly legitimate, for the landlords were only beasts of prey. (Loud applause.) I can't conceive a more terrific indictment against the Catholic countries than the fact that they have treated these landlords leniently. . . . I must say that Irishmen are cowards. I don't like them to apologise for the shooting of landlords."

It appears that Mr. Redpath over-estimated the sensibility of the ladies, for we read that "at the close of the speaker's remarks Mrs. Parnell was loudly called for, and received a perfect ovation when she appeared. She spoke for upwards of twenty minutes, and gave a brief view of the work of the Land League up to the present time, and expressed her heartfelt sympathy with its future." It is not recorded, however, that the allusions to the ultimate home of landlords, or to the means by which they were to be sent there, occupied her attention, or greatly agitated her.

One more remark remains to be made with regard to Redpath,

(1.) Redpath was present and spoke at the Land League Convention held in Dublin, in September, 1881.

which is both amusing and instructive. This friend of the Land League and defender of murder was very properly denounced in the House of Commons by Mr. A. M. Sullivan, who not only disclaimed any sympathy with his opinions, but even refused to recognise him as a compatriot. Mr. Redpath, Mr. Sullivan declared, was a Scotchman. Whatever country, however, is really entitled to the distinction which must attach to the native land of that individual, there is no doubt that in the eyes of the unofficial organ of the Land League he not only was an Irishman, but deserved to be specially claimed as being such. Mr. Redpath, says the *Irish World*, is "*Hibernis ipsis Hibernior*"—more Irish than the Irish themselves. It is not of much importance whether Mr. Sullivan or the *Irish World* is correct, but the anxiety of anyone to claim kindred with the author of the speech we have quoted is significant.

The Irish National Land League is the pensioner of the "Irish World."

This requires no formal proof. It is not and never has been denied that by far the greater part of the money received by the League has come through the hands of the editor of that paper. For every shilling raised in Ireland for the purposes of Mr. Parnell's agitation a pound has been received through the agency of the *Irish World.*

The "Irish World" is disseminated throughout Ireland with the knowledge of, and by the aid of the Irish National Land League.

It is not necessary again to produce proof of this proposition, which to anyone who is acquainted with the *Irish World* is self-evident; but these leading facts may be briefly recalled :—

That Mr. Parnell has formally accepted the services of the paper.

That two of its regular correspondents, Messrs. Brennan and Egan are paid officers of the Land League.

That Mr. Brennan is found deploring the stoppage in the supply of the paper. (1)

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(1) See ante p. 30.

For an almost equally long period, this valuable advice was followed by a no less valuable "exhortation," to this effect:—

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The "Irish World" is disseminated throughout Ireland with the knowledge of, and by the aid of the Irish National Land League.

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That Mr. Brennan is found deploring the stoppage in the supply of the paper. (1)

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(1) See ante p. 30.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LITERATURE OF THE LAND LEAGUE.

PART I.

THE "IRISH WORLD" (*continued.*)

"Thou shalt do no murder."—EXODUS, Chap. xx.

THE "IRISH WORLD" ON MURDER—REBELLION—MUTILATION—PLUNDER—THE USE OF DYNAMITE—MR. PARNELL'S "PRACTICAL JOKE"—THE OFFICIAL VIEW OF THE "PRACTICAL JOKE."

The connection between the *Irish World* and the Irish National Land League having been thus established, it is necessary to enquire—What is the nature of the journal which is considered so valuable an ally; and what are the teachings which are calculated to be such a "wonderful power for good" in Ireland? (1)

To arrive at a satisfactory answer to this enquiry, we cannot do better than go back to the propositions formulated at the head of the preceding chapter, and give a few proofs, out of the many which might be cited, of the correctness of the charges which they contain.

The "Irish World" is the Advocate of Private Murder.

Here, for instance, is the way in which it describes themurder of an unfortunate man who was shot down like a dog in open day, riddled with bullets, and left to die upon the high road.

AGRARIAN OUTRAGE IN MAYO.

"There is an obscurity in this account also, but the fact and the omens remain. Meehan shot on one side to day; Feerick shot on the other side to-morrow.

(1) See ante p. 31. Letter from Michael Davitt.

Somebody said long ago that 'it made no difference among neighbours who dies first.' Those killings on both sides have been too long continued for us to hope that they will be discontinued. *But every pistol shot will stimulate action;* of the thieves to guard the stolen goods away in the darkness; of the true men to let the light in on the darkness and the true owners in on the stolen goods. There are stirring times before us. Awaken your neighbours. It will soon be daylight."

Another foul and brutal murder is committed, and this is how the "unofficial" organ of the Land League heads the paragraph describing the death of the victim—"Another Land Thief executed."

The "Irish World" is the Advocate of Rebellion and Treason.

It would be sufficient, in order to prove this statement, to say merely "See *Irish World, passim.*" Almost every page of every copy contains incitements direct or indirect to the open display of Irish disaffection; but one or two passages may be cited as examples merely.

The two following are from the letters of an individual who has for more than two years been the most regular and most voluminous correspondent of the *Irish World.* "Transatlantic" (for that is his *nom de plume*) writes thus:—

"Irishmen, cheer up! be brothers! fall in! Study military knowledge night and day, Sunday and holiday. The day of your emancipation is nearer than you suppose."

Again:—

"A hearty coming together of our scattered race—the 'sea-divided Gael'—with honest and courageous leaders, and united watchword, 'Free Lands in Free Ireland,' we have in those elements the material power, not only to free our island from the felon grasp of the English aristocracy, but to follow the felons if we think it best into their own country, and there defeat them in the open, and in their cities, and thus destroy the 'British Empire,' the greatest scourge which the human race ever experienced."

The following is apparently editorial matter:—

"Thank God that the huge political structure that has been built up by robbery, and which goes by the name of the British Empire, is crumbling to pieces. The sooner it is destroyed the better for humanity."

Here is a letter in the same paper:—

A PHYSICAL FORCE MAN WHO BELIEVES THAT THE SWORD ALONE WILL RIGHT THINGS; BUT HE WANTS IRISHMEN TO KNOW THEIR DUTY BEFORE THEY TAKE IT.

Poquonock Conn.—To Editor, "Irish World."

"Enclosed find 3 dols. 25 cents to spread the light; from Mrs. Bement, 1 dol.; Patrick Callaghan, 1 dol. Put me down for 25 cents every month. I wish

that the *Irish World* were at the hearth-stone of every house in Ireland. Oh to God that it had been in Ireland ten years before the rising of '67. I am a physical force man, and believe that before Ireland gets anything from England she must use the sword, but before using it Irishmen must know their duty, and that duty is truly taught them through the *Irish World*.

"'What rights the brave? the sword;
"What frees the slave? the sword.'

"For the last three years I have sent 324 copies to Ireland, and I call upon Irishmen and friends to liberty, with all the earnestness I possess, to send the *Irish World* into Ireland and thus most practically free its people."—Yours sincerely,

B. QUINLAN.

Of course tomfoolery of this kind is contemptible enough, and under ordinary circumstances harmless enough. Mr. Quinlan's twenty-five cents will probably not do much harm to the British Empire, and England is likely to survive "Transatlantic's" foul-mouthed threats; but when we come to see what "spreading the light" really means, and what is the practical application that is given to "physical force," and the "doctrine of the sword," we shall perceive that such incitements as those quoted are not as harmless as we might at first be tempted to suppose.

The "Irish World" is the Advocate of Mutilation.

Here is a contribution to the paper which leaves no doubt on the subject:—

"Mr. Smyth, M.P., is quite willing now-a-days to do not a thing that shall 'disturb society,' and quite agrees with all the respectables (idlers) of society that a mixture of *good* (devils) landlords would benefit society. As to pulling down what John Mitchell designated the '*pirate flag of Britain*,' as to getting Irishwomen to fling out vitriol upon the ruffianly soldiery whom English felony may send over to Ireland, as John Mitchell taught Mr. Smyth soon after his college days; tut, tut, the Mr. Smyth of to-day is not that kind of patriot at all. He would not now after the teaching of O'Connell take the liberty of Ireland if it cost one drop of blood—not he! not he!"

(Signed) TRANSATLANTIC.

This passage requires one or two comments. In the first place it must be remembered that Mr. P. J. Smyth, against whom this brutal attack is directed, is an Irishman and a patriot, who has shown a devotion to his country's cause, and a readiness to suffer for her sake, to which no one concerned in the present agitation can pretend.

In the second place, the horrible effects of the particular torture

which the *women* of Ireland are here asked to inflict must not be forgotten.

And lastly, it must be remembered that at the time this appeared the *Irish World* was active in the service of the Land League ; and that Mr. Parnell's warm telegram of appreciation and thanks followed its publication by a few weeks only. (1)

The "Irish World" is the Advocate of Robbery and Plunder.

Here, for instance, are some instructive passages throwing light upon this proposition. The first is particularly valuable when read by the light of the letter which appeared in the same column, purporting to be signed by the paid secretary of the Irish National Land League.

"London, consisting of 4,000,000 of the wealthiest people in the world, is at the mercy of its criminal classes, who number a quarter of a million, guarded by only 2,500 regular troops, 10,000 policemen, and 10,000 men in volunteer companies—the latter mere holiday soldiers. *Make a note.* Spread the light ! O spread the light !"

(Signed) TRANSATLANTIC. (2)

Those who are acquainted with "Transatlantic's" effusions, know well enough what "spreading the light" means in this context. In the same column in which this letter appears there is another which runs as follows :—

"No copies of the *Irish World* have been received in Ireland during the last two weeks. It is thought the Government is intercepting them. . . . . Let those who have so generously assisted us in *Spreading the Light* relax not in their good work. Let them continue to aid us in the holy work in which we are engaged. The *Irish World* will find its way into Ireland in spite of the efforts that are being made to keep it out."

(Signed) THOMAS BRENNAN.

This is the sort of thing which has been distributed throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, under the *imprimatur* of the Irish National Land League ; this is the literature which the founder of that organisation believes will be such an incalculable influence for good.

Here is another example of the way in which the "holy work" is assisted.

"PLENTY OF KINDLING WOOD IN ENGLAND."

"I have filled my letter with arguments, recommendations, and proofs to show my countrymen the weak parts of the British Empire, and to teach them

(1) See p. 31. (2) Paper of May 14th, 1881.

where and how to strike. There is plenty of dry kindling wood in England and Scotland to set the whole working population in a blaze. The farm labourers, the miners, the factory hands, the million of paupers disinherited from the common lands of the rich, one hundred and eighty-six thousand imprisoned English criminals, the half-million of uncaught criminals in England, the failing English manufacturers, the idle work people and their starving children. Here are abundant materials for the prophet of the people. He must be somewhere in the crowd, at present obscure. Let him come forth to save the people. *Spread the light* through England."

(Signed) TRANSATLANTIC.

How the English factory hands, labourers, and miners will relish the duty assigned to them of ruining their own country in conjunction with paupers, felons, "Transatlantic," and his patrons of the Land League, remains to be seen.

The "Irish World" is the Advocate of Assassination on a large scale by means of Explosives.

Let the editor speak for himself.

"AN ARMY EQUIVALENT."

"Some think it is an open question whether the political agent called *Dynamite* was first commissioned in Russia, or first in Ireland. Well, it is *not of much consequence which of the two countries takes precedence in this onward step towards 'civilisation.' Still we claim the merit for Ireland.* True, the introductory blast was blown in England, and in the very centre of the enemy's headquarters. But the work itself was no doubt done by one or two Irish hands, which settles both the claim and the priority." (1)

This is the beginning of what appears to be a long editorial; and it is interesting to note that the man who either himself wrote, or at any rate inserted in his paper, this and other pieces of villainy of the same kind, is the man who has been selected to conduct Mr. Parnell's special emissary, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, through the United States.

Lastly, under this head we must quote one more reference to this same subject of dynamite which is conclusive, at any rate, as to what the Irish National Land League thinks of its use.

It may be remembered that in the winter of 1880-81, an unfortunate child was murdered in Salford by an explosion of dynamite. Reference was made to the subject in the House of Commons, and the President of the Land League thus expressed himself upon the matter:—

(1) June 12th, 1880.

"The only reason for this panic," said Mr. Parnell, "was that a tin containing dynamite was exploded at Salford; but the circumstances pointed to its being meant as a *practical joke.*" (1)

Mr. Forster, in reply, said that he was surprised at the manner in which the hon. member had alluded to what occurred at Salford, when he described the explosion of a can of dynamite as a *practical joke.* That explosion had caused the death of a poor child, and might cause the death of another person."—(Hansard's Reports.)

It is not necessary to enquire what would be the result of a few more *practical jokes* of this kind in the large towns in the North of England; but it is important to ascertain what was the Land League view of the occurrence as stated, not for the benefit of the English Parliament and the English people, but for the encouragement of the tenant farmers of Ireland and the subscribers in America.

Mr. Parnell's speech was delivered on the 22nd January, 1881. In the *Irish World* of the 29th January, there appears a letter from Mr. Parnell's own trusted official, the paid secretary of the committee of which he was the president. From the date it appears that the letter claiming credit for the murder must have been written almost on the same day as the speech in which it was disavowed was delivered. The letter runs thus :—

"All sorts of theories are afloat concerning this explosion, *but the truly loyal one is that Fenianism did it.* Accidents can never occur in times like these. It is asserted that the regiment now quartered in the Salford barracks contains many Irish, and that Fenianism had been previously suspected among them."

(Signed) THOMAS BRENNAN.

This is what the Land League wished to be believed in Ireland. Those who can persuade themselves that Mr. Parnell really regarded the incident as a practical joke, are entitled to their opinion. The perpetrators of the outrage were warmly welcomed by a portion of the Irish American Press on their return to the United States.

Such is the *Irish World*, such are its patrons. This chapter

(1) It is amusing to note that in the *Freeman's Journal* report, Mr. Parnell's suggestion that the murder was a practical joke is omitted.

may appropriately conclude with the words of the founder of the Irish National Land League, already quoted :—

"By all means send the *Irish World* into Ireland. *Its power for good* is wonderful. It is an all strengthening force among the Irish people, and I cannot speak too strongly on the subject."

MICHAEL DAVITT.

NOTE.—It should be stated in justice to the *Irish World* that the greater proportion of the objectionable matter which it contains is connected with Irish subjects, and usually furnished by contributors on this side of the Atlantic. Much of what appears in the paper on other topics is comparatively moderate; and, unlike the contributions to *United Ireland* mentioned in the following chapter, is often very ably written.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LITERATURE OF THE LAND LEAGUE.

PART II.

"UNITED IRELAND."

"Stand together for the right ;
Stand together 'gainst the wrong ;
Stand together in your might :
And the struggle won't be long.

For your strife's a moral war,
And waged with speech and pen ;
And moral force is mightier far
Than all the swords of men."

"*United Ireland*," *November 5th, 1881.*

A MORAL STRIFE—CONNECTION OF THE LAND LEAGUE WITH "UNITED IRELAND"—INCIDENTS IN THE MORAL WAR—THE SPIRIT OF THE COUNTRY—PROPRIETORS OF "UNITED IRELAND"—THE "FREEMAN'S JOURNAL" ON THE LAND LEAGUE—THE "GUISE OF A PATRIOT"—"DREAMY YOUTHS"—THE FIRST CORRESPONDENT OF "UNITED IRELAND"—AND HIS ANTECEDENTS.

Hitherto we have devoted our attention chiefly though not exclusively to the earlier periods in the history of the Land League: it now becomes our duty to enquire how far the teaching of 1880 and the opening months of 1881 has been continued and insisted upon down to the present time. For this purpose it is again necessary to turn to the columns of a newspaper which will supply us with the information we are in search of in a definite and unmistakable shape.

United Ireland is the journal in question, and in quoting from it we may dispense with the preliminary evidence which was necessary in the case of the *Irish World*, in order to connect that paper with the Land League.

United Ireland is the organ of the Irish National Land League, just as much as the *National Reformer* is the organ of Mr. Bradlaugh.

When the career of the *United Ireland* as an independent Nationalist paper terminated, by its transfer from the hands of Mr. Pigott into those of the Land League, it at once acquired an importance and authority, as the exponent of the views of its new owners, which it is not easy to over-estimate. Owned and conducted, edited and distributed, by members of the League, it furnishes us with a useful guide to the kind of facts which its owners are anxious to disseminate among the Irish people, and to the spirit in which they wish those facts to be regarded. It is no exaggeration to say that *United Ireland* since it became the organ of the Land League has been one long and consistent series of incitements to outrage, and to law-breaking.

But it is best to let the paper speak for itself. In the same number in which the charming and irreproachable sentiments contained in the lines at the beginning of this chapter appear, is to be found the following heading: "Incidents of the Campaign." And this title, or the still more suggestive one of the "Spirit of the Country," is the regular mode of drawing the attention of the admirers of the "unwritten law" to the progress of the outrage campaign conducted under the auspices of the League.

Here is an account of the "Moral Strife," as described by the chiefs of the "Moral Band" by whom it is waged:—

"INCIDENTS OF THE CAMPAIGN."

"A FARMER SHOT DEAD."

"Peter Doherty, a young farmer, living at Carrigan, *who took a farm surrendered by another tenant* who was refused a reduction, was shot dead at his own door, on Wednesday night."

"A STORY FROM BALTINGLASS."' (1)

"The youngest child of Mr. Thompson, of this town, died on Wednesday morning, and because this gentleman has incurred, in some way, the displeasure of the Land League, a carpenter would not be allowed to make a coffin for him. The crape on his door knocker was pelted with stones."

"HOUNDING THEM ON."

"A meeting of King's Co. magistrates was held on Saturday in Parsonstown, when resolutions calling on the Government to restore law and order were adopted."

To those unfamiliar with the "unwritten law," and with the peculiar views of those who rejoice at the ordinary law being "knocked

(1) This story is considered to be so valuable and instructive, that it is thought worth while specially to quote it from the *Dublin Express*.

into a cocked hat," this last paragraph may seem somewhat obscure. What it means, however, is this : that the magistrates of the King's Co. are held up to the execration of the readers of the *United Ireland* for asking the Government to try and put a stop to the outrages which are so graphically described in that paper. This is what is meant by "hounding them on."

Here are some more "Incidents of the Campaign."

"By Persons Unknown."

"On Saturday night at 11 o'clock an attack was made by twenty men with blackened faces on the house of Owen Curtin, of Mountmay. They fired shots into the house, and broke in the door. Curtin and his son were taken out of the house and beaten in the yard with the butts of guns. Old Curtin was then sworn that he would not dispossess a tenant on whom he had served a notice to quit. *Curtin was some time ago brought before the Kilavullen Land League for not giving an abatement to his tenant, and reprimanded.* On the party leaving Curtin's house they fired several shots, and promised to visit him again if he did not do as they wished. The police have been out making inquiries, but no arrests have been made, as Curtin and family say they do not know any of the persons who attacked them."

Here is a "moral strife" with a vengeance.

The next item is headed

"Attempt to Burn a Bailiff."

"On Monday night a most determined attempt was made to burn a bailiff to death at Creaden, in the County of Waterford. It appears that a couple of days ago a tenant of Earl Fortescue, named Hally, was evicted for non-payment of rent and a bailiff was put into possession of the farm. The bailiff in charge went to bed about 11 o'clock at night, and was awakened about two o'clock in the morning by the crackling of burnt timber, and jumping out of bed he found the dwelling house in flames. It was with great difficulty he got out of the burning house."

"A Bailiff Killed" is the title of the next "Incident in the Moral Strife," and it relates how an unfortunate man was brutally murdered, shot through the head in the darkness, the bullet passing out through his eye.

A passage headed, "A Land Agent Shot At," is followed by a paragraph entitled "The Dark Nights at Athlone," recounting how the ricks and turf of certain persons were burnt; "the victims had disregarded the injunctions of the Land League by dealing with a boycotted shopkeeper named Molloy." (1)

As before mentioned, the methods by which the "No Rent"

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(1) This passage also is thought worth quoting from another paper, the *Ulster Examiner*.

doctrine is enforced, are sometimes described under the heading, "The Spirit of the Country." Here are some examples of that spirit :—

"DENYING THE SOFT IMPEACHMENT."

"Richard Brown, agricultural implement maker, writes to the Wexford *People* to deny that he worked for boycotted persons at Adamstown *as charged by* the chairman of a local Land League."

The following shows that the individuals in Kilmainham are not the only "Suspects" in Ireland.

"SUSPECTED OF PAYING RENT."

"A telegram from Carrick-on-Shannon states that large quantities of farm produce were burned on Wednesday night on farms near Readon and Ballyfaron, *the owners being suspected of paying their rent.*"

Then comes "A Midnight Warning" :—

"A telegram of Thursday says, a party of armed, disguised men last night visited the house of a farmer named Michael Walshe, at Berring, twelve miles from Cork, and cautioned him repeatedly not to pay his rent, or they would take his life. He said he would pay his rent, and would not be intimidated by them. One of the party then fired and wounded him, it is believed mortally. The tenants were about to pay their rents to Mr. Saunders, of Charleville. It is stated they are afraid now to pay. A man named Daniel Herlihy has been arrested."

Lastly, we may note another fine manifestation of the "Spirit of the Country," which is thus described :—

"DESPERATE ASSAULT."

"A *woman* named Mary Carroll who recently took a farm from which a family named Dolan had been evicted, was fearfully beaten and kicked about the head at Newtown, near Ballinasloe, on Tuesday night, and lies in a precarious condition in the Ballinasloe Workhouse Hospital."

These extracts are enough for our purpose; unfortunately they are by no means enough for the proprietors of *United Ireland.* They are not picked specimens; they are simply a fair sample of the bulk. It is horrible and lamentable that these vile outrages should be committed at all, but that they should be blazoned forth in this way in a paper of which Mr. Parnell, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Egan, Mr. Justin McCarthy, and Dr. Kenny, are proprietors and patrons is startling even to those who are tolerably acquainted with the depth to which the Land League agitation has sunk.

Whether the incidents actually happened is comparatively unimportant; whether the descriptions which are contained in the *United Ireland*

are borrowed from elsewhere, is immaterial; what is important is the fact, which admits of no contradiction, that the accounts of these brutalities, whether real or imaginary, have been deliberately compiled and circulated in the form and under the titles already mentioned, by the responsible leaders of the Irish National Land League.

Of course there are two opinions upon most subjects. This is the opinion of that highly virtuous paper, the *Freeman's Journal*:—

"It is as wicked to libel an organisation as to libel a man, and what can be worse than to charge all kinds of crimes against the Land League *without one tittle of evidence* to support these charges? The Land League was at all times an open public organisation, carrying on its operations by open meetings and by addresses published to the whole world.

"There is not one grain of evidence connecting this organisation with the slightest injury to life, limb, or property. On the contrary, during its active operations its most prominent members denounced outrages of all kinds."—*November* 17*th*, 1881.

It is for those who have read the preceding chapters to form their own opinion as to the correctness of the *Freeman's* view, and the necessity for its virtuous indignation.

It may be after all that the *Freeman* itself might have done a little more in the way of "denouncing outrages of all kinds;" it might have been better if the article from which the following passages are extracts had not been written. The article relates to the capture and trial of a number of scoundrels who had been infesting the neighbourhood of Millstreet, under the name of Moonlighters; and the "informer" alluded to is a member of the gang, named Connell, who turned Queen's evidence against his accomplices:—

"In our caution to the *unwary and inexperienced* so short a time ago, we had no hesitation in conveying that the light of what happened before showed with electric clearness that persons would be found throughout the country seducing the *young*, the *hot-spirited*, and the *dreamy* into the paths of danger. . . . But it is enough to record to-day that a reported informer has already ten victims amongst the *ardent and impulsive* peasants of the South. . . . Whatever credence is to be attached to the prisoner's story, enough is amply exhibited for our purpose, namely, that, South, East, and West, the *unsophisticated, innocent poor people* are living in an atmosphere of spies and traitors, of plans and plots and perjury. Again we solemnly adjure our countrymen, especially the young, to beware the brand of the secret society-man, the Captain Moonlight; the Rory of the Hills; the Riband-man. There *is a snake in the grass.* THERE ARE TALBOTS IN THE GUISE OF PATRIOTS." (1)

This is a remarkable article, and will appear all the more

(1) Talbot was a detective who acquired the confidence of the Fenian organisers, and then gave information to the police.

Who defended Connell.

remarkable when we consider the facts to which it alludes. In the first place, it should be noted that for the actual outrages committed by the "Moonlighters" there is no single word of condemnation; the whole moral of the argument is "Don't do it, for you may be found out if you do." But that is perhaps an oversight. The allusions to the "hot-headed, dreamy youths," the "innocent and unsophisticated peasants," are certainly somewhat startling by the light of the work which these playful but misguided infants set themselves to do. This is the programme of one night's amusement:—

"This lot of enclosed orders must be performed. Notice.—Good men, and self in person, to appear with arms, at an early hour, at James Twohy's on the night of the 30th December, 1881, bringing Healy's shears and bayonet out of the stock and false whiskers for Owen Riordan also."

Regimental orders, by Captain Moonlight, for appointed raids, 30th 12, 1881.

"No. 1. James Sullivan, to be shot in the leg. Mother and daughter to be clipped for dealing at Heggarty's.

"No. 2. John Linehan, for story-telling to Father F., clipped also.

"No. 3. Dennis Coakley, for turning out his labourers, clipped also.

"No. 4. John Murphy, shot in the legs, for paying his rent.

"No. 5. Another man, name unknown, to be shot in the legs for paying his rent.

(Signed and confirmed) CAPTAIN MOONLIGHT.

"Mary Coakeley, to be clipped for speaking to the police at Macroom."

There is certainly something rather comic, if it were not so serious, in the notion of the innocent but impulsive Owen Riordan wandering forth in his dreamy way, disguised in a pair of false whiskers, and armed with a gun and bayonet, shooting some unlucky man in the legs, or clipping an offending woman, in the freaks of his singular reverie. But these strange reflections are after all plain and easy to understand in comparison with the last passage which the *Freeman's* article contains. "There is a snake in the grass; there *are Talbots in the guise of patriots.*" Now that passage has one meaning, and one meaning only, in such a context. If this man Connell had not been a "Talbot," that is, an informer, he would have been a "patriot." He turned Queen's evidence, and therefore he is to be condemned, but the "guise of a patriot" is the guise in which this miserable ruffian presented himself to the "hot-headed, dreamy youths" whom he appears to have led with such success.

Such is one at least of the contributions which the *Freeman's Journal* has made to the discouragement of crime and outrage in Ireland. Let those who wish to discover what is the "guise of a

Parnell abuses Carey.

patriot" read the account of the trial of Connell and his accomplices at the Cork Winter Assizes, for the year 1882. (1)

It would be impossible to conclude a review of *United Ireland* without some reference to its earliest and perhaps most remarkable contributor. In the very first number of the paper of which Mr. MacCarthy is a proprietor, appears a letter from a scoundrel of the name of O'Donovan Rossa.

The letter, which appears in the issue of the 13th August, is thus introduced:—

"The following, by O'Donovan Rossa, appeared in a recent issue of his paper :—' Irish landlords, we have a few words to say to you. It has been determined to give you warning that henceforward a record will be kept of all landlords who exercise their powers of eviction in Ireland, and for every such death sentence executed upon a tenant a death sentence will be executed by the Irish race against the offender's house, and the Irish race all over the world will give encouragement to the avenging angel."

Then follows a request to be furnished with the names of the landlords concerned.

Of course, as the Attorney-General for Ireland remarked in the House of Commons, this is a direct incitement to murder. That is nothing new for Mr. Rossa, but what ought not to be forgotten or overlooked, is that it is a letter of this nature from a ruffian of this type that the managers of *United Ireland* think desirable to pick out for insertion in the very first number of the journal through which they were addressing the people of Ireland. Mr. McCarthy and his companions in this last literary venture have a good deal to answer for. In another chapter we shall see how the advice which was so thoughtfully transcribed went home to those whom it was intended to reach.

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(1) In his speech in the House of Commons in February, 1882, the Attorney-General for Ireland asked the following pertinent question : " But who defended 'Captain Moonlight'? It was sworn at the trial that the Land League was connected with these outrages. The defence was undoubtedly carried on by the Land League Where did the hundred guineas for counsel come from? Who paid the original retainer and the refreshers from day to day? The question had never been answered. Those fees were not paid from subscriptions."

CHAPTER X.

POPULAR FALLACIES WITH REGARD TO THE LAND LEAGUE.

"Intimidation means violence, or the threat of violence, and the threat, we all know, would do nothing without the perfectly understood reality behind it.

"It is an insult to our knowledge and our understandings to talk of restricting the interference of such organisations to 'moral suasion'; we know that it never stops there, and would be laughed at if it did; and we see every day instances of the extent to which the sense of crime and wrong dies out of the minds of both instruments and leaders."

W. R. Greg.

THE LAND LEAGUE AND THE REPRESSION OF CRIME—LAND LEAGUE MEETINGS AND AGRARIAN OUTRAGES—THE "WILD JUSTICE OF REVENGE"—INCORRECTNESS OF THE DEFINITION—LAND LEAGUE PROTESTS AGAINST OUTRAGE, BY MR. BIGGAR, MR. DILLON, MR. SEXTON, AND MR. PARNELL—MR. GLADSTONE AND MR. PARNELL.

In dealing with the history of the Land League it would be undesirable to omit all mention of certain fallacies connected with it, and with subjects upon which it has declared its opinion; fallacies which seem likely to obtain credence among outsiders for no other reason than that no one has hitherto taken the trouble to contradict them.

For instance—*It is an absolute fallacy that the Land League has ever controlled or diminished outrages; and it is equally a fallacy to suppose that were the leaders of the League at this moment free to exert their influence, they would exert it in favour of the suppression of crime.*

Mr. Parnell asserted, in his speech at New Ross, that a suitable organisation among the tenants would render crime unnecessary. Here are the figures which show the almost exact correspondence between the number of Land League meetings and the number of agrarian crimes

in each county in in the year 1880, during which year, be it remembered, the Land League operations were absolutely unfettered.

County.	1879 Land League Meetings.	1879 Agrarian Crimes.	1880 Land League Meetings.	1880 Agrarian Crimes.
Carlow	1	3	2	22
Dublin ...	1	1	8	7
Kildare ...	0	12	10	30
Kilkenny ...	3	8	13	31
King's County	2	34	10	49
Longford ...	3	16	11	31
Louth ...	0	8	4	8
Meath ...	5	19	10	41
Queen's	2	5	13	18
Westmeath ...	1	36	16	35
Wexford ...	4	4	14	56
Wicklow ...	0	1	6	23
Clare ...	4	21	20	93
Cork (E.R.)	6	27	42	157
Cork (W.R.)	0	16	27	133
Kerry ...	4	13	23	298
Limerick ...	3	27	17	186
Tipperary (N.R.)	4	14	8	49
Tipperary (S.R.)	4	14	18	57
Waterford ...	1	4	5	46
Antrim ...	3	1	7	15
Armagh ...	1	8	8	30
Cavan ...	1	35	15	73
Donegal ...	2	25	15	52
Down ...	23	10	6	20
Fermanagh ...	2	4	7	6
Londonderry	4	7	4	14
Monaghan ...	2	8	12	19
Tyrone ...	6	11	11	21
Galway (E.R.)	5	23	34	78
Galway (W.R.)	14	146	34	324
Leitrim ...	4	26	32	102
Mayo ...	37	178	55	343
Roscommon	6	35	36	43
Sligo ...	5	53	22	71

It will thus be seen that, according to a fair average, a Land League meeting may be considered good for four outrages, the rate of production being higher in the Southern counties where the League is most thoroughly organised, and lower as a rule in Ulster and Co. Dublin, where the organisation took little root. Mayo—as might be expected from its being the birthplace of the Land League—carries off the palm in the number both of its meetings and its outrages.

It is a fallacy to suppose that the Land League leaders if at liberty would control crime.

At least this is the conclusion to which the facts seem to point. At no period has the total of agrarian crime been so high as in December, 1880. In December, 1880, the Land League was at the height of its power; it was interfered with by no Coercion Act, by no prosecutions, by no newspaper seizures. If the Land Leaguers are so ready to control crime in 1882, why did they not check it in 1880?

It is a fallacy to believe that the agrarian outrages which have recently taken place in Ireland are the "Wild Justice of Revenge."

This is a phrase of Mr. Parnell's, and the sentence, or the idea which it contains, has been repeated so often that there is a real danger of some persons actually going so far as to believe it. The danger is

not merely an imaginary one. For instance, here is an instance of what it leads to. The following is a quotation from a letter by a Mr. George Mitchell addressed to an English paper :—

"The shooting of innocent men and women from behind hedges is mentioned. I don't think any innocent men have been shot. I know for certain that some who have been sacrified to the desperation of a ruined, starved, and outraged nation have been 'verily guilty.'"

This would be wicked if it were not merely foolish. Mr. Mitchell of course has been misled by the popular notion that the victims of agrarian crime in Ireland during the last two years have been the landowning class. The misconception ought to be entirely removed by the following words taken from the charge of Judge Fitzgerald, addressed to the grand jury at Cork, in January, 1882. He says :—

"The totally different character of the crimes we have had to deal with here and on a similar occasion twelve months ago or at periods still further back, cannot fail to have struck you. I have not had before me during the present protracted sitting a single case of outrage upon one of the upper classes. We had no case of a gentleman's life being attempted, or a landlord's or an agent's house being broken into, or one of the aristocracy threatened in any way. They have been, one and all, outrages committed upon the poor and the humble ; and I have indeed felt for these unfortunate people, living in lonely houses on the mountain side and away from all succour, possibly with very humble means of securing food or other necessaries."

Up to the present time the total number of persons actually killed during the past year is twenty-one. The attempts to commit murder have reached the formidable total of sixty-eight, and the fact that several hundreds of persons have been under personal protection has probably saved a large number of lives. There have been no less than one hundred cases of aggravated assault, not including sixty-seven assaults on police and process servers. Not one landlord has been murdered during this period. (1)

But to return for a moment to Mr. Parnell's description of the Land League murders as being the "Wild Justice of Revenge." Never was there a definition which more widely departed from the truth in every word which it contained. The crime which has characterised the present agitation is *not wild*, is *not justice*, and is *not revenge*.

It is not wild, for it is one of the basest characteristics of this reign of terror, that the crimes which it produces are, in almost every case, deliberate, calculated, planned attacks, always upon the defenceless, always upon the unprotected, always upon the unresisting.

(1) These figures do not include the first three months of 1882, which would add considerably to the total under each head.

It is not necessary to pause to enquire into their justice. Even were they what crimes in Ireland have sometimes been, they would not be just; and the reflection gives an occasion for the expression of a protest against the loose habit into which some persons in England have at times allowed themselves to fall, when they have spoken of the murder of unpopular and possibly harsh landlords as being a species of rude justice. The step between condemning harsh and cruel action under the law, and condoning the assumption by any individual of the terrible responsibility of inflicting death upon his fellow-creatures is so wide, that to ignore it, or even to seem to ignore it, is to do incalculable harm in any country, in Ireland more than in any other country. But once for all the idea should be dismissed that the men and women on whose persons and whose property these barbarities are committed, are landlords or anything of the kind; they are simply men and women who have dared to be honest, who have striven to be true.

And lastly, as to the third point of Mr. Parnell's definition, which speaks of these crimes as "acts of vengeance." They are not acts of vengeance; they are acts of deliberate cruelty and tyranny, inflicted for the sake of propping up a vile system, for the purpose of annexing other people's property, and of establishing the will of an illegal organisation. They are the means used to punish the innocent and to shield the guilty, and are in no sense of the word, good or bad, vengeance or revenge.

It is a fallacy to believe that the leaders of the Land League have made any effective protest against outrage.

Some protests they have made, but they were neither effective nor effectual. The following are samples.

Mr. Biggar's protest we have already quoted:—

"We do not recommend shooting landlords," says the member for Cavan. "That is an extreme measure, and certainly we cannot recommend it."

Or again:—

"It is no part of the duty of the Land League to recommend the shooting of landlords for a great variety of reasons."

Strange to say, these strictures and the explanations by which they were accompanied did not produce the required effect; quite the contrary. (1)

Nor are Mr. Dillon's protests very impressive:—

(1) See p. 48.

"I wish to tell the landlords, that while we prevent every act of outrage upon their class, that if they undertake, as indicated in this speech, to repeat the deeds of past years, I think I shall say we have at our disposal means which shall make them bitterly repent the day."

Or again :—

"Now, I want to point out to the landlords that we have advised the people of Ireland always to carry on this agitation peaceably, and to injure no man in the course of it, but I wish here to tell the landlords of Ireland that if they take the law into their hands and declare war on the Irish people, I believe the Irish people know how to defend themselves,—('We will,' and cheers)—and I believe, what is more, that the Irish people have got in their possession a great many of those tools which the landlords considered were their exclusive right to possess. (Cheers.) Furthermore, I tell the Irish landlords that it is the right of every Irish tenant to have the same arms that an Irish landlord has, and that the day is gone by when the Irish landlord can turn his house into an arsenal, and have his thousands of guns and his pistols to be used against the people, and that it shall be considered a crime for an Irish tenant to hang his rifle over his mantelpiece. (Cheers.) We mean not to break the peace, we mean to carry on this great movement peaceably and orderly, but I tell the man who breaks the peace on the Irish people, that he and his order will repent it, and they will before very long learn to know that they have made a very false step both for themselves and for the privileges which they sought to defend."

Mr. Sexton also is found protesting, and this is how he does it :—

"There is one point upon which this resolution is silent, and I think it my duty to say that if any man be found among you to violate the rule which you have laid down —if any man be found who takes a farm from which another has been evicted—it is your duty, it is your right, to make evidenced the feeling which the action of that man caused in your minds. You have no idea—I am sure none of you would commit an outrage. Outrage hurts our cause. It may. gratify the feelings of one man, *but it raises the cry for coercion*, which may, perhaps, interfere with the progress of our movement, and do material hurt."

It may be that diligent enquiry would reveal other protests even more forcible than these tremendous denunciations! It is to be hoped so; but while Messrs. Parnell, Dillon, and Sexton sat at the same council table as Messrs. Biggar, Brennan, Sheridan, Boyton, and Kettle, it is hardly to be supposed that their hearers should be much impressed by these uncontrollable outbursts of indignation.

Mr. Parnell's protests deserve special mention. The first which he vouchsafed has been already recorded. (1) "Murder," he declared, "was an entirely unnecessary measure of procedure, entirely unnecessary and absolutely prejudicial where there was a suitable organisation among the tenants."

It is no use breaking the sixth commandment where there is a local Land League. That is certainly satisfactory as far as it goes.

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(1) See p. 10.

But this effort does not exhaust Mr. Parnell's powers of protest—far from it. On the 7th October, 1881, the Prime Minister of England, speaking before twenty thousand people at Leeds, openly and deliberately charged the President of the Irish National Land League with complicity with the assassination Press of America. These were Mr. Gladstone's words :—

"Mr. Parnell has said America is the only friend of Ireland, but in all his references to America he has never found time to utter one word of disapproval about what is known as the assassination literature of that country. Not American literature ; no, there is not an American who does not spurn and loathe it ; but there are, it is sad to say, a knot of Irishmen who are not ashamed to point out, in the Press which they maintain, how the ships of Her Majesty's Navy ought to be blown into the air to destroy the power of England by secret treachery, and how individuals they are pleased to select ought to be made the object of the knife of the assassin because they do not conform to the new Irish gospel."

Never, probably, was a graver charge brought by a great statesman against the leader of a political party. The accusation was made before the whole world, and before the whole world it was answered. This is how it was answered. On the 9th October Mr. Parnell alluded to the charge brought against him in these terms :—

"Mr. Gladstone accuses me of not having repudiated what he calls the dynamite policy. Well, I am not aware that Mr. Shaw has repudiated that dynamite policy either. But I will tell you what Mr. Shaw did. Mr. Shaw did not repudiate the dynamite policy any more than I did, but I will tell you what he said eighteen months ago. He said that his blood boiled whenever he saw a process server—(laughter)—and that he never saw one without feeling inclined to take the lynch-pin out of his cart. (Renewed laughter.) That speech of Mr. Shaw's was a clearer incitement to an act of violence than anything ever said by any of the men that are in any of the jails throughout the country. . . Mr. Shaw has not the courage to meet the process server openly, as many of the men and women of Ireland have done." (1) *Freeman's Journal*, 10*th October*, 1881.

This is Mr. Parnell's answer ; this is his repudiation. He does not even attempt to deny his complicity with the paper by which his organisation is paid, but contents himself with reciting a cock-and-bull story about one of the most honest and patriotic of his countrymen, which has as much to do with the point as the story of Jack and the Beanstalk.

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(1) The following is from a speech of the Attorney-General for Ireland, in the House of Commons, 16th February, 1882.—"At the winter assizes at Cork it was proved that some bailiffs were stripped naked by women. If there was one thing in Ireland they were proud of it was the virtue of their women. But under the teaching of the League women stripped a bailiff naked and hunted him for four miles. Women were put forward by the men to tear from the bailiffs their last rag of clothing. I have lived all my life in Ireland, and I know her people pretty well, and have never heard of anything like this before."

CHAPTER XI

NO RENT—AND THE UNWRITTEN LAW.

"After Mass at Tuam Cathedral, the Rev. Dr. McEvilly, Bishop of Galway, delivered a most impressive sermon, in which, in unsparing language, he denounced the teaching of the new doctrine of 'No Rent' as being contrary to every principle of religion, every dictate of morality, and a breach of that law which says, 'Thou shalt not steal.'"—*Irish Times*, November 2nd, 1881.

THE LAND LEAGUE STORY—INSIDE THE HOUSE—AND OUTSIDE—A "FAIR TRIAL" FOR THE LAND ACT—MR. PARNELL'S TEST CASES—THE CONVENTION AND THE LAND ACT—THE "UNWRITTEN LAW"—WHAT IT IS—THE NO RENT MANIFESTO—HOW ENFORCED—A MODEL FARM.

We have already spoken of certain popular fallacies connected with the Land League and its organisation; it remains for us to mention one more delusion which the followers of Mr. Parnell have endeavoured to encourage on this side of the Channel, and which they have possibly induced some uninformed persons to accept as the truth. Those who are not accustomed to distinguish between Land League oratory as supplied to Irish audiences, and the same matter doctored for the use of the House of Commons, are now and then taken aback by the simple and plausible tale which they hear and which they are assured really represents the action and policy of the Land League. The "Unwritten Law," they are told, means merely the force of public opinion directed against an individual who acts contrary to the wishes of his class. The Land Act was to have had a fair trial, and the whole energies of the League were directed to securing such a trial until the task was made impossible by the precipitate and unconstitutional action of the Government in arresting the persons who were so anxious to see justice done. The No Rent doctrine did not mean no rent at all, but merely signified that in the opinion of

Mr. Parnell there ought to be a considerable reduction in the total amount of rent paid. These are the sort of statements which are now and again produced in grave, set speeches in the House of Commons; it will be worth while to enquire shortly what they are worth. It is best to go straight to the fountain head and see what Mr. Parnell says on the subject of a fair trial for the Land Act, and what he means by test cases. The telegram quoted, be it observed, is dated before the arrests which are supposed to have made so much difference.

"Dublin, September 17th, 1881. To Collins, President Land League, Boston.—The Convention has just closed, after three days' session. Resolutions were adopted for national self-government, the unconditional liberation of the land for the people, *tenants not to use the rent-fixing clauses of the Land Act*, and follow old Land League lines and rely upon the old methods to reach justice. The executive of the League is empowered to select test cases, *in order that tenants in surrounding districts may realise, by the result of cases decided, the hollowness of the Act.*"

(Signed) PARNELL.

The "old methods" are hinted at in the following counsel given by Mr. Parnell:—

"I cannot see that the tenants will lose anything at all where it is possible for the Land League to keep the farm vacant. This has been our principle from the very commencement; without such a policy we could not have succeeded in the movement at all from the beginning, and if we are able to keep a tenant's farm vacant who has allowed his interest to be sold, there can be no shadow of doubt whatever that he will be able, if he desires, to make a satisfactory arrangement with his landlord hereafter."—September 9th, 1881.

As we shall see, the "unwritten law" does its best to ensure the success of the policy of keeping farms vacant.

Before, however, dealing with that aspect of the question, it may be as well to remove all doubt as to what was the view of the Land Act and its uses which the Land League sought to impress upon the Irish people. Again we quote from Messrs. Parnell, McCarthy and Co.'s special organ. This is what the *United Ireland* of the 17th September, 1881, has to say on the matter:—

"The spirit which cowed the tyrants in their rent offices must be the spirit in which the Land Commission Courts are to be approached if they are to be approached at all."

And on the 24th of the same month:—

"The Convention has thrust Mr. Gladstone's Act aside . . . By a clear commission from the nation, the Land League resumes its sovereignty and its purpose. If the Land Courts do its bidding, well; if they

refuse to do it, better still. . . . If they falter (as it is extremely likely they will), the Land League are now armed with the most ample authority to take the work out of their hands and to do it by swifter and sharper methods. . . The decree of the Convention is, that either the Land Act shall be used as a weapon in that war (against landlordism) or it shall not be used at all; it shall be used for the benefit of the entire nation, or the man who uses it shall quit the society of his fellow-men. It remains now for the country to see that decree obeyed."

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Parnell's special emissary to the United States, is as plain spoken as most of his colleagues are when not addressing an English audience. This is what he thinks of the Land Act:—

"Landlordism is dead, the spark of life cannot be put into the corpse. Gladstone's policy was to fix a relation between the landlord and tenant; the policy of the League was to abolish the relation, and trample landlordism beneath its heel. Gladstone's Land Act and the Land League were of precisely opposite principles."

This is how a *fair trial* is to be given to the Land Act, by those who have the impertinence to ask the British public to believe that they did not regard that measure as their worst and most dangerous enemy!

As to the "unwritten law," by which, through two weary years, the tyranny of the Land League has been supported, it would be idle to attempt within the limits of such a compilation as this adequately to describe its brutal ferocity. Never was there a more entire delusion than to suppose that the influence which the Land League has exerted has been the influence of public opinion. It has been and still is the power which depends upon intimidation and outrage. The Land League farms have been kept vacant by Land League murders; boycotting has become a reality because, behind the boycotting notice, is the bullet of the assassin or the torch of the incendiary. The "No Rent" manifesto, wherever it has been effectual, has been effectual because those who paid rent knew that they might share the fate of Moroney in the Co. Clare.

The following placard is one of the ordinances of the Land League:—

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

The Government of England has declared war against the Irish people. The organisation that protected them against the ravages of landlordism has been declared "unlawful and criminal." A reign of terror has commenced. Meet the action of the English Government with a determined passive resistance. The No Rent Banner has been raised, and it remains with the people now to prove themselves dastards or men.

PAY NO RENT.

AVOID THE LAND COURT.

Such is the programme now before the country. Adopt it, and it will lead you to free land and happy homes. Reject it, and slavery and degradation will be your portion.

PAY NO RENT.

The person who does should be visited with the severest sentence of social ostracism.

AVOID THE LAND COURT.

Cast out the person who enters it as a renegade to his country and to the cause of his fellow men.

HOLD THE HARVEST

is the watchword. To do that effectually you should, as far as possible, turn it into money. Sell your stock, when such a course will not entail a loss. Make a friendly arrangement with your creditors about your interests in your farms. A short and sharp struggle now, and the vilest oppression that ever afflicted humanity will be wiped away.

NO RENT.

Your brethren in America have risen to the crisis, and are ready to supply you with unlimited funds, provided you maintain your attitude of passive resistance and

PAY NO RENT.

NO RENT.

"The tenants of Ireland have still one tremendous move in their power, and that is TO QUIETLY STAY AT HOME AND PAY NO RENT. I believe that if they unitedly adopted a policy of passive resistance, which I do not see how it would be possible for the landlords to combat, it would lead to one of the greatest revolutions that Ireland has ever known."—NASSAU WILLIAM, Senior Professor Political Economy, University of Oxford.

"I do not suggest an impossible hypothesis to your Majesty when I state the possibility (I might state it more strongly) of the tenantry of the country refusing to pay tithes or rents. The clergy and the landlords might have recourse to the law, but how is the law to be enforced? How can they distrain for RENT OR TITHES UPON MILLIONS OF TENANTS?"—The DUKE OF WELLINGTON to the King.

"The land, therefore, of any country is the common property of the people of that country, because its real owner, the Creator, who made it, has transferred it as a voluntary gift to them."—Dr. NULTY, Bishop of Meath.

PAY NO RENT.

By Order, PATRICK EGAN, Treasurer.

The local branches are prompt to support the central authority. The following is a placard recently posted in Galway :—

"NOTICE.

"£10 reward will be given to any person who can give sufficient information of any tenant farmer having paid any rent since the No-rent manifesto was issued by the Central Executive. *And also a reward of £5* will be given to any person who can give information of any spy who is informing the police about the Land League organisation.

"By Order of the Committee in Council."

This placard was posted on the wall of a chapel. This is how the crime of honesty is detected ; the following paragraph will show how it is punished :—

"An armed party of sixteen men, disguised, attacked a farmer's house at Feakle, co. Clare, yesterday morning. They entered the house, searched for a candle, but could not find one. They then went to the next house, procured a light, and returning to the farmer's house placed him on his knees, and shot the unfortunate man in the legs. His son, who was concealed under the bed, was dragged out and stabbed three times in the head. A second son, who had rushed for concealment to another part of the house, attempted to run out, when some of the party who remained outside on guard, fired at the young fellow and killed him. The reason assigned for this extraordinary outrage is that the farmer was suspected of having paid his rent."

What happened to Moroney, in Clare, is merely an example of what has happened to many another through all that part of Ireland in which the Land League has undertaken to enforce the doctrine, "Thou Shalt Steal." Those who are anxious to learn the extent to which the process of intimidation has been carried, have only to refer to the police reports of agrarian crime, or if they doubt the correctness of the information drawn from that source, let them peruse the equally full record which may be found in the columns of *United Ireland* under the head of "Incidents of the Campaign."

When Mr. Dillon speaks of a "model farm" as a farm on which no living thing should, by the power of public opinion, be allowed to exist ; and when Mr. Boyton, chief organiser of the Land League, declares that "there are already a dozen model farms existing in the Co. Tipperary, standing as living witnesses that the landlords *dare* not till the land and cannot get a living man to strike a spade or a plough into it," it is well to remember how the farms are kept vacant, and why no man *dare* till the land.

CHAPTER XII.

CONCLUSION.

"Why encourage men in a mischievous proceeding, because their absurdity may disappoint their malice? 'But noticing them may give them consequence.' Certainly. But they are noticed, not with reproof, but with that kind of countenance which is given by an apparent concurrence (not a *real* one, I am convinced) of a great party, in the praises of the object which they hold out to imitation."—*Burke.*

LANGUAGE USED BY LAND LEAGUERS—ITS COARSENESS—ITS DANGERS—EXCESSIVE MODERATION IN DEALING WITH IT—MR. PARNELL AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—CONDUCT OF IRISH MEMBERS—SUMMARY OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LAND LEAGUE—CONCLUSION.

Such is the character, such are the actions of the leaders of the Irish Land League. In the preceding chapters illustrations have been given of what it is that they have been teaching the people of Ireland during the past two years. One other feature in their method of serving their country has not been alluded to, and deserves, at least, a passing comment. The persistent coarseness and vulgarity with which, both in and out of Parliament, the Land League campaign has been conducted is a matter which, perhaps, has scarcely received sufficient consideration. The language in which it has been thought necessary to inculcate patriotism and plead the cause of justice outside the House is indeed a minor consideration in comparison with the physical methods which are taken to enforce adhesion to a principle. With some people it is possible that Mr. O'Donnell's comparison of Mr. Gladstone to Judas Iscariot may pass for wit; but the number must be few; they are probably the persons to whom the following lines of Miss Parnell's appear to be poetry:—

"Tear up that parchment lie!
You, Gladstone, sunk supine to quivering slush;
You, Forster, with the sign of Cain in breast and eye;
You, Bright, whose slopping tongue can gloze and gush;
You, puppet brood, the lesser legislative fry—
A people's might your bungled work shall crush!
A people's wrath your grinning cozenage defy.
We will not loose the land, we will not starve or fly;
Tear up your chartered lie!"

Weapons such as these do little harm to any but those who wield them; and if the evil rested there, there would be little to complain of. Unfortunately, however, there is another and a more serious aspect of the question. What is mere coarseness outside Parliament bids fair to become a real danger if tolerated within its walls.

It is a real danger that the House should have to put up with the repetition of such scenes as that which Mr. Bright well described as "the worst attempt he had ever known to insult and degrade the Imperial House of Parliament." It is a real danger that the House should become habituated to the use of language which, if uttered in the "Codgers' Hall," would ensure the instant expulsion of the offender by methods less ceremonious than effective. The House of Commons already appears to some outside observers to be in a fair way to

> "Get wantonness confirmed by Act of Parliament an honesty,
> And so approved of all."

And the danger, such as it is, does not become less formidable when we realise, as many members must themselves have realised, and as all those who have followed the course of Land League oratory are convinced, that insult and obstruction are part of the organised machinery by which a party in the State has made up its mind to work.

There are probably few political virtues so essential as those of patience and toleration towards opponents; but there is a point at which patience and toleration become little more than weakness and blindness. Mr. Parnell has frankly avowed that the British Constitution having been given to him and his followers for one purpose, it is his intention to use it for another; and that other, hostile to those who are interested in maintaining it. Outside the House he and his friends have, both in their speeches and in the Press, announced their intention of obstructing the House of Commons, and the whole business of the Government of England. It is hard to say where the line is to be drawn in political warfare now-a-days, and when Mr. Parnell boasts to a provincial audience that an Act of Parliament, on which five-sixths of the House are determined, "shall not pass as long as he can stand in the House;" or again when he declares that "he and his party occupy an independent position in the House of Commons . . . pledged to be a separate element in the Legislature, and, if necessary, disorderly, disorganising, interfering with every business that may be transacted, as far as it is expedient or feasible;" it is possible that he is pursuing a wise and

patriotic course. But when we find the same speaker rising in the House which he has thus threatened, and saying, "I appeal to the sense of fair play that no doubt is entertained by the majority of the members of this House," and when we reflect that hitherto such an appeal has never been made in vain, we are tempted to doubt whether matters have not gone rather beyond the stage when concession and indulgence are likely to be of much service.

It may be all very well for one of Mr. Parnell's lieutenants to speak publicly of the House of Commons as "500 scoundrels;" and for another to tell his hearers that the English Government is based upon "murder, rapine, violence, confiscation, sacrilege, buckshot, bayonets, and flying columns;" (1) and to escape with nothing more than the contempt which they deserve; but when these same persons or their friends again and again demand and receive the indulgence of the assembly and the Government which they are so eager to vilify, they present a spectacle which, in English politics at any rate, has fortunately had few parallels.

One more remark remains to be made. It is simply a calamity that none of the many Irish members who disapprove of the teachings and policy of Mr. Parnell, have felt it their duty to endeavour to present the other side of the question to their unfortunate countrymen. It requires some knowledge of the literature which is in circulation in a great part of Ireland to realise the extraordinary diffusion of pure and unadulterated falsehood that has gone on among a people who are only too ready to believe any statement which coincides with what may be their view at the moment. It is hard to conceive the difference which might have been made if those, who by every reason of propriety and fitness might have felt it their duty to stand between their countrymen and doctrines which they knew to be pernicious and wrong, had, instead of confining themselves to platonic discourses upon the necessity of agrarian reform and the wickedness of outrage, made use of their privilege as Irishmen speaking to Irishmen, and had, with whatever inconvenience or annoyance to themselves, fairly faced the Boytons, the Biggars,and the Parnells on their own ground. Had they done so they might have rendered a service to Ireland which no parliamentary distinction, however high, is able to confer.

We have now reached the limits intended in this compilation The

(1) Mr. T. P. O'Connor.

Irish Land League has been represented as it has chosen to represent itself. The men and their methods have been described. The charges which have been made are not brought against men who are unable to answer for themselves; for the offences committed, if offences they be, were neither denied nor palliated at a time when the power to do so was not taken away. With an Anglo-American Protestant landlord, educated at Cambridge, at its head—with a nameless tribe of ruffians and desperadoes at its tail—the Irish Land League in the short space of two years has succeeded in accomplishing an amount of harm which it is not easy to over-estimate. With regard to England and English matters the position may be briefly summed up by saying that every effort which either the generosity, the friendship, or the remorse of Englishmen may have made to remove the difficulties of their Irish fellow countrymen, and to create a better feeling between the two peoples, it has been the deliberate endeavour of the Land League to prevent or to undo.

But though in an indirect way the Land League may have inflicted some damage on England and English institutions, the mischief is nothing in comparison with the misery and disgrace which it has succeeded in inflicting upon Ireland. It has succeeded in branding the people of Ireland against their will with thestigma of national dishonesty. It has forced from the reluctant people of England a curtailment of the laws which guaranteed the freedom of the subject. It has done its best to secure the contempt, if not the hatred, of the great Radical party in England, by its persistent refusal to dispense with outrage and insult in the furtherance of its aims. It has discredited, almost beyond the hope of recovery, the power of legitimate agitation in Ireland; and lastly, by a far-reaching and well organised system of terrorism it has forced tens of thousands of Irishmen to acquiesce in acts and principles against which their hearts, in common with those of every honest man, must have revolted. Meanwhile, by a refinement of impertinence the representatives of the Land League in Parliament have appealed to the generosity and forbearance of that people whom, according to their own statement, it is their avowed intention to insult, to injure, and to ruin. Such is the indictment. Against the leaders of the Land League it is laid and against them only.

Against the unhappy people upon whose ignorance or whose passions they have practised no accusation is made. Against those who

through fear or through folly have stood by and seen the demoralisation of their country go on before their eyes, no charge is here made. The poor tenantry of Ireland have had a bitter lot to bear, and little enough help in discerning true from false guides. The indictment is not against them ; it is in their cause that it is drawn up.

But against those who with malice aforethought have used their knowledge to mislead and inflame their countrymen, the indictment *is* laid. The force of public opinion in these days is overwhelming, the force of public opinion with right on its side is irresistible. As the power of universal approval is enormous, so also is the power of universal reprobation. No man, no party, it matters not who they be, can stand before it when it is just. The ways and means, the methods and aims, of the persons who have created and conducted the Irish Land League have been described. The facts may be wrongly stated ; if so, they will be confuted. But if they have been stated rightly, then it is to be wished that every English-speaking man and woman, and everybody who is called upon to stand in judgment between the people of England and the leaders of the Land League, should hear and know them. The result is not to be feared. The judgment of such a tribunal is irresistible, and as to the nature of that judgment there need be neither doubt nor alarm.

APPENDIX.

"A Lie runs from Maine to Texas while Truth is putting on her boots."
—*American Proverb.*

THE NO RENT MANIFESTO—THE LAND LEAGUE AND OUTRAGES—MR. PARNELL AT ENNIS—CRIME AND EVICTIONS—MR. O'DONNELL AND MR. PARNELL—MR. PARNELL'S COERCION ACT—CARRYING OUT THE UNWRITTEN LAW—IRISH AND ENGLISH CRIME.

THE NO-RENT MANIFESTO.

The No-Rent Manifesto, published with the authority of Mr. Parnell and his colleagues, is still before the Irish people as the deliberate expression of the views of the National Land League. This illegal and immoral document, publicly circulated among the Irish people, has never, either publicly or privately, been withdrawn or disavowed. We have, however, Mr. Parnell's assurance that it is no longer to be circulated. As, however, it is already in the hands of those whom it was intended to teach, this is a concession of doubtful value.

THE LAND LEAGUE AND OUTRAGE.

It has been asserted again and again that the suppression of the Land League gave an impetus to crime, and that the imprisonment of the prominent organisers prevented the League from doing what they otherwise were anxious to do—namely, suppress outrage.

This is simply untrue; and the proof is that at no period during the whole agitation has agrarian crime been so prevalent as during the last three months of 1880, when the Land League was absolutely free, interfered with neither by prosecutions, by imprisonment, nor by proclamation.

MR. PARNELL AT ENNIS.

No reference has been made in these pages to Mr. Parnell's speech at Ennis; the omission ought to be supplied, as the passage quoted below furnishes the key to the whole Land League campaign, which has been throughout conducted upon the principle contained in it, namely, the enforcement of political ends by acts of persecution directed against individuals.

These are Mr. Parnell's words :—

"Now what are you to do to a tenant who bids for a farm from which his neighbour has been evicted?" (Various shouts, among which "Kill him," "Shoot

him.") "Now I think I heard somebody say, 'Shoot him,' but I wish to point out to you a very much better way, a more Christian and a more charitable way, which would give the lost sinner an opportunity of repenting. When a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted, you must show him on the roadside when you meet him ; you must show him in the streets of the town; you must show him at the shop counter; you must show him in the fair and in the market place, and even in the house of worship, by leaving him severely alone, by putting him into a moral Coventry, by isolating him from the rest of his kind, as if he was a leper of old ; you must show him your detestation of the crime he has committed, and you may depend upon it if the population of a county in Ireland carry out this doctrine that there will be no man so full of avarice as to dare the public opinion of all right-thinking men within the country, and to trangress *your unwritten code of laws.*"

CRIME AND EVICTIONS.

The question of evictions, like most others which the Land League leaders have undertaken to deal with, has been treated in a very different style according to the audience addressed and the conclusions to be enforced.

Before, however, discussing the various forms which the question has been made to assume, it will be well briefly and once for all to recall what is in effect the English point of view as embodied in the utterances of nearly every public man of importance, and enforced by the whole current of recent legislation, either attempted or accomplished. It is the wish of the English people that evictions should be as rare as possible, that they should be made as little oppressive as possible, and that where the transfer can be effected with equity the property in the land which now gives the landlord the right to evict, should pass on just terms to the tenant, so as to do away altogether with the necessity for evictions in the future. This is the policy which has been indicated in every line of the Compensation Bill, of the Land Act, of the Arrears Bill, and of the projects that have from time to time been brought forward to extend the operation of the Bright Clauses of the Act of 1870. That these ends are desirable the English people have admitted. But the difficulties in the way of giving effect to their wishes have been enormously increased by the action of the Land League, who, by deliberately compelling landlords to evict in cases where it was not only just but necessary that they should do so, have made it almost impossible to discriminate between those who were the objects of harsh and possibly unjust treatment and the large number who, after having deliberately elected to obey the thieving counsels of the Land League, found themselves face to face with the consequences from which that organisation promised to hold them harmless. We now come to the view of the question as presented at different times and in different places by the leaders of the Land League, and in examining their arguments on the

subject we shall do well at the outset to set our faces against the loose way of dealing with provocation and crime which has been encouraged only too successfully by a considerable class of political reasoners. It is certainly a new phase for English politicians to acquiesce as calmly as many of them seem to do now-a-days in what they appear to consider a self-evident proposition—namely, that the one, the only, and the natural method of expressing discontent with the law, or dissatisfaction with social conditions, is to break the law and to commit murder. It is astonishing to observe the cool way in which it is taken for granted by many that to say a man has been asked to pay his debts and refused is at once a full and sufficient explanation of any crime, from larceny to homicide, which the debtor may think fit to commit. But, setting aside this view of the question, we come to the consideration of the Land League case. Argued even on the ground of its own supporters, we shall see that, granting their assumptions, the position is not much improved.

These remarks have been entitled "Crime and Evictions," and the two subjects have been coupled together in deference to the series of arguments which has invariably connected the one with the other.

It will be seen below how far this connection exists in fact. Meanwhile, to return to the various ways in which the Land League have treated the question of evictions according to the lesson they wished to teach at any given moment.

First, there is the lesson as taught to the Irish tenants. "Pay what rent you please, none if you think fit; be evicted rather than pay more than you please." This is the first instruction. "Pay no rent at all under any circumstances." This is the second and perfected counsel of the League. In both cases the tenants are ordered to allow themselves to be evicted rather than be honest, and the reward for their dishonesty is to be the special protection of the League which guarantees that they shall not be the losers. A number of tenants, fewer fortunately than the League leaders supposed, believed the Land League, chose the path of dishonesty, and found, too late, that the law was too strong for them. If any such were evicted, they were rightly and justly evicted, and every case where such persons have lost their holdings stands as a lasting testimony to the mischief that has been done by the League in confusing plain issues, and obscuring the claims of those who are suffering unjustly by mixing them up with the recriminations of the dupes of the Land League.

Many of the evictions which have taken place in the poorer parts of Galway are instances in point where real and great suffering has been caused, and, it may be, injustice done. There has been no lack of sympathy felt and expressed in England for those who have been thus

evicted, and already very practical steps have been taken by individuals to assist the sufferers. It is to render the recurrence of such suffering impossible that the emigration and arrears clauses of the Land Act were passed, the Land Court founded, and the new Arrears Bill introduced. The poor tenants of Connemara have, and deserve to have, many friends in England; but the men who try to make their misfortunes the cloak for crimes with which they have nothing to do, are assuredly not among the number.

So much for the lesson which has been taught in Ireland. In England there has been a twofold version of the story. For a long period the orthodox Land League explanation of agrarian outrages was that they were acts of vengeance perpetrated by persons who had been evicted harshly and unjustly, men who having been dispossessed from their holdings were ready to turn their hands against the law which oppressed them, in the persons of those who put that law in force. Again and again the English public were assured that as an increase of evictions was immediately followed by an increase of crime, so a diminution of the former would inevitably lead to a decrease of the latter. This was a plausible and easily understood doctrine, as long as it lasted; it did yeoman's service for a time, and would have been unanswerable if it had borne any relation whatever to the facts. Its weakness lay in its being a pure work of imagination. It has done its duty, and has now been discarded. The following figures shew the real relation between evictions and agrarian crime. They are worthy of careful attention, as enforcing the conclusion so long ago arrived at by those who have studied the course of Mr. Parnell's agitation—namely, that crime follows the Land League and not the process-server. The figures are as follow :—

CONNAUGHT.

—	1881. 1st Qr.		1881. Qr.		1881. 3rd Qr.		1881. 4th Qr.		1882. 1st Qr.	
	Evictions.	Crimes.	Evictions.	Crimes.	Evictions.	Crimes.	Evictions.	Crimes.	Evictions.	Crimes.
Galway (E. R.)	2	25	9	30	19	46	4	104	35	72
Galway (W. R.)	2	98	40	54	48	55	7	69	98	84
Leitrim	30	22	75	41	61	60	56	24	88	49
Mayo	6	114	71	68	134	56	33	66	88	58
Roscommon	5	12	46	38	20	53	52	70	39	52
Sligo	2	14	27	27	21	31	14	28	16	57

MUNSTER.

—	1881. 1st Qr.		1881. 2nd Qr.		1881. 3rd Qr.		1881. 4th Qr.		1882. 1st Qr.	
	Evictions.	Crimes.	Evictions.	Crimes.	Evictions.	Crimes.	Evictions.	Crimes.	Evictions.	Crimes.
Clare	5	20	25	27	24	55	14	108	52	117
Cork (E. R.)	12	34	27	86	76	74	19	114	21	63
Cork (W. R.)	8	51	28	97	38	85	60	103	13	65
Kerry	10	98	62	111	100	71	20	120	94	100
Limerick	15	38	26	65	34	54	17	105	97	59
Tipperary (N. R.)	0	13	9	47	11	54	12	82	18	74
Tipperary (S. R.)	4	12	3	27	10	21	5	73	31	110
Waterford	10	17	6	18	28	20	2	41	9	27

But the doctrine above referred to was too outrageously in contradiction to the facts to be indefinitely maintained; and there was this additional difficulty to be met—namely, that assuming the explanation of outrages to be the correct one, it was obviously against the landlords and their agents that the vengeance of the evicted tenants ought to have been directed. As the facts were the exact contrary of this, and as it almost invariably happened that the outrages were committed, not *by* men who could not pay their debts but *upon* men who did pay them, another explanation had to be found. It has lately been furnished with slight variations by two leading members of the extreme party.

"The outrages are committed by small tenants upon the larger tenants, in order that the latter may be terrorised into obeying the No Rent decree, and that thereby the former may be protected against some possible action which in their opinion is likely to be taken against them, when others have paid their rents." (1.)

This is almost literally the explanation vouchsafed by Mr. Parnell in the House of Commons, on May 15th. It is an exact confirmation of everything that has been previously said in these pages about the action of the League. In a word, the outrages have been deliberate precautions, taken in advance, to guard against a contingency which may never arise. They have been organised and carried out, on Mr. Parnell's own showing, not by secret societies, except in so far as the Land League is a secret society; but by one class of Irish farmers upon

(1.) The persons who committed the outrages were, he (Mr. Parnell) believed, the *smaller tenantry* who could not pay, and trusted, by means of the outrages, to intimidate the *larger tenantry*, and prevent them from paying their rents, and thus protect themselves.—*Times* Report, May 16th, 1882.

another. They have been, in fact, just what the Irish Executive have from the first declared them to be.

This is Mr. Parnell's story.

Mr. O'Donnell, having dropped his first line of argument, has now come forward with another. "The crimes have not diminished with the evictions, but the former have increased, while the latter have decreased," is the new admission; and the lesson which the member for Dungarvan now draws is that the crimes have terrorised the landlords into staying their hands and refusing to enforce their rights. A glance at the figures in the above table will shew that this explanation is as consistent with the facts as the former one, for it will at once be seen that over and over again evictions have been carried out *after* crime has increased in the district, while in many other localities evictions have been most numerous where there was least crime.

But granting that Mr. O'Donnell's reasoning be correct, it is hard to conceive a stronger justification of the measures which are intended to put an end to such a monstrous state of things.

For it will be remarked that Mr. O'Donnell's generalisation takes absolutely no account of the enormous number of cases in which it is perfectly just and fair that the rents should be paid, and he appears to assume, what is directly contrary to the fact, that in the majority of cases where the pressure he refers to is put upon the landlords, the tenants are really unable to pay. In some, perhaps many cases, they are unable, but it is not their cause that the outrages have been intended to serve.

There is no need, however, of recondite explanations to account for the increase of outrage since October last. In that month a decree, addressed to all the farmers of Ireland, ordering them to refuse to pay their just debts until Mr. Parnell was released from prison, was promulgated. Penalties were attached to any violation of the decree. Its provisions were violated and as often as persons doing so were detected the penalties were enforced.

MR. PARNELL'S COERCION ACT.

CARRYING OUT THE "UNWRITTEN LAW."

So much has been said about the tyranny of the law, and the outrages which have been committed upon a harmless and unoffending people that the following short summary of the work of the Land League during a period of six months is not without interest. The incidents referred to occurred in three counties only, and no reference whatever is made to offences less serious than those of murder and attempted murder. Such indications of the "spirit of the country" as firing into houses, arson, and cattle maiming, are not referred to.

Episodes in the Land League campaign, in Kerry, Limerick, and Clare, from October, 1881, to March, 1882, inclusive: —

NAME.	PUNISHMENT INFLICTED under the "Unwritten Law."	OFFENCE.
MICHAEL CONWAY ... Herdsman. *Murdered.*	Shot in broad daylight, while at work, by two disguised men.	Suspected of aiding the law, and working for an employer objectionable to the tenants.
A PARTY OF POLICE...	Fired at with a rifle	Protecting a process-server.
RICHARD STUDDERT.. HALLAM STUDDERT..	Fired at ten times in a friend's house, on opening the front door.....	Being land agents.
MICHAEL MOLONEY.. Farmer. *Murdered.*	Shot dead through the window of his own house	Paying his rent contrary to Land League orders.
PATRICK LEARY ..... Farmer's son. *Murdered.*	Shot by one of a disguised party engaged in making domiciliary visits to ascertain whether the inmates had paid their rents...	Alarming the party while pursuing their avocations.
JOHN DONOHUE ..... Labourer.	Fired at and wounded by two men who attacked his house at night	Falling out with the local Land League.
PATRICK HALLORAN.. Herd. *Murdered.*	Shot while sitting before his own fire	Refusing to desert his employer in obedience to a boycotting decree.
JULIET BENTLY	Fired at by two men with rifles, while driving with her three daughters	Being the wife of a magistrate suspected of doing his duty.
DENIS MCCARTHY ... Farmer.	Fired at and wounded, knocked down and kicked, by a disguised party in his own house	Paying a portion of his rent, and not producing a Land League card.
THOMAS CLIFFORD ... Herd.	Shot in the leg in his own house by a party of twenty men in disguise	Refusing to desert his employer, who had been boycotted.
THOMAS GALVIN..... Farmer.	Shot in the legs in his own house in the presence of his mother, by a disguised party	Stating that he had paid his rent.
JOHN KEEFE..... ..... Farmer.	Leg shattered, shot in his own house, by a disguised party...	Suspected of paying rent.
DANIEL CRONIN ..... Farmer.	Dangerously wounded in the thigh, by the same party	Suspected of paying rent.
MICHAEL CRONIN ... Farmer.	Shot in the leg and robbed by the same party	None apparent.
JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.. Farmer.	Fired at at his own door several times, by a party similar to that above	Being obnoxious in some way not apparent.
R. STUDDERT	Fired at from behind a hedge ...	Being a land agent.
DONOUGH O'BRIEN...	Fired at four times in broad daylight	Being a land agent.
DENIS CONNOLLEY ... Farmer.	Shot in the leg	Promising to pay a portion of his rent.

NAME.	PUNISHMENT INFLICTED under the "Unwritten Law."	OFFENCE.
PATRICK DONOHOE ... Farmer.	Dragged out of bed, beaten, and shot in the foot	Purchasing his farm.
THOMAS SULLIVAN ... Carter.	Attacked on the road by a large party, kicked, his ears slit, and shot in the hand.....	Refusing to desert a boycotted employer.
JOHN LENANE ..... Labourer. *Murdered.*	Shot dead at his own fireside ...	Refusing to desert his employer, though ordered to do so.
PATRICK KELLY	Fired at and wounded while at work	Refusing to desert his employer.
WILFORD LLOYD, R.M.	Shot at by a party of eight men, while driving; the constable with him wounded in four places	Being on a car which was mistaken for that of a landlord and his wife who were expected to pass.
MICHAEL MORONEY... Farmer. *Murdered.*	Shot in his own house, in the presence of his wife and children, by a large armed party	Being wrongly suspected of disobeying Mr. Parnell's manifesto.
ARTHUR HERBERT, J.P *Murdered.*	Shot dead on the high road.....	Suspected of doing his duty as a juryman upon oath, in a case in which the Land League was concerned.
DANIEL DOOLING..... Farmer.	Shot in the back and legs by an armed and disguised party ...	Paying rent in defiance of Mr. Parnell's manifesto.
MARTIN COSTELLO ... Farmer.	Shot and dangerously wounded, while sitting before his own fire	Disobeying the No Rent Manifesto.
PATRICK DUGGAN ... Farmer.	His leg shattered by an armed party	Suspected of paying rent.

These facts require no commentary, except that they are, as before stated, a record of what has happened in *three* counties only during a period of *six* months only, and relate to two kinds of crime only. Wherever the Land League has established itself there these facts may be paralleled. It is to be regretted that the storm of indignation which was aroused by the recent tragedy in the Phœnix Park should have been the first demonstration of the kind, and that that unhappy occurrence should have drawn from the Land League leaders expressions of disapproval which no incident in the horrid carnival of crime which preceded it was able to evoke.

IRISH AND ENGLISH CRIME.

One other impudent fallacy which has not been referred to in the body of this work, is worthy of mention. The supposed facts with

which it deals have already been made the basis of endless declamation, and the premise for many absurd conclusions. The fallacy is one which deserves exposure in this place, inasmuch as it has constantly been used by the Land League Press in Ireland, and by its allies in England as an argument against repressive measures. The statement is that, setting agrarian crime aside, there is proportionately more crime of a violent nature in England than in Ireland. So persistently has this been asserted by those whose interest it is to induce the English people to believe it, that, probably, nine persons out of ten have actually come to accept it as a fact.

The following figures will, it is to be hoped, put an end, once for all, to the whole invention and the conclusions which it has been made to support.

In Ireland, during the year 1881, the number of murders, exclusive of those of infants under one year, was 40. Of these 17 are returned as agrarian; but as in a few cases crimes which have been in reality the outcome of the land agitation have been wrongly entered as ordinary offences, it will perhaps be fairest to take the number at 20. In England, during 1880 (the last year for which the figures are available) the total number of murders was 58. Taking into account the relative populations of England and Wales on the one hand, and Ireland on the other, the following figures will be arrived at :—

	England, 1880.		*Ireland, 1881.*	
	No.	*per 100,000*	*No.*	*pr 100,000*
Murder (persons above one year)	58	.223	40	.775
Murder (of infants under one year)	73	.280	27	.523
Attempts to Murder	70	.269	19	.368
Shooting at / Wounding / Stabbing } with intent to do grievous bodily harm	664	2.553	246	4.767

The agrarian crimes in Ireland during 1881 are as follow :—

		Per 100,000.
Murder	20	.387
Firing at the person	68	1.317
Assaults endangering life	27	.523
Aggravated Assaults	100	1.93

Thus it will be seen that, as regards murder alone, the total proportion in Ireland is about *three and a-half times* that in England. Agrarian murders *alone* give a figure nearly double the English, while, extraordinary to relate, the *non-agrarian* murders alone reach a similar high proportion.

The following table is taken from the returns contained in the Introduction to the Irish Criminal and Judicial Statistics for 1880.

Comparison of more serious offences committed in England and Ireland, in proportion to population. Offences punishable after trial by jury.

	Proportionate No. for same population.		*Difference between Irish and English.*	
	1880 *Irish.*	1879 *English.*	*Irish less.*	*English less.*
Irish more than English.				
Infanticide	20	16	—	4
Murder	22	17	—	5
Manslaughter or Culpable Homicide	80	52	—	28
Attempts to Murder or do Bodily Harm other than Infants	242	181	—	61
Offences against life of Infants	84	36	—	48
Malicious Offences against Property	1,133	88	—	1,045
Intimidation	1,876	3	—	1,873
Irish less than English.				
Offences against Property without violence	557	1,825	1,268	—
Do. with violence (1.)	584	1,315	731	—
Attempts to commit Suicide	65	221	156	—
Forgery and Offences against Currency	91	193	102	—
Offences against Morality	119	175	56	—

Comparison of less serious offences committed in England and Ireland, in proportion to population. Offences punishable either after trial by jury or summary conviction.

	Proportionate No. for same population.		*Difference between Irish and English.*	
	1880 *Irish.*	1879 *English.*	*Irish less.*	*English less.*
Irish more than English (but less than Scotch).				
Common Assault and Breaches of the Peace	35,762	18,866	—	16,896
Irish more than both English and Scotch.				
Malicious Offences of a minor class	5,444	4,273	—	1,171
Minor Offences against Police	3,685	2,704	—	981
Offences against Fishery Laws	1,101	234	—	867
Riot and Mobbing	786	19	—	767
Assault and Inflicting Bodily Harm	751	60	—	691
Irish less than English and Scotch.				
Aggravated Assaults on Women and Children	469	495	26	—
Offences against Game Laws	895	2,693	1,798	—
Theft and Embezzlement (1.)	6,083	11,982	5,899	—

(1.) These are peculiarly the offences common to large town populations.

Lastly, with regard to crime in England, one fact remains to be noticed. In the prison returns for the year 1880 it appears that out of 166,000 persons confined in gaol in this country 20,000 were born in Ireland, as against 140,000 born in England and Wales. That is to say, that to make this a fair proportion, 3,500,000 persons, or more than three-fifths of the whole population of Ireland, ought to have migrated into England during the present generation.

These figures take no account of those in prison who, though born in England, are the children of Irish parents. Deduct this number also from the total, and the residue of English offenders will be small enough. These facts are not stated in a vindictive spirit. There is probably only too much reason to anticipate the prevalence of crime among the Irish; but in the first place, though the tradition seems somewhat out of date, it is still permissible to stand up for one's countrymen, when it involves no greater offence than telling the truth; and secondly, it is desirable to disabuse the minds of the public of a gross misconception, which is due either to ignorance or wilful misrepresentation on the part of those who have invented it.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

GREAT AGGREGATE MEETING

OF

THE IRISH LANDLORDS,

HELD IN DUBLIN,

ON TUESDAY, 3rd JANUARY, 1882.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ABERCORN

IN THE CHAIR.

DUBLIN:

HODGES, FIGGIS, & CO, 104, GRAFTON-STREET,

PUBLISHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

1882.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS,

&c. &c.

His Grace the DUKE of ABERCORN,

in taking the chair, said:—

My Lords and Gentlemen, I thank you most heartily for your kind welcome, and I accept with pleasure the honour you have done me in proposing me as your chairman over this great and important meeting. I will open the proceedings by calling on Colonel Tottenham to read the letters that have been received from noblemen and gentlemen sympathizing with and approving of the objects of our meeting.

Lieut.-Col. LOFTUS A. TOTTENHAM, M.P.

Your Grace, my Lords and Gentlemen,—A large number of letters have been received from all parts of the country, in every case expressing favourable opinions as to the objects of this meeting. It would not do for us to take up the time of the meeting by reading all the letters, but we have selected a few as being representative opinions, which, with the permission of the meeting, I will read to you. The first is from the Earl of Meath. It is:—

"My dear Lord,—Although considerably recovered from my late illness, I am not yet strong enough to participate in public business, and I am therefore compelled with great regret to absent myself from the great meeting of Irish landowners, to which I wish to give my most cordial support. I consider it a

duty incumbent on every landowner to raise an indignant protest against the partial and unjust decisions given by the Sub-Commissions in their administration of the Land Act, and this censure I am convinced will be pronounced with no uncertain voice by the meeting to-morrow. Though personally unable to assist, my best wishes are with the opinions and objects the meeting has met to proclaim.—Believe me, yours truly,

"MEATH."

The next letter is one from EARL FITZWILLIAM, who writes:—

"I fear I cannot be in Dublin on the 3rd of January. This is a matter of regret to me. The Land Act must, of course, be now accepted by all loyal men, but we cannot press too strongly upon the Government the absolute necessity of appointing as Sub-Commissioners men whose character for impartiality and justice has already earned the confidence and respect of the community at large. A great portion of the country is already terribly demoralized, and I cannot but fear that the present action of the Government is leading to still more deplorable results."

The third is from the EARL OF PEMBROKE:—

"MY LORD DUKE,—I very much regret not being able to attend the meeting in Dublin on Tuesday. Perhaps you would kindly mention this. I should like my name to appear as one who, at least, wanted to be there."

The next is from LORD HOWTH, who says:—

"In reply to the circular forwarded me, I regret being unable to attend the meeting of Irish landowners on January 3rd, which it is proposed to hold, for the purpose of taking into consideration the administration of the Land Act. Allow me to add I support the object of the meeting."

Mr. JOHN MULHOLLAND, the Member for Downpatrick—who, I may mention, was to have proposed or seconded one of the resolutions, but who has, unfortunately, been detained by a very serious accident that has occurred to members of his family—writes:—

"I regret exceedingly that I am unavoidably prevented from attending the meeting of landowners to-morrow. Having been one of those who supported the Land Act, I had intended to explain that my support was given on the faith of the assurance of Mr. Gladstone that the intention of the Fair Rent

Clause was to meet those cases (comparatively few and exceptional) where rent had been arbitrarily increased, and that it was not the intention to disturb the existing standard, practically well understood. The Sub-Commissioners have been reducing rents generally; the 'principle' upon which they are doing so has not been disclosed, but it is certainly not the principle of Mr. Gladstone. If a new standard of valuation is to be really introduced, there can be no doubt that it can only be done by a general re-valuation of Ireland upon a uniform principle, conducted by properly trained and qualified valuers. As a 'valuation,' the present system is a farce."

A letter has also been received approving generally of the objects of the meeting, and condemning very strongly certain portions of the Land Act, from Sir George Bowyer, who writes in his capacity as an old Irish member.

THE CHAIRMAN,

who was received with loud and prolonged applause, said:—

My Lords and Gentlemen I believe the meeting will concur with me when I say that our object is not to condemn or to criticise the Land Act itself; which, whatever may be our opinions of its injustice or its honesty, we still accept as a legislative enactment. Neither do we wish to enter into any political questions. But our object is to condemn and criticize the mode in which the Land Act has been administered by the local Sub-Commissioners; and I believe the meeting will concur with me when I say that we do so in no spirit of hostility to the tenants who may have thought it their interest to take advantage of the Act. My Lords and Gentlemen, that Act was passed through Parliament, after much opposition and many misgivings, on the repeated and reiterated assurance and promise that it should be administered with justice and impartiality. The Prime Minister on more than one occasion expressed his opinion that as a rule the landlords of Ireland had dealt justly and fairly with their tenants. The same impression was conceived by the Bessborough Commission, which could not be accused of a leaning too favourable towards the landlords, and from whose report a great part of the Land Act was evolved.

Mr. Gladstone, on introducing the measure, speaking of the Land League proposal, which then was to pay only Griffith's valuation, said:—"I am bound to say that it passes my ability to distinguish these proposals from public plunder." The Irish landlords have stood their trial, and they have, as a rule, been acquitted. On the second reading he said—The proposed principle of confiscation would be a disgrace to the Minister who discussed it, and to the Parliament which tolerated it for a single moment. On the 7th of October, Mr. Gladstone, speaking of the Land League, said—"Mr Parnell told the people of Ireland not to pay the rents which they had covenanted to pay; that, whether they were able or unable, they were under no obligation to pay those rents, but that they might pay rents according to the view set down in Griffith's valuation—a valuation (In Mr. Gladstone's words) much below the value in by far the greater number of cases, and framed for a different purpose."

Mr. Bright, on the second reading of the Bill, said: "My view of the clause (that relating to the fixing of rents) is, that in reality the rents in Ireland, for the most part, in nine cases out of ten, will be fixed very much as they are now." My Lords and Gentlemen, these are some of the specious and persuasive arguments that were used in passing the Land Act. How have these promises been kept—how have these assurances been verified? The Land Act has been passed, the country has been flooded with Sub-Commissioners, and we have seen wholesale reductions in every case. Twenty, thirty, forty, and sometimes fifty per cent. reductions have been almost universally made, except, I believe, in half-a-dozen cases, one of which is the notable case of half-a-crown.

I may take this opportunity of saying that I have personally no cause of complaint with the Sub-Commissioners, for any cases that I may have have not yet come into court. But we see from all parts of Ireland that wholesale reductions have been the order of the day. Whether the Sub-Commissioners have had instructions for a general reduction, whether they have acted *propria motu* to reduce the rents of the tenants, in order to show them the advantages to be derived from their judgments, or whether, as Professor Baldwin, dressed in a little brief authority, has stated, the lines of their decisions are to

be given or determined before they have heard any cases at all, these lines presumably being a general reduction. Whatever may be the cause, the fact is patent that reductions have been almost universal, without any fixed rule, without any standard, or without any rule admitted for valuation; no valuator of known or experienced reputation having been employed by the Sub-Commissioners, while valuators of the highest professional reputation, if they gave their evidence in a way not favourable to the tenant, were treated with complete indifference. Many of the Sub-Commissioners have had little or no practice in the valuation of land; but, notwithstanding this, they undertake to do in two or three hours what professional valuators of the highest reputation would scarcely undertake to do in as many days. And it is on valuations made in this off-hand and haphazard manner—valuations made in the dead of winter, with the ground partially covered with snow, the land saturated with moisture, and the crops blackened and burned with frost—it is on valuations made in this manner rents have been reduced twenty, thirty, and more than that per cent. I am aware of a case in which the Sub-Commissioners went to value farms, containing in the aggregate more than 1100 acres, including grazing. They went in the short days of December thirty statute miles out, they came back thirty statute miles, they arrived on the ground at a quarter past two o'clock in the afternoon, they left the ground at a quarter past four o'clock in the afternoon. Upon this cursory and haphazard bird's-eye view reductions are made of twenty-five per cent. upon the rental, and twenty per cent. below the Government valuation, which had been very nearly the same as the original rents.

Now, gentlemen, it must be admitted that the Sub-Commissioners are conscientious—we must give them credit for that —in not sparing either their labour or their time; but valuations made in that haphazard way are nothing but a preposterous farce. They are nothing but a farce, and they would be nothing but a farce did they not entail ruin upon the smaller landlords, and great distress and inconvenience upon the larger landlords of Ireland, whose whole fortune now depends upon valuations such as those made by the Sub-Commissioners in their adminis-

tration of the Act. My lords and gentlemen, it is impossible to overrate the injustice and also the impolicy of such proceedings. There are, no doubt, many cases where rents have been fairly reduced, but in the cases of old established estates, where tenants for years have been prosperous and contented until the Land League agitation, there is no such excuse; and I repeat that the Sub-Commissioners, in making these wholesale reductions for the sake of alluring tenants into the Land Court, and in the endeavour to pay off the Land League agitation by the sacrifice of the landlords' income—that the Sub-Commissioners have taken a most impolitic step as regards the Land Act itself, and one which will most materially impede its operations. My lords and gentlemen, I believe that if the reductions had been fair and reasonable, and given upon reasonable terms, the great body of the landlords of Ireland would not have offered much opposition to them. But the wholesale reductions that have been made have aroused and will arouse such a storm of appeals that the higher court will be blocked by them for months, perhaps years, without any satisfactory solution, and the Land Act, instead of settling the question between landlords and tenants, will, in the way it has been administered by the Sub-Commissioners, loosen all the ties that hitherto, and even now, remain between the proprietor and his tenants.

Gentlemen, it has been insisted upon in some of the Liberal and Radical papers that the landlords of Ireland have no right to complain of these reductions because the landlords of England and Scotland have also made reductions. I say this is altogether an untrue and false issue. The reductions which have been made in England are for the most part merely temporary abatements, made for a year or so in consequence of the bad seasons, and made by mutual agreement; but the reductions made in Ireland, which are much larger, have been made by an arbitrary and irresponsible body, and are not temporary abatements, but permanent reductions—reductions virtually in perpetuity for successive periods of fifteen years. On one ground alone it is impossible to compare the English and Scotch tenants with the case of the Irish, and that is, that the Irish tenant, under the Land Act of 1881, is able, if dissatisfied with his rent, to sell his farm for as much, or nearly as much, as his landlord could

get for the fee-simple of it. I believe on these terms most English tenants would be too glad to change places with the Irish tenants; and, in order to make any comparison, you must suppose the English tenant rented at £500 a-year, you must suppose him selling his farm for £10,000, that is twenty years' purchase (a common tenant right in Ireland), and going off leaving his farm with £10,000 in his pocket. That is the comparison of the two.

My lords and gentlemen, the injustice and partiality displayed in some of the Commissioners' Courts will not be a matter of surprise, if we look to the constitution of those courts. The Sub-Commissioners are, no doubt, very respectable men, but they have been selected from a class antagonistic to the landlords, and favourable to the tenants. Many of them have been strong and firm tenant-right agitators; all of them—with few exceptions, three or four exceptions, I believe—are men of strong liberal and partisan opinions. I am aware of cases of appointments in which the only qualification was strong and violent tenant-right agitation and violent partisanship at the last general election. Gentlemen, it is into the hands of gentlemen of opinions such as these that the whole fortunes of the Irish landlords are now committed. I say, then, that in the appointment of these partisan officials the promises and the assurances which were made for passing the Land Act—promises and assurances which were given in a different direction, and by which the House of Lords was induced to grant its assent, and by which the majority of doubting and misgiving Liberals in the House of Commons were induced to support it—have been violated.

One of the promises on which Parliament was induced to sanction that measure was, that there should be three Head-Commissioners of undoubted ability and reputation appointed. Those gentlemen were named and approved by Parliament. What has been the result? The Land Act has been hitherto administered solely by a number of Sub-Commissioners. Unknown men selected at haphazard, who have acted quite independently of the Head-Commissioners, and who have acted without any rule, without any standard,

without any explained principle except the principle of handing over a considerable portion of the landlord's income to the tenant. I maintain that these proceedings have no parallel in the judicial administration of the law hitherto in any part of the British Empire. We have then the right to claim that the false issues upon which the Land Act was passed, and upon which it has been hitherto administered, should be cleared away, and that henceforth it should be admistered with impartial justice, without any cravings for public applause in court, and with judicial moderation and equity towards the landlord as well as towards the tenant.

My lords and gentlemen, this great and important meeting, containing the representatives of the landowners in Ireland—men of all creeds and of all shades of politics, is an earnest that we will maintain and insist upon our right for impartial justice, and that we will not allow our fortunes and the birthrights of our children to be sacrificed in the vain attempt to propitiate and to appease a seditious and homicidal Land League.

It is now my duty as chairman to give way to the gentlemen who will speak to the several resolutions; but before I do so I wish to state that it is requested by the committee that any gentleman who may wish to speak, besides the movers and seconders of the resolutions, will be good enough to come to the platform.

THE EARL OF DARTREY,

on coming forward to move the first resolution, was cordially received. He said :—

My Lord Duke, my Lords and Gentlemen—I entirely agree in the observations with which the noble Duke commenced his speech, that it is no part of our business here to-day to discuss or criticise the Land Act of last session. That Act is now the law of the land, and I may say very much in the words of the resolution which I have now the honour of proposing for your adoption, that we, as loyal subjects, are prepared to adhere to its provisions. I am satisfied that every one of us will endeavour, to the best of our ability, to work it fairly and impartially,

giving to our tenants in no grudging spirit the benefits to which they are now lawfully entitled. The manner, however, in which the Act has been administered is a totally different thing, and to protest against it is, I undertand, the main object for which we are assembled here to-day.

The result of the two first months of the working of the Sub-Commissioners has been such as must fill with astonishment the mind of everyone who has followed them, and I am convinced that this astonishment must be shared not only by the great majority of the members of the Legislature who supported the Bill in Parliament, but also by Her Majesty's Ministers themselves. I would in particular refer to the Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Privy Seal, in all whose speeches recommending the measure to Parliament, they expressed most strongly, and as I believe most truly, the confident expectation of a totally different result. Parliament was induced to pass this Bill by strong representations that it would not diminish the value or disturb the foundations of property, and we were not told that in all cases rents, high or low, were to be dimished.

The Government most properly, before asking the final assent of Parliament to the Bill, thought it their duty to announce publicly the names of the three Commissioners who were to be intrusted with its working as a guarantee of the *bona fides* which should govern its administration, and also of the judicial impartiality with which justice ought to be meted out to landlord and tenant alike. As a further security for this, provision was made in the Bill for the employment of independent valuers in fixing rents. I observe, however, that this power has not been exercised except in one or two cases. I would also remark that when such precautions had been taken to satisfy public opinion, and to ensure that justice should be done, no one would have imagined that the most important part of the working of the Act would have been intrusted to a body of Sub-Commissioners, without any interference, for two months, on the part of the Government or the Head Commissioner. I forbear saying a word on the composition of the Sub-Commissions, as that is a subject not within the limit of my resolution, but I trust we shall have a good deal on that subject later on. I must again repeat, no one would have expected that the subordinate officials

would have been sent on circuit throughout the country without, as far as the public knew, any specific rules or instructions being laid down for their guidance. But that has been frequently announced by the Sub-Commissioners themselves, who have boasted that they were entirely irresponsible and entirely uncontrolled; and, therefore, I conclude that there can be no doubt about the matter. I would also remark that the extraordinary principles enunciated by some of the Commissioners, and the complete divergence of their practice in many respects, particularly as regards awarding costs, sufficiently attest the fact that they were influenced in their decisions, have been influenced, by nothing but their own individual will and caprice. I fear very much that the practical result of the Sub-Commissions hitherto has been to fill the minds of the tenants with an amount of excitement and vague expectation, which must be most prejudicial to the hope of future harmony and peace in the country; and, moreover, must be most injurious to all parties concerned, from the prospect of interminable litigation which it is sure to produce and encourage.

I feel now that I have intruded long enough on your indulgence, and there must be gentlemen around me far more competent than I am to dicuss this question, and whose opinions we must all be anxious to hear. I shall, therefore, now proceed, in conclusion, to read the words of the resolution which I have to propose for your adoption :—

"That this meeting, while expressing its unalterable attachment to the Crown and Constitution of the realm, and the readiness of the landowners of Ireland, as loyal subjects, to submit to the provisions of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, sees with alarm that that measure is being at present administered in a manner at variance with the pledge that it would not diminish the value or disturb the foundations of property, and contrary to the assurances on the faith of which Parliament was advised not to provide compensation."

LORD ARDILAUN,

on rising to second the resolution, was received with prolonged cheers. He said—

My Lord Duke, my Lords and Gentlemen—In seconding this resolution, I shall not say one word upon the policy of the Land Act of last session, however much I may deplore that policy. The Act has passed both Houses of Parliament, and has received the sanction of the Sovereign, and, as law-abiding subjects, we are bound to submit to its authority. It is only with the manner in which that measure is being administered that we have to deal to-day; and, in supporting this resolution, I desire more particularly to show that the measure adopted has already produced, and, if persevered in, must continue to produce consequences absolutely at variance with the pledges which were given by her Majesty's Ministers when they introduced their Bill, and contrary to the assurances upon the faith of which Parliament was induced to pass it into law. I pass by the action of those Commissioners who were named in the Bill, although I think that all fair-minded men must deeply regret the language used by the Chief-Commissioner when opening his court. That language appeared to me most dangerous, and to foreshadow much of the mischief which has followed. Their authority has, however, for the present been transferred to a number of Sub-Commissioners for the purpose of determining judicial rents; and it is with the question of these judicial rents that we are at this moment immediately and urgently concerned.

We have watched for weeks with ever-increasing surprise and alarm the proceedings of these Assistant Commissioners, until the conviction has been irresistibly forced upon us that these gentlemen have undertaken—not seriously—to revalue particular farms, but set up new standards for the fixing of rentals through Ireland, and to encourage the people to believe that by availing themselves of their courts they would secure without fail substantial reductions of those rents which under their existing contracts they were bound to pay. And what up to the present have been the practical results? I am informed that a

reduction of about twenty-five per cent. has been made over the four provinces, and in Connaught, which I know best, the result of the cases hitherto decided is a reduction of twenty-nine per cent., leaving the rental actually under Griffith's valuation; and I may mention that the whole increase of rent amounts, for the province of Ulster, to £12 12*s.*; for Leinster, 10*s.*; Munster, nothing; Connaught, nothing. In these cases are included rents which have not been raised for long periods.

It is obvious that if these decisions be not speedily reversed on appeal they will be steadily followed in future; and once a new standard has been thus established by law, and a new and artificial level for rents has been fixed by these Sub-Commissions, it will be imperative for other landlords to conform, in order to save the useless costs of a lawsuit with each of their tenants, and to reduce their rents, not because they doubt the justice of their cause, but because they cannot afford the expense of disputing what will be really a foregone conclusion. And thus the practical outcome must, so far as I can judge, be a general reduction of rents throughout Ireland of an average of at least twenty-five per cent. Startling and serious as such a loss of income must be, even in the cases of the wealthy, and of those who may derive part of their means from other sources—with that numerous body of Irish proprietors whose incomes are solely drawn from the land, and who are burthened with heavy family charges, insurances, and other incumbrances—it will mean absolute beggary and ruin. I need hardly add that under such circumstances Irish estates are absolutely unsaleable.

Now, gentlemen, I pray your attention and the honest judgment of all fair-minded men while I show you that these results of the administration of this measure are directly contrary to the solemn pledges—the confident and reiterated assurances—which were given by Her Majesty's Government when the Bill was before Parliament, and on the faith of which Parliament passed this Act, without providing compensation to those who might suffer from it. In Her Majesty's most gracious speech this measure was spoken of as one which "should not diminish the value or disturb the foundations of property." Again, Mr. Gladstone, in his speech introducing the Land Bill,

said that he could not have justified such a measure, "on the ground, whether expressed or implied, of general misconduct on the part of the Irish landlords." He said that "they had stood their trial, and, as a rule, they had been acquitted," and he added, "It may seem hard, where there are so many landlords with whom we have not a shred of title to interfere, were it possible to sever their case from other cases around them, that they must be liable to interference on account of the acts or omissions of the few"; and similar confident statements were made again and again during the progress of the measure. And they were justified in holding such language, and Parliament was justified in accepting it, for the Bessborough Commission and the Richmond Commission had both found that credit was due to the Irish landlords as a class for not exacting all that they were entitled to exact from their tenantry. Is it not absurd to measure against the value of such testimony the hasty surveys, the haphazard decisions of the Assistant Commissioners who are now re-arranging off-hand the rental of Ireland?

There is one other topic alluded to in this resolution; it is that of compensation. I know how strongly that subject must stir the minds of those assembled here to-day, and there is no one of you who feels more strongly than I do the irresistible justice of that demand in case the proceedings of the Assistant-Commissioners should be sanctioned, and the consequences which I have spoken of should follow; but I join earnestly in the advice of our noble chairman that the time has not yet come for pressing that claim, and I feel confident that we shall best consult our own interests and dignity by simply adhering for the present to the resolutions which are upon the paper. We say it is one thing to carry a Bill through Parliament to prevent individual cases of oppression, and another thing to use it in order to work a political and social revolution. The Legislature might, no doubt, have seen fit frankly to enact that for the pacification of Ireland one-fourth of the income of the landowners should be transferred to their tenants; but if so no one would have questioned the right of the former to immediate and complete compensation. It might have been the will of Parliament to fix the rental of Ireland at

the Government valuation, or at ten per cent. or any other value it pleased above or below that standard; but if such sweeping changes by force of law had reduced the incomes of the landowners, means must necessarily be found to make good that deficiency.

Let me quote on this subject a few strong words spoken by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons on the 22nd of July, when he opposed a motion made by Sir Walter Barttelot on this subject:—"I do not hesitate to say that if it can be shown on clear and definite experience at the present time that there is a probability, or, if after experience should prove that, in fact, ruin and heavy loss is likely to be, or has been, brought upon any class in Ireland by the direct effect of this legislation—that is a question which we ought to look very directly in the face." And again—"As I stated, my opinion was that the operation of the Bill would in many cases have the effect of raising the rents, and thereby creating discontent. I quite agree that if Parliament were to pass a law providing that rents in Ireland should be universally reduced to Griffith's valuation, that would be a fair case for compensation."

My Lords and Gentlemen, I have shown that the proceedings of the Assistant-Commissioners up to the present have produced results differing scarcely by a degree from those described in these words of the Prime Minister; and, if their action should be sanctioned, we shall appeal with confidence to the honour and justice of Parliament and Englishmen to redress the grave injury which would otherwise be done to law-abiding subjects of the Queen by this Act.

LORD JAMES BUTLER,

who rose in the body of the hall to address the meeting, was received with loud applause. He then proceeded to the platform in compliance with calls from various parts of the hall. He said—

My Lord Duke, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen—Anybody who has listened attentively to the words that have fallen from his Grace, and those who have already spoken, cannot but agree

that we have met here in a state of affairs in this country unparalleled entirely, I believe, in any country which has the slightest pretence to a representative assembly. With the resolution, to which I shall move an amendment, I, and I suppose those here present, will agree as to the spirit, but not as to the wording. It is difficult, as was mentioned just now, to realize what the suffering must be in the case of those who, with large estates, are suddenly deprived of from one quarter up to I believe as high as seventy-five per cent. of the income from those estates. Are these not the people who are really suffering at this moment? Let anybody look around and see the result of this Land Act, and the way in which it is being carried on in this country; let anyone look to the feeling it has given rise to in England—to the societies that have sprung up to relieve distress, and put a fire on the fireless hearths, and to enable parents in some instances to maintain themselves out of the workhouse. When we ponder over these things we say, although we may agree with some of the wording of this resolution, is it sufficient to meet the whole case? I say it is not. I express no opinion in sugared words; these are not times to use them. The resolution expresses the readiness of the landowners of Ireland to submit. Well, I think they submit with the same amount of readiness that a soldier exhibits when he strips at the halberts to receive three hundred lashes. It may be tolerated by some, but that is another thing.

I have read letters from those connected with the Government in other places—holding positions under the Government—who look smilingly, who, being absentee landlords themselves, on the sufferings of many in this country, feeling assured that, although the rent may not be paid, the official quarter-day may not fail them possibly yet. I do not consider that the words of the resolution are suitable to the particular occasion, and I wish, therefore, to make a slight variation in the language. It is all nonsense not to express an opinion on the Act itself, while we denounce in every sort of way the manner in which that Act is being carried out. I conceive that there ought to be a further addition to this resolution, pledging this assembly, as far as it can do, to work together in order, if possible, to obtain a reform or modification of the Act itself. It must be in the minds of

many that this is perfectly constitutional; and, strange to say, this morning I find in a letter from one certainly not too favourable, I think, to the landlords of Ireland—Mr. Chamberlain—that he speaks of the Government looking with approval on the means being used to obtain the reform of an unjust law. If that does not warrant us in taking as strong action as we can on this subject, I do not know what words would be sufficient.

What is the whole of this Act based on? If anyone made inquiry in regard to the tenure of land in Ireland, it would be found that the landlords were acquitted over and over again by him who brought in the Act; and yet their property is being swept away from them by men who are so highly unfitted for the duties they have been appointed to discharge, that their appointments are an insult to common sense. It is an insult to common sense to conceive the selection of such men for such posts. The amendment that I propose to the resolution will come in after the word "and" in the second line, and is as follows:—

"The bounden duty of every loyal subject to obey the law." I move that these words should take the place of the following words in the resolution, viz.:—"The readiness of the landowners of Ireland as loyal subjects to submit to the provisions of the Land Law (Ireland) Act." Then, at the close of the resolution, after that unhappy word "compensation," I move that we add the words—"That this great meeting pledges itself by every constitutional means to obtain a modification and reform of an unjust law." It is lawful to borrow from the enemy, and I quote these words from Mr. Chamberlain's letter—"And, further, to uphold the rights of all kinds of property, and to maintain freedom of contract and liberty of action between man and man in this realm." I beg to move that as an amendment.

The Right Hon. EDWARD GIBSON, M.P.—His Grace has requested me to act as his assessor at this meeting, and to advise him as to the form of amendments and their legality; and I am of opinion that the first part of the resolution moved by Lord James Butler, which purposes to substitute a new clause in the first part of the sentence of the resolution, is in order, and may be moved. I am of opinion that

the words he proposes to be added after the word "compensation," at the end of the resolution, are clearly out of order, and cannot be moved. This is a meeting summoned to consider the administration of the existing law, not to propose or accept amendments in favour of new laws; and therefore the second part of Lord James Butler's amendment cannot be moved. The formal way in which his Grace will present the question to the meeting is this. He will ask you whether you are in favour of omitting the words in the resolution—"The readiness of the landlords of Ireland as loyal subjects to submit to the provisions of the Land Act," &c., and substituting instead the words proposed by Lord James Butler, or whether the words proposed to be left out should stand part of the resolution.

MR. ROBERT STAPLES (Durrow)

seconded the amendment, which was put to the meeting and negatived.

The resolution, as it originally stood, was next put, and adopted.

THE MARQUIS OF WATERFORD moved—

"That the position, antecedents, experience, and status of the Assistant-Commissioners should be such as to insure the impartial and judicial exercise of their functions, and to command the confidence of suitors and of the public; and this meeting observes that in many of the appointments by which these offices have been filled the above considerations appear to have been overlooked."

He said—I have much pleasure in moving this resolution, because I think it is high time the public were made aware how one of the most important promises made at the time of the passing of the Land Act has been carried out, and that the result of the nomination of the Sub-Commissioners, as shown by their decisions, is entirely at variance with the promises made by the Government when they advocated the adoption of that measure. This, I consider, a most serious matter, because if the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners are not reversed upon appeal—and I hear now that there is even some question in

reference to appeals except upon points of law—the result will be very serious indeed. I can hardly believe that that will be the case. Suppose, however, that Griffith's valuation should become the standard of the rents in Ireland, I believe that a large number of Irish landed proprietors will be absolutely, totally, and entirely ruined, and they and their families will be obliged either to take refuge in the workhouse or beg their bread from door to door.

We have been told by his Grace, and by other speakers, that this is not a political meeting, and I think it would be a great pity if the question of politics should be raised. We are not met here to demand that law and order should be re-established in this distracted country, much as we may wish that that might be the case. We are not met here to find fault with the Government for having passed the Land Act or any other measure. We have met here calmly and dispassionately to consider the administration of a statute, which having passed into law, we as law-abiding citizens—and we are proud of being law-abiding citizens—should accept and obey, as we have accepted and obeyed other Acts of Parliament which have become law in the land.

Well, gentlemen, there was no statement so often reiterated by Government as that the court to fix fair rents should be an able and impartial tribunal, and it will be for the public to judge, after they have heard the statements so ably made today, whether that promise has been carried out, or whether in the nomination of the Sub-Commissioners it has not been thrown to the winds. Can anybody say from the previous history of many of the Sub-Commissioners that they are likely to form courts of impartial tribunal? And do not their decisions bear out exactly what was expected from their previous history. These Sub-Commissioners, mark you, were appointed by the Government and not by Parliament; and I have seen lately in the public prints—I do not know how true it may be—that they have received orders from the Government as to how they are to act. Therefore, the Government is entirely responsible for their decisions. Does their appointment agree with Mr. Gladstone's statement when introducing the Bill, and when he said—"The court must not be a one-sided court. We cannot

make those who sit on the seat of justice forsake justice, even with objects so high as the object of Land Reform in Ireland." Lord Carlingford and other members of the Government stated exactly the same thing, and it is unnecessary for me to weary you with quotations. Every member of the Government in every speech made repeated that assurance, and I am satisfied that Parliament never would have passed the Land Act except for those promises. Over and over again the Government stated that this court, which was to exercise higher powers than any court since the days of the Star Chamber, were to be the most able and impartial men that could be found. I would ask you are tenant-farmers likely to be impartial at any time in judging land cases, and especially in a time like the present? Are gentlemen who have given vent to the strongest opinions against the landlords likely to be impartial? I believe many of the appointments have been made mainly because of such opinions and pronouncements. We find several members—or I believe, at all events one or two—of Mr. Porter's committee among the Sub-Commissioners; and I suppose those gentlemen endorse the statements which appeared in the Solicitor-General's address. I would like to know are the Government likely to get the most able men in Ireland for the salary they are giving, and when many of the appointments are only made for a-year? This question of appointment for a year is a most important point, because ever since the days of the Revolution the Judges of the British Empire—of the British Isles at any rate—have been appointed during their good behaviour, that is for life practically. But these Judges, who are to have the most extraordinary powers over an enormous amount of property, are appointed merely for a year; therefore, at the end of the year, if they do not carry out the directions given them by the Government which we hear of, what will be said to them? The Government—their masters—will say, "Go about your business—we withdraw the salary which we have given you." Those gentlemen, no doubt, have given up their professions to take these salaries—small as I consider they are for the work to be performed, and they will be ready, rather than lose them, if such an alternative be set before them, to follow the orders of the Government. I do not call that an impartial tribunal.

Lord Selborne and Lord Carlingford, in urging that there would be no difficulty whatsoever in fixing a fair rent, stated that the Court should be composed of most able and experienced men, "assisted"—mark this—"by competent valuators and surveyors." I would like to know are the Sub-Commissioners experienced men in the matter of valuing land? I have received a letter from a gentleman since I entered this hall, who says that the only knowledge one of the Sub-Commissioners had of the land in his district was, that he had a very small garden. This business of valuing land, we all know, will take an able man many years to learn. But if we want a proof of how inexperienced the Sub-Commissioners are, we could find it in the manner in which they are pursuing their work. Where are the valuers and experts that we were promised by the Government? They have never appeared at all, and I think it is not difficult to account for their absence, because if the Government called in first-class men—honest men of that profession, the Sub-Commissioners would not be able to carry out their orders. Then the authorities would be told the fair letting value of the land, a fact which they now seem to wish to ignore.

I consider it, as the noble Duke has said in his able speech, positively a monstrous thing, that three gentlemen unacquainted with a district, and in the dead of winter, after having heard a certain amount of evidence on the tenant's side—not very difficult to obtain—and a few witnesses on the landlord's side—almost impossible in the state of the country to obtain—should proceed to give a decision on the rent of a farm on walking through a few fields, or spending (as the noble chairman mentioned) a couple of hours in looking at it, when a clever valuer with a scale of prices before him would take several days to do the work. Is it not clear to every man in this country what the reasons are upon which those Sub-Commissioners are basing their decisions, and that those decisions can have nothing to do with the cursory glances at a farm? and they could have nothing certainly to do with the evidence given, because they were generally entirely against the evidence. They tell you that they are proceeding upon a certain principle, however, and it is not difficult to know what that principle is. They are reducing the rents of Ireland something below Griffith's valuation, merely

varying them a little to prove to the British public—I don't think they care a bit about the Irish public—that they are not proceeding upon those lines. I don't think it is necessary for me to define what Griffith's valuation is. That is well known. But Mr. Gladstone himself quoted from the Bessborough Commission that "Griffith's valuation was very much below the fair letting value of the land, and that it was no guide whatsoever as to rents." Why did the Prime Minister go out of his way to make such a quotation if he did not believe it was the case? and I don't think he, at any rate, could have given the orders to the Sub-Commissioners, whatever the Irish Executive may have done. Did the Government lead Parliament to believe that the rents of Ireland would be very much reduced? Nothing of the kind.

We were led to believe that this Act was necessary, not for the purpose of reducing the rents of the bulk of the landlords of Ireland, but for the purpose of reducing the rents of those who had rack-rented their tenants. Lord Carlingford spoke most strongly upon this point, although now, indeed, at Frome not long ago he seems to have said that Griffith's valuation is a fair rent for a great deal of the land of Ireland, only, apparently, excepting very few of the rich grazing lands. He must have formed a very different opinion on the 1st of August, when he must have been as well aware as he is now that the rents of Ireland are very much above Griffith's valuation, and that even the rents on what have been called by him and other members of the Government liberally managed estates are very much above Griffith's valuation. Knowing so much as he did about the state of Ireland, he says, on the 1st of August:—"I maintain that the provisions of this Bill will cost the landlords no money loss whatever. I believe that it will inflict on them no loss of income, except in those cases in which a certain number of landlords may have imposed on their tenants excessive and inequitable rents." I cannot understand how a responsible Minister could have made two such distinct and different statements as the one which he made on the 1st of August in the House of Lords, and the one which he made at Frome a fortnight ago. Would Lord Carlingford, or would anybody, dare to say that almost every case that has come

before the Courts up to the present time has been upon the property of a rack-renter, and that the whole of Ireland is let at rack-rents, because that is absolutely what these decisions amount to? The fact of the matter is, as the noble duke pointed out, the whole of the proceedings of these impartial tribunals amount to a farce, which one would laugh at were it not for the other side, which renders them a tragedy so frightful for the hopes, happiness, property, prosperity, and the very lives of many I see before me in this room, and many friends of ours who are in the country, that it is perfectly frightful to contemplate.

We know very well that a great number of Irish estates are charged up to three-fourths of their rent-roll—or, at least, two-thirds of their rent-roll; and if the one-third that the landed proprietors lived upon is taken away, it is not difficult to guess the result. Can the Government, can Parliament, can the British people be aware of how this Act is being administered, so totally different from what the one side and the other were led to expect? Is this the boasted English justice which has been our pride for generations, and which has also been one of the causes of our past prosperity—that the property of one class, purchased under Government guarantee so called, is to be taken away for the benefit of another? Is this the way that the landlords' properties are to be restored and increased, according to the Lord Chancellor? Is this the great boon to all parties that this Act was to be, according to Lord Carlingford; and will the landlords of Ireland generally find themselves exactly in the same position as the landlords of Ulster before the Act was passed, according to the same authority? Cannot damage be proved now, if these decisions be not reversed upon appeal, and loss of income, for which, if it were proved, Mr. Gladstone said compensation might be demanded from the public funds? Other members of the Government said what was tantamount to the same thing—that as there was no loss there need be no compensation—therefore admitting that if there were a loss there should be compensation. What we demand is justice; impartial justice is all that we require.

Let our cases be heard at once, before it is too late, upon appeal. If it be found by the Commissioners—the men appointed

by Parliament to fix the rents of Ireland, although up to the present time they have not fixed one single rent—and if it be found necessary to reduce our incomes, contrary to the promises made to Parliament, and contrary to all fairness and justice—then at least let them give us compensation for what they are taking from us. And if they will not listen to our appeal, and will not check the Sub-Commissioners in the ruin which tracks their course, no one can ever believe in their promises again, and the name and fame of English justice will soon fade into the distant past, blasted and destroyed by the provisions of an Act passed by him who has been the most eloquent advocate of justice in the world.

MR. RICHARD J. MAHONY.

My Lord Duke, my Lords, and Gentlemen, there is but one word to which I will take exception in the able speech of the noble proposer of this resolution, which has been justly received by this meeting, and that word is this, that he "accepts" this Act. So far as a private individual could go, I resisted this Bill from the first. Now that it has passed, I do not "accept" it; I do not approve of it; I do not acquiesce in it; but in that word, most admirably chosen in this resolution, I "submit" to it. I was one of those who ventured to hope that while wrong—it has been said grievous wrong existed in Ireland—while wrong would be redressed, yet that the dangerous principles inherent in this Act would be minimized by those intrusted with the administration of it. I regret to stand here this day and to renounce that belief. I believe, and I say it with sorrow and disappointment, that there is no status left in Ireland for a working landowner. There are men—men in this assembly—who for many years past—for the greater part of their lives—have cast what they had of enterprise and capital into the cause of their country. In other lands such a course would have brought them profit and honour. If it does not here it is not because of agitation. Agitation is a great and terrible evil, but it may be faced, it may be resisted, it may be overcome, if you have law as well as justice on your side. But if confidence fails in the laws of the land, on what basis will you restore society?

My Lord, a short time ago some of us may have seen in the newspapers an account of an experiment in architectural engineering attempted in America. There was a great building, with a façade of some hundreds of feet, and the same extent in depth—a building that had grown up for years of massive work. Storey after storey had been added. Within this building there was a whole community of interests — warehouses, shops, hotels; it towered up to the skies. The idea was by some wonderful triumph of engineering to raise up this building from below, and to move it out of its place into another site prepared for it. It was a great undertaking, and the highest, the best opinions in engineering in the land were chosen, and rightly chosen, to superintend such a work. Engineers were told off to watch the whole face of this great building, so that the smallest settlement might be seen at once and provided against; and at last, when everything was prepared, the great experiment was undertaken; the wedges were driven underneath, and it was raised up from its foundations; and then began the great work of moving it, slowly, exactly according to the arrangements laid out from the beginning—inch by inch, a few inches a day, and at last it was moved into its selected berth. Something like that was the attempt made last Session to move an interest in this country that had grown for centuries —an interest that had been, generation after generation, added to by the industry of each successive generation—an interest that was founded deep in the very foundations of the Constitution. And what was the time that was chosen for this experiment in statesmanship? It was a time when a hurricane was blowing over the land. Is that a time to put such an interest upon rollers, when it may be carried away out of the direction which its promoters intended from the beginning, so as to crush every fabric around it in one undistinguishable ruin? Yet, such was the experiment that was attempted, and what had been the result?

I am sure we can all remember with what breathless expectation Parliament and the whole country waited day after day to hear from the Prime Minister the names of those eminent men who were to be instructed with the great task of engineering this great movement, and when at last their names were

announced there was a sigh of relief; and not only when their names were heard—that was not the only guarantee that Mr. Gladstone gave that this great undertaking should be conducted with proper discretion, but also he himself gave us an assurance that they would touch with reverence this great fabric of the Constitution, regarding which they were intrusted with the task of undertaking such an experiment. Then, my Lord, who were those chosen to carry out this design?—who were those intrusted with this tremendous task? They had to lay out the whole plan of operations, they had to draw the plans, to form the very machinery, and what was the time at which this was done? There was a whole multitude waiting, watching impatiently for the experiment. Time pressed. The will of the majority in these days is as imperious and absolute as was ever the will of old Nebuchadnezzar or Nero. There was an anxious multitude pressing up to the very barriers, watching the chimney tops and the turrets for the time when they would see them vibrate against the sky line. Where were the engineers chosen to carry out the experiment carefully, trustfully? A number of volunteers came forth from the multitude—we know their antecedents; they came forth with the very feelings, impressions, and desires of those standing around waiting to see the experiment, and reckless as to what would be the result. They were chosen, and on what principle? In these days there is scarcely an employment of the very smallest consequence which is not subject to a competitive contest. Was there any examination, any competitive test whatsoever of these gentlemen? We read of none. They went forth to their work—I do not know with what qualifications. I do not think they have proved their qualification: but they went forth certainly with what is said to be the better part of discretion—they went forth with sufficient valour. They have proved that. Well, what was the first task with which they were intrusted? They were intrusted with the task of fixing fair rents. What are fair rents? How are fair rents to be measured? Have you anything to measure them by except the law of supply and demand? These gentlemen, I think, are scarcely to be blamed, for they were put to decide what mathematicians would call an unknown quantity. If you were to apply the same rule to England, if you

were to send a number of Commissionners to England to carry out the same law there, do we not know that the result would be even more startling than in Ireland, for Mr. Caird, a high authority on agricultural matters, tells us that the rents in Ireland are twenty-five per cent. below the rents of all Europe. If this be the case, I suppose if they were sent to apply this test in England you would have rents reduced some fifty per cent. But, my lord, how is this carried out? We are not to get the *coup de grace* at once; there is no mercy in this execution Year by year the agony is to be prolonged. They are to circle round in one vicious circle. I don't know whether this generation will see the end of it. It is something like the Chinese punishment for murder, and we are to be pulled to pieces, bit by bit, and that by unscientific operators.

My Lord, we have been told, and I am sure correctly, that the rents of Ireland will be reduced twenty-five per cent.—that is, of those as yet untried. That is foreshadowed; so that all the rest of Ireland which has not yet been put into the dock is already pronounced guilty. But where is the real criminal? The real criminal walks at large in England. It is only in Ireland that he is refused a place. The real criminal is political economy. If he be found within the.precints of the courts he is conducted to the doors, and he is banished to Saturn. I do not believe that at present, with all its greatness, England is diplomatically represented in that distant planet, and I do not think there is sufficient influence with the authorities there to detain the criminal. My Lord, he will return, and he will return with a vengeance, and his watchword will be, "Nemo me impune lacessit." You cannot make a law which will prevent his return; and I warn you that you will see rack-rents in Ireland higher than ever they have been yet. Alongside of fair rents you will see rack-rents growing up. I will tell you why. The other day a prominent Land Leaguer in the South of Ireland said to a friend of mine, "This Land Act will be the ruin of the farmers, for it will procure them greater credit than they ever had before." And so it will. One class is put out of the way, but for all the rest there

remains this power of rack-renting. The ex-owner becomes an annuitant; he has no further interest in that which once belonged to him; but then come in the merchant, the trader, the usurer, and the gombeen man. These will command the situation; these are the future rulers of the land. You will re-establish the institution that has been admitted on all hands to be the very ruin of our country, for you will bring back the middleman.

Well, my lord, we are gathered here this day, as has been said so well by Lord Waterford, only to ask for justice—simple justice—the justice of fair trial, which is not refused to the worst of criminals. If justice is refused to us, our alternative is not sedition. The historical motto of those who are gathered here this day has been "Faithful though not favoured." I will tell you the alternative which we have, and it is one consistent with loyalty. In the dark days of our country—we look back upon them now as dark days—I think they were lighter than the present. In one respect they were darker then, for there was not the union, which I am glad to see here to-day, amongst those who must, if the country is ever to prosper, be the natural leaders of law. In those dark days the light of the dawn of liberty was still breaking on the horizon, and in those days an illustrious band of exiles came to Ireland. She opened her arms to receive them; they came from a land from which they had been driven by oppression and ignorant legislation; they brought with them industry, and enterprise, and capital, and with this they repaid the land that took them to her arms and to her heart. I am sure there are before me this day representatives of those exiles—names that are associated with a full share of everything that is great, that is noble, and that is worthy in our land; and if we look back across generations to the ancestral traditions of another land, we will see that the impress of Irish nativity has stamped them with the characteristics of our common country. Is it to be said that their descendants will have to record the story of another emigration—an emigration from the land of their ancestors' adoption, and because of the same oppressive laws? Is it to be said that capital and enterprise will leave this land in search of freer soil? I don't know what foreign shore awaits those exiles of Erin, but this I may say, it

will not be a country where the laws of the land confiscate private investment—where they violate solemn contract, and where, by proscribing private, and individual, and absolute ownership of property—whether inherited or acquired—they root up the very foundations on which the wealth of nations is built.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

MR. ARTHUR M'M. KAVANAGH,

who was warmly received, proposed the next resolution. He said—

Upon me devolves the task of moving the fourth resolution; and although I would have been glad that this duty had fallen upon some other person more competent to do justice to it, I am not sorry to have the opportunity afforded to me of saying a few words about it. Occupying the position which I lately held, as a member of the Bessborough Commission, and recommending, as I did, the system of arbitration for the settlement of disputes as to rent, I feel that, in the opinion of some, I may be charged with pursuing an inconsistent course in recommending the adoption of a system at one time, and at another asking you to pass a resolution condemning its effect. But in the resolution which I have now the honour to propose I do not ask you to condemn the principle that is now embodied in an Act of Parliament, and as loyal subjects we are, in my opinion, bound to abide by it. More than that, the principle is one which I endorse myself, and the necessity for its adoption I am still prepared to maintain. It is not the principle, then, that I ask you to condemn by this resolution, but the manner in which it is administered; and I believe I shall have no difficulty in proving that it is such as neither the framers of the Bill, nor the Parliament that passed it into an Act, ever contemplated.

I will briefly state the grounds upon which I make this assertion. First, we have in the Queen's Speech, when referring to the Bill to be introduced dealing with the Irish land question, the pledge that it would not diminish the value or disturb the foundations of property. We have, second, Mr. Gladstone's words, spoken on the 7th of April—" Well, sir, neither, I am

bound to say, should we think it just to propose legislation on the ground, whether expressed or implied, of general misconduct on the part of the landlords of Ireland. On the contrary, as a rule, they have stood their trial, and, as a rule, they have been acquitted. The report of the Bessborough Commission, which certainly is not deficient in its popular sympathies, declares that the greatest credit is due to the Irish landlords for not exacting all that by law they were entitled to exact." We have further his words, spoken on July 22nd, referring to some previous debate—"As I then stated, my opinion was that the operation of the Bill would, in many cases, have the effect of raising the rents, and thereby causing discontent." I quote Mr. Gladstone, not only on account of his great ability, or of the immense weight attaching to any utterance of his as Prime Minister, but more especially from the fact that he was the sole author of the Bill—this one Bill of a protracted session. Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Gladstone alone, was in charge of the measure, and conducted it through its difficult course, from its introduction to its third reading; therefore his opinions and speeches are of peculiar significance. I could quote to you words from Lord Selborne's speeches when the measure reached the House of Lords. I could quote to you paragraphs from the main report of the Bessborough Commissioners to the effect that "the large estates," which you will remember comprise the majority of agricultural holdings in the country, "were well and considerately managed." That means that there was no unjust exaction of rent. But I do not want to occupy your time by multiplying quotations. I have given you enough to show that those who originated the Bill, and suggested the necessity for its introduction, were of opinion that the majority of rents were not unreasonable. I have given you Mr. Gladstone's words, clearly showing that, in his opinion, the effect of the Bill would certainly not be the wholesale and universal reduction of rents. On that assumption, the question of compensation was not then dealt with. But leaving the subject of the rents for a moment, there is another and a most material point in my argument which I must bring before you, and that is as to the impartial nature of the tribunal who have to decide this vital question of fair rent. I can again bring Mr. Gladstone's words to my assistance. On

July 22nd, when referring to the subject of compensation he spoke thus:—"If it be that compensation is to be demanded under that clause, because a judicial rent and a statutory term are about to be determined, all I can say is, that a judicial rent can only be fixed and a statutory term can only be established according to the judgment of a dispassionate and impartial judicial body, who will have to decide between man and man according to the facts proved before them." Now, these are the two facts upon which I base my argument, viz.—that the Bill was passed on the assurance and the understanding that there would be no universal reduction of rent, and that the tribunal would be a dispassionate and impartial one. But what are the facts that we are met here to-day to consider? Have we got a dispassionate and impartial tribunal? In the answer to that question the entire issue is bound up. In the Head Commissioners I would be sorry to think that we had not; but of these Sub-Commissions—those species of flying columns, who deal arbitrarily with our means of living—I am disposed to think differently. Personally I have not a word to say about any one of them. What their qualifications are, or why they were selected, I know nothing, save what rumour gives; but although ignorant on those points, I am not, I believe, entirely in the dark as to the instructions they have received to guide their actions. I believe—and I am glad of being able now to make this statement publicly, in order that her Majesty's Government may have the opportunity of contradicting it if it is not correct—I believe there have been secret instructions of a very grave nature, their acceptance of and their compliance with which is a condition of their appointment. As to the nature of those instructions I am, of course, as much in the dark as any of the general public, but even on this point we are not without some gleam of light.

I will read an extract from the letter of the correspondent of the *Standard*, obviously and notoriously written in support of these Sub-Commissioners, and in defence of their administration of this Act. It was written on December 26th, 1881, and gave, as the "Principles of determining fair rent"—First, to carry out Healy's clause as liberally as possible. Second, when neither landlord nor tenant had im-

proved the holding, but the landlord had, without apparent cause, raised the rent, to restore it to its original figure. Third, where no improvement or raising of rent, or no other distinct index of value, to fall back on Griffith's valuation. Now, these instructions, when compared with the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners, would certainly seem to me to be inspired, and I think I am right in assuming that they are more than a mere haphazard guess. But there is a further light thrown on them, and from a source which makes it more than ordinarily ominous; and I must—although I deprecate anything having the appearance of party politics being imported into our discussion —I must refer to the late Derry election and to some speeches made by Mr. Porter, the present Solicitor-General, during his canvass on that occasion. At a meeting at Magherafelt on November 17th, Mr. Porter stated "that the Land Act was passed because the fact was forced on the attention of the Legislature of Great Britain that the vast bulk of the land in this country was excessively over-rented." This he asserts as a fact more than once. All I can say is, that if it is a fact, it is one which neither of the Royal Commissions that sat to inquire into the question discovered. At Limavady on November 21st Mr. Porter uses these words, and they are very ominous words:—"Some of the Assistant-Commissioners who had the power of fixing a fair rent had been appointed for seven years, but a great many had only been appointed for one year." At Cookstown on November 26th he said "he had seen in some cases where the Sub-Commissioners had reduced the rents, it appeared to him that they had not reduced them sufficiently."

Now I must ask, What do these words prove? Are they not a clear threat to those Sub-Commissioners who have been appointed for only one year, that if they did not act in sympathy with the Government and reduce rents they would not be reappointed? Now, take the decisions of these Sub-Commissioners as far as they have gone. I have a return here showing the number of cases in which judicial rents have been fixed by the Assistant-Commissioners up to the 31st December. So far as returns have been received up to that date, the total number of cases in which judicial rents have been fixed is 645. The acreage dealt with was 19,717 acres; the old rents amounted to

£17,391 15*s.* 11*d.*; the new rents amount to £13,085 2*s.* 10*d.*, and the gross amount of the reductions, £4322 15*s.* 3*d.*, or 24.8 per cent. In Ulster there were 305 cases heard; the old rent was £6475 15*s.* 9*d.*; the new rent amounts to £4914 1*s.* 7*d.*; and the gross amount of the reductions is £1577 6*s.* 4*d.* In Ulster we have three bright spots called increases, to which I shall refer hereafter. In Leinster there were 66 cases heard. The old rent in these cases amounted to £2310 15*s.* 11*d.*; the new rent has been fixed at £1736 17*s.* 11*d.*, showing a gross reduction of £574 8*s.* In Munster there were 159 cases heard, and the old rent amounted to £7178 11*s.* 3*d.* The new rent has been fixed at £5418 7*s.* 9*d.*, the gross amount of the reductions being £1760 3*s.* 6*d.* In Connaught 115 cases were heard, and the old rents were reduced from £1426 13*s.* to £1015 15*s.* 7*d.*, showing a total reduction of £410 17*s.* 5*d.*

Now, I will shortly refer to the cases that have not been decreased, but rather increased. These amount to five in number, and the total amount of the increase is £16 2*s.* 2*d.* Of these five cases, four were in Ulster and one in Leinster. The following facts referring to each are worth noting. The first case is Sir Oriel Foster's half-crown. Sir Oriel Foster was the landlord, and the tenant was named Mary M'Ardle. The gross acreage of the farm was 12A. 0R. 39P. The old rent was £3 15*s.*; poor law valuation, £5; and the new rent, as fixed by the Assistant-Commissioners at Castleblayney, is £3 17*s.* 6*d.* Mr. M'Bride, the landlord's valuator, swore that the fair rent should be £4 9*s.* 8*d.*, excluding all the tenant's improvements. The tenant was evicted for four years' rent, and at the time of the decision of the Assistant-Commissioners the amount due represented four and a-half years' rent. The landlord had to abide his own costs. Forty years of the additional rent, if paid, would not recoup the landlord for his costs of being brought into court, though his rent was raised instead of diminished! The second increase was the result of a mistake of law, under which Sub-Commission No. 2 laboured. The case was decided at Lisburn. The tenant was Alexander Creighton, and the landlord was Horatio Nelson, of Downpatrick. The acreage of the holding was 25A. 0R. 25P. statute. The old rent was £27 4*s.*; the poor-law valuation £26; and the new rent, as

fixed by the Sub-Commissioners, is £29 2*s*. 6*d*. The chairman of the Sub-Commission stated that they had made this increase instead of the slight increase which the landlord said he was willing to accept, "because henceforth in all cases where judicial rents were fixed the landlord would have to pay half the county cess; and as the holding was worth much more, and to keep the landlord safe with respect to the county cess, they had increased the rent by £1 18*s*. 6*d*." This was a mistake of law, and the tenant has appealed. The third increase was made under a similar mistake of law, by the same Sub-Commission, at Newry. The tenant in that case was R. N. Mullen, and the landlord the Earl of Kilruddery. The acreage was 32A. 1R. 23P.; the old rent, £38 14*s* 4*d*.; poor-law valuation £38; and the new rent has been settled at £41 14*s*. The Sub-Commissioners believed at the time of the decision that the increase would only repay the landlord with respect to the county cess. The reductions during the first six weeks of this Sub-Commission (No. 2) were under 25 per cent. The Commissioners stated several times in court, and in about nineteen cases actually ordered, that the landlord should pay half the county cess during the statutory term. This meant an additional loss of five per cent. to the landlord. During the last two or three weeks it has become clear that the landlord may not have to pay half the county cess, and the reductions of this Commission have been accordingly increased, and have averaged 28 per cent. since. The fourth increase was at Baillieborough, and made by Sub-Commission No. 12, because the landlord had expended more than £400 on the drainage of the holding during the spring of 1881. The tenant was Patrick Rochefort, and the landlords were R. and H. Doughty. The acreage was 50A. 3R. 14P. statute. The old rent was £39 8*s*. 6*d*.; the Government valuation £39; and the new rent has been fixed at £50. The fifth and last increase was made by Sub-Commission No. 8, at Castlerea, county Kilkenny. The tenant was John Fanny, and the landlord Captain Hugh M'Ternan. The acreage amounted to 9A. 2R. 24P. statute. The old rent was £4 10*s*.; the poor-law valuation £4 5*s*.; and the new rent was fixed at £5.

Take the directions sketched out by the correspondent of the *Standard*. Consider them by the light of Mr. Porter's words—

who is, you will remember, a responsible Government official—and what, I will ask you, have you left of this impartial tribunal? Where are the assurances under which, and under which alone, the Bill was passed? There was to be no universal reduction of rents. There is, so far as the Sub-Commissioners have gone, an almost universal reduction, unsupported, so far as I can see, by either principle or reason. There was to be an impartial tribunal! We have one bound down by the strictest secret instructions, removing all, however, of discretion, the members of it openly threatened by a law officer of the Crown that if they do not proceed in one direction, and in one direction only, they will lose their appointments. I leave the verdict in your hands!

But before I have done with these Sub-Commissions I must say a word upon another point. I ask you to censure them in this resolution for abstaining from stating the principles upon which they act; but I am bound to say, in the very few instances in which they have departed from this rule—when, perhaps, their zeal exceeded their prudence—the reasons which they have announced for arriving at their decisions are not such as are calculated, in my opinion, either to increase or restore our confidence in them. I will refer shortly to a few that occur to me as the most remarkable of them. It has been announced that the rent is not to be fixed according to the value of the land itself, but according to the capability of the occupying tenant to get value out of it. Now, I must say that the extravagance of such a principle is too glaring to require comment. A holding may be of the best description—the land of the richest quality, with every facility for realizing its productiveness. It may be that these very facilities were conferred by the landlord's expenditure; but, according to this new theory, if it be held by a drunkard, a thriftless, idle or slovenly tenant, who, from his own fault, fails to work the holding to profit, the landlord is to get nothing out of it. By this theory a direct premium is held out to all kinds of extravagance, by which it would not be difficult for the fortunate tenant to arrive at the stage of paying no rent at all. Take another instance, and by no means an uncommon one in all parts of the country. The holding small and poor, the family large and soft (as the saying is), how would that be

when the tenant applied to have a fair rent fixed? We had a striking case of such as that before us when I was on the Bessborough Commission at Galway. A witness came forward to represent his own case and that of his neighbours, and stated, as well as I remember, that there were eighteen families living upon fourteen acres of poor land. He did not ground his complaint upon excess of rent; that, I believe, was something nominal; but he declared that if he held the land for nothing he could not live on it. Now, if we follow this newly announced principle in this case to its logical sequence, it is clear that the landlord, instead of receiving rent, should pay the tenant for occupying his land. We have another announcement not a bit less extraordinary, in the case of a tenant holding a rich bit of meadow land, I think in the vicinity of the city of Limerick. It was proved that the land had been of considerable value from its inherent fertility; but this went for nothing on the landlord's behalf, because it was proved for the tenant that by taking excellent crops of meadow off it, year after year, without putting a single bit of manure on it, he had entirely exhausted it. The rent was reduced to the value, I believe, to that the tenant had, by his wanton, and, I might almost say, malicious conduct, deteriorated it. I feel that I should only weaken such a case as that by enlarging on it. There are many others, but time will not permit of my referring to them, and I will only, before I leave the subject altogether, allude to one which has been brought under my notice by a letter in the *Standard* of last week, written by a Southern landowner, who appeared to me to state in a plain and simple manner a very pitiable case, and one that I believe will prove, if these decisions go on and remain unreversed, to be typical of many others. He stated that he was a tenant for life on an estate of £4000 per annum, bound by his tenure to let his lands at the full value, without taking any fine. This kind of tenure is common on many properties in the country. His land was let at one-third over Griffith's valuation, which I have never heard named as an extravagant figure. The Sub-Commissioners reduced his rental to £3,000 per annum, or something about our "old friend Griffith." That is very like the rule I read from the *Standard*. For what reason he is thus deprived of a fourth of his income, whether because his tenants were

drunkards or slovenly, or because by bad farming or negligence they had exhausted their land, he is not to know. All he is to know is that, whereas once he had £4000 a-year, he has now got £3000.

I have now shown you as clearly as I can how the Act is being administered, and I must say for myself that when I compare Mr. Gladstone's statements and assurances with the events that are taking place every day under our eyes, I feel lost in astonishment. I would like to be charitable, and I can only suppose that Mr. Gladstone must be equally ignorant of these instructions as of his Solicitor-General's threats. It is beyond me to believe that he could be capable of passing a measure through Parliament on the assurance that there would be no universal reduction of rents, and that it should be administered by an impartial tribunal, and then issuing rules making the universal reduction compulsory, and depriving these administrators of all power of being impartial or in the least degree exercising their judgment on the issues submitted to them. I should be sorry, as I have said, to believe that he, or, indeed, any minister, was capabable of such action. But there is no doubt of this fact, that he will be responsible if, after his attention has been called to what is going on, he sanctions the continuance of such proceedings, or leaves these reports uncontradicted. This in itself I think shows the importance of our meeting here to-day. It is not only our interests as Irish landowners that are involved—the question is much wider, and must touch either the nation's honour or the nation's purse.

Now, this brings me to a subject which, although hardly covered by the resolution which I am in charge of, is one of such general and deep-felt interest that I must ask your leave to touch upon it. It is the question of compensation—it has a twofold aspect. One is both the direct and indirect loss inflicted upon landowners by the general effect of this legislation upon the land question. It is one of enormous magnitude, upon which I hold very strong views, already expressed in my separate report on the Bessborough Commission, and which I shall not be backward in supporting when the time comes for so doing. To try to do so now would, I feel, without in any

way either advancing or strengthening our case—rather the reverse—waste the time at our disposal, and expose me to the unpleasant ordeal of being called to order. The other aspect is the question of compensation arising out of these decisions; but although I believe that it is one clearly within our present scope, I must say frankly at once that I should regard any formulated claim put forward now as premature, and so damaging to our position. We have no right to assume that the decisions of these Head Commissioners on appeals brought before them will confirm the rulings of the Sub-Commissioners. They may take—I believe they will—a juster view of this, and we have no right to condemn them indirectly by seeking compensation on the assumption that they will not before they are tried. If they confirm these decisions there will, no doubt, be a heavy bill for the Government to meet, with a far higher and stronger claim than ever the Jamaica slave-owners had in support of their demand for compensation. I must apologise for comparing Irish landowners with those who trafficked in the bodies and destinies of men, but in business matters we must reduce them to a mercantile rule or basis. We have on our behalf on this count the instance of Mr. Gladstone's family as the recipients of £63,454 17*s.* 1*d.* of the British taxpayers' money as compensation for rights that they surrendered. And have men who bought their property no right to compensation for now being deprived of a part of it? I have no doubt there are some here present who have under the Landed Estates Court purchased property the rents existing on which were guaranteed to them by their title. No man can say that they did wrong in so doing; but more than that, there hardly ever was a sale under that Court that was not published by an advertisement, to the effect that the existing rents on the properties advertised for sale might fairly be raised. Men bought on this inferred guarantee; they bought as a speculation, and they raised their rents on the good faith of the Government advertisement that they had a right to do so. The fact that they had this right is not controverted, but the fact that they did so is one of the causes which has created the present trouble, and tended to produce the Act the results of which we are now discussing. In such cases as this I apprehend there is little doubt that even if brought before the Head

Commission the result will be a loss of income to them. Does a Parliamentary title give them no right to compensation? If it does not, I must say the Incumbered Estates Court Act is not worth the parchment it is written on. But I am not here to-day to defend their action. I am no supporter of rack renting, whatever may be the extent or nature of such legal rights.

When we are dealing with matters of property which involve directly or indirectly the interests, I may say the destinies, of our fellow-men, I am no advocate for the exaction of the "pound of flesh," and more especially when that "pound" is weighed by the standard of an Incumbered Estates Court advertisement. If then they are entitled to compensation, how much stronger is the claim of those whose estates, according to the Bessborough report, are considerately managed, and to whom the credit is due of never having exacted all that they were entitled to exact. Does their forbearance give them no claim?—their time and money spent in promoting their tenants' interests create for them no equity? Are their incomes to be cut down by this system of administering the Land Act without repayment? Are their properties to be rendered valueless by the agitation avowedly permitted—I have Mr. Chamberlain as my authority—to facilitate and secure its passing, and are they to recieve no compensation? I can quote Mr. Gladstone's words bearing directly upon this point, on July 22nd:—"I am determined, as far as I am personally concerned—and I think I can, speaking for friends near me, say that they share in my determination—that in doing our duty to the several classes in Ireland who are immediately affected by the Bill, we shall not forget the duty we owe to the nation at large. If those classes, either or both of them, have a just claim for compensation in consequence of the manner in which their interests will be affected by the Bill, we are bound, as a Parliament, to give them compensation." These are strong words, which may hereafter form the ground-work and manual for our future action. But while appeals are still unheard—while the justice, independence, and impartiality, of the Head-Commissioners remain unjustified before these confiscatory reductions are confirmed, it would, in my opinion, be premature to formulate a claim

which we might, with some truth, be informed was only based upon a hypothetical loss. If the decisions of these Sub-Commissioners are confirmed—if this agitation goes on unchecked, and the country be rendered more uninhabitable than it is, and our properties unsaleable, then, indeed, we shall be in a position to claim the redemption of Mr. Gladstone's promise, and our bill will be a heavy one. But, as I understand it, the object of this meeting here to-day is to call public attention, both in this country and in England, to the manner in which this Act is being administered, and to record our protest against it. I can speak at least for myself that such is the reason for my being here—not only in the interests of myself and the class to which I have the honour to belong, but in the interests also of the British taxpayer—to call the attention of those in England, who may have a heavy bill to pay, to how things are going on—to stop, if possible, this reckless confiscation; but if not successful in that, to prevent those who hereafter may have to defray the cost from having cause to complain that they were not warned of what was coming. His resolution was in these words:—

"That this meeting protest in the strongest manner against the action of the Assistant-Commissioners, inasmuch as it observes that in determining what is a fair rent, they appear to rest their decisions mainly upon their own cursory inspection of the lands during hurried visits in the depths of winter; that, contrary to the practice of all other courts, they fail to state the grounds of their judgments, thus doing great injustice to parties who may desire to appeal against their decisions; that while it is to be presumed, and has been stated by some of them, that they are guided by certain definite principles, they have abstained from announcing what those principles are, and they proceed as if they were bound to make an indiscriminate reduction of rents.

MR. FRANCIS DAMES-LONGWORTH, Q.C.,

seconded the motion. He said:—

I have to apologize for the paucity of my remarks by mentioning that it was not until yesterday evening that my friend Colonel King-Harman requested me to supply the gap that had unfortunately taken place in the proceedings of the day in consequence of an accident to one of the members of Mr. Mulholland's family. But no man in the community, no matter how humble he may be—no matter how mean his talents or ability may be—has a right, when called upon, to refuse to come to the forefront, and to do battle so far as he can to support the rights of property in this country. It has been truly remarked that this matter passed altogether from the ranks of party politics the moment the Land Act became law.

We are all here united as loyal men to point attention to matters which are of grave concern and grave consideration, to strengthen if we can, and to support the hands of the executive Government—to call attention to matters which, if unredressed, must, as one of the papers this morning said, lead to chaos and anarchy. We are anxious to show the Government of the country the points in which we believe the action of the present land system has been a failure. The resolution which has been so ably proposed by Mr. Kavanagh—and indeed, but for the fact that he proposed it, I would not undertake to second it—contains an indictment against the Sub-Commissioners who are carrying out the Land Act. It contains an indictment of a three-fold character against them, or, as we lawyers say, three counts, and it will be for this meeting to say which of the counts is the most serious in respect to their conduct. The first is that they, in administering the duties which have been imposed on them, have—I will not say wilfully—I wish to avoid the imputation of motives—but that they have mistaken their mission—a serious count in itself, but I do not think it is the most serious one. We also indict them that they in pursuing their inquiries have acted upon evidence

of a most unsatisfactory character. As decisions of all courts of justice should be based upon evidence of a truthful and reliable character, I ask you whether that count is of a serious character or not. Lastly, as the decisions of these Sub-Commissioners are not to be final with regard to the property of this country, I conceive that the third count is the most important, in which we charge that they in their decisions, having made no declarations as to their grounds, have left the suitor who may be desirous to appeal in a most helpless condition, such as no court of justice over the world, or no court of justice in this land at least, has ever done.

I read in the paper this morning a letter from Lord Monck, in which he said the Sub-Commissioners were appointed to perform novel, difficult, and invidious duties. I think I may give them credit for this—that they have performed them in a novel and invidious manner, and I may add that in the performance of these duties they have experienced but little difficulty. The first count against them is that they have mistaken their mission, and that instead of going forth, according to the words of the Act of Parliament, to fix a fair rent, they have gone forth to reduce rents. By the returns we have received we learn that the reductions of rents, up to the 31st of December, have been £4,322 15*s.* 3*d.*, and the additions have been only £16 2*s.* 2*d.* Therefore, I say it appears, on evidence incontrovertible, that they have mistaken their mission.

It is perfectly incredible that for a period which we need not measure back the whole of the tenantry of Ireland have been paying unfair rents, as these decisions would pronounce them to be. It is a startling proposition, which will not commend itself to the good sense of those I have the honour to address. I read of one case, at Erlingford, where the rent was pronounced to be a fair rent as paid to the landlord, but that rent was in the same breath reduced, because of temporary abatements or reductions in bad years, through the indulgence or liberality of the landlord. I have read of a case in which the Sub-Commissioners thought the rent was too low, and then there is put upon the landlord the invidious task of saying

whether he will apply to have the rent raised. I humbly say that in a case of this kind the landlord should not be asked to answer that question, and the proper duty of the Sub-Commissioners would be to fix the fair rent, no matter whether the landlord asked them to do so or not. Well, now, on the second point—namely, the evidence upon which the Commissioners proceed--could anything be more startling or unsatisfactory in the history of judicial proceedings? We know the difficulty which landiords have in procuring evidence upon questions of value. We know the difficulty under which landlords labour in even having leave given to their valuer to enter on the lands of their tenants. And I believe I am in the hearing of those who can correct me if I am wrong, that the Commissioners in Dublin have had to postpone the hearing of a number of cases because of the intimidation practised on the landlord's valuer when he went on the lands of the tenants. Well, the Commissioners—they hear the evidence, they adjourn, and the three gentlemen on some frosty December morning—perhaps when the lands are flooded, as most low-lying lands are at this season —go and take a cursory view of the land. It will be an interesting matter of inquiry, when some of these cases come on appeal before the Chief Commissioners, what portion of the lands they have travelled over. I know a gentleman who followed them with an ordnance map in his hand, and, if I am not misinformed, the hearing of the appeals will disclose an extraordinary contradiction to the statement of the Commissioners when they returned into court that they had "carefully examined the lands." Certainly, the extent of farms valued in an incredibly short time would lead one to the conclusion that the information I have received is not very incorrect. With regard to the legal Commissioner, he knows very little about it. One of them—I will not give you any name—told me the other day he knew nothing about land; he was trying to learn something, but as to his deciding whether land was worth 20*s*. or 30*s*. an acre the idea was absurd. Well, the other two make a cursory inspection of the land, and they come back into court, and in every case they base their decision largely upon the inspection they have so made. Well, now, I say this giving a decision upon not only unsworn testimony, not subjected to

cross-examination, but the reasons of which are not even disclosed to the litigant parties—am I right, then, in saying that this is a species of administration of justice unknown in this country; and certainly unparalleled so far as it has gone? When they have come to their decision, could anything be more unsatisfactory than the way in which it is announced? The legal gentleman, who knows not the difference between a Swede and an Aberdeen turnip, gives the decision of the other two Commissioners on a subject with which he is not conversant; he is, in fact, made the official mouthpiece to deliver that judgment, because, if the reasons for the judgment are to be concealed, it is as well to keep a gentleman who does not know the reasons, and cannot explain them, to pronounce the judgment in court. It is like as if the Lord Chief Justice in the Queen's Bench, after having heard an elaborate argument on a nice and intricate point of law, were to say to one of the other officers of the court, "You deliver the judgment in this case, and give just as much of the reasons for it as you know yourself." It was most unsatisfactory to have decisions based upon evidence unknown, and reasons that were not disclosed.

I have every respect for the public courts of my country, but, as regards these mushroom courts, which spring up in a night, governed by no intelligible principle—I speak not against individuals, but the courts themselves, judged by the decisions they have made—I can speak without much hesitation or reserve. There are other directions in which the decisions of these courts have gone hardly against the landlords, and the result of which has been to largly increase the business of these courts. I should say, as between man and man, that if I am to be mulcted in costs by my tenant for not charging a fair rent, it would be only fair, before he came into court, to ask the court to fix a fair rent, that he should approach me, and see if I will meet him in a conciliatory spirit. Take an estate of five hundred tenants for instance—and there are many such in Ireland—by the time they all come into court, if the costs of both parties are to fall on the landlord—and we may estimate the costs in each case would not be less than £10—that would make a tax upon the landlord of £5000 in addition to the loss of his income. I believe, from some recent cases I have seen in

the paper, the action of the Sub-Commissioners in this respect is being rather amended, and I commend these observations to their consideration if they think them worthy of it.

Now I have been warned that the time is short, and, therefore, I have concentrated my observations upon what I am more familiar with—the ordinary fair procedure of a court of justice so called. This is a court constituted to decide enormous rights; it has been deciding enormous rights. It is a court which is bringing misery and ruin to the homes of many a happy family. It is a court which, where the rent has been paid, undisturbed for forty, or fifty, or sixty years—*prima facie* reason why it should not be reduced—proceeds, without giving any reasons, to reduce it. I, therefore, with Mr. Kavanagh, call upon you unanimously to pass this resolution which I have so feebly seconded. I thank you very much for the hearing you have given me.

The resolution was passed.

THE EARL OF WESTMEATH

proposed the next resolution :—

"That, inasmuch as the Land Act has been administered by the Assistant-Commissioners in a manner not contemplated by Parliament, this meeting is of opinion that the appeals from their decisions should be heard by the Chief Commissioners without further delay ; that, pending such appeals, their further action should be stayed ; and that, if such appeals should result in sanctioning the decisions of the Assistant-Commissioners, it would be incumbent on the Legislature to provide compensation for those landowners and others whose property would be thereby unjustly diminished."

He said :—

My Lord Duke, my Lords and Gentlemen — The fifth resolution has been given to me to put forward for your consideration. I do so with much reluctance and diffidence. With reluctance, because I know that in this vast and influential assembly there are men who could give expression to the motion

in far better terms than I can; and with diffidence, because I am now, for the first time in my life, addressing such an influential assembly, and on such a momentous subject.

But, my Lords and Gentlemen, the time has now come, as it has been observed here to-day, when it behoves every man, notwithstanding what his station in this country may be, to speak out in defence of his property and rights. We are not assembled here to cavil at the Land Act, which has now become law, but to express our surprise and consternation at the ruthless manner in which its provisions are being administered through the length and breadth of the land—a way, I venture to say, not contemplated by the majority of the party under whose auspices it became law. I venture to say, without fear of contradiction, that this Act is not carried out in the spirit contemplated by Parliament, according to the statement of leading politicians, and according to the report of the Bessborough Commission, by whom no such sweeping reductions were expected. The Assistant-Commissioners have given their decisions on concealed principles, responsible to no one, but subject to correction on appeal. It is stated the Chief Commissioners intend to hear appeals shortly. Now we, the representatives of that class who consider themselves injured, desire it to be clearly understood by the public and by Parliament, that we demand an immediate expounding of the principles upon which the Act is being administered, and that we should know without delay whether what we consider as extreme and unfair decisions meet with the approval of the Chief Commissioners. If the result of the appeals should go to prove that the Assistant-Commissioners have given, to say the least, extreme decisions, the landlord class will, to some extent, be relieved from the conviction that whatever the intention of the promoters of the Act, its operations will be to many ruin. If, on the other hand, the Chief Commissioners refuse to divulge the principles upon which they believe the Act should be administered, or to announce such principles as will justify them in upholding the decisions of the Assistant-Commissioners, then the question of how Parliament is to compensate those who, contrary to the expressed opinions of several of the promoters of the Act, have been sacrificed to what some who now try to defend its operations say was necessary for

the public welfare, as to how, and to what extent, that compensation should be granted, will entirely depend on the result of the appeals.

My Lords and Gentlemen, in conclusion, I will say no more, after the brilliant oratory which we have heard to-day. But there is one who, I understand, will come after me, who will be able fully to enter into this resolution, and who will make up for my defects.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN,

who was greeted with loud applause on coming forward, said—

My Lord Duke, my Lords and Gentlemen—In seconding the resolution which has been put into my hands, I am impressed with the opinion that, important as the previous resolutions have been, and worthy as they have been of being received with acclamation by you, this fifth resolution is more important than all. Because time presses—we cannot wait.

For two or three years past the Irish landed gentry have had many and grievous burdens to bear. Our country suffered under privations, famine and sore distress. The Irish landlords, to their credit be it said, came forward and assisted the distress. They did not press for their rents in these hard times. They went without money; they borrowed far and wide to relieve the distress at hand. I have heard it stated, indeed I have been taunted with it myself, that we were too lavish, too indiscriminate in our aid, and that we gave relief where distress was only simulated. Well, we may have, but that is not a thing to be ashamed of. What has been our reward? The hands that were raised to us in supplication, and that we once thought would have turned to us in thankfulness, are turned bitterly against us. Instead of *cead mille failthe* we have the curse and the scowl; and the outcome of this ingratitude is what? A Bill to relieve and help—not the poor and distressed—but those who, by our forbearance, emerged safely from a period of distress, and who have had the finest harvest that has been known in the memory of man, and who are well able to pay their rents—far better, as the Prime Minister himself has said, than the tenant-farmers of England and Scotland.

Now, to carry out this Bill, a host of Assistant-Commissioners, into whose merits I will not go, as they have been several times described to you, have been let loose over the land, and wherever they have gone the same extraordinary spectacle has been witnessed, and the same extraordinary decisions have been heard. Rents which have been freely, honestly, and easily paid for half a century have, without rhyme or reason, and against rhyme and reason, been cut down. Where are the Chief Commissioners, in whose integrity, and skill, and ability the English Parliament put their trust, and whose names the people of Ireland received with a certain amount of confidence. What have they been doing for the last two months while these cases were being heard, that everybody knew perfectly well could only end in one way, while the fate of thousands has been trembling in the balance, and while the fortunes of hundreds have been tossed to the winds by the decisions in this country?

This resolution that I am seconding calls upon you to demand that appeals against these miserable decisions should be heard without delay; and more, that, pending the hearing of these appeals, the proceedings of the Sub-Commissioners should be stayed. What would be the use of the Head Commissioners hearing one appeal which would take the court a-week, while a dozen roving Commissioners are going over the country giving ten or twelve decisions, and valuing ten or twelve farms a-day —as a gentleman wrote to me to-day, valuing two farms between a quarter past four o'clock and thirty-five minutes past four o'clock on a December evening—valuing farms as had been done by one of the Sub-Commissioners in a western district lately, who, when called upon to give an opinion of the value of a particular field, thrust his stick into the ground, after the manner of a cheese-taster, smelt it, and said "15*s*. an acre." I say that we have a right to call upon her Majesty's Government to stay these tasting and smelling examinations until those in whose experience or whose knowledge and wisdom we may have some confidence have had time to overhaul the decisions previously given.

It must be perfectly clear to the meeting, if it is not perfectly clear to every man's individual intelligence before, that

the British Parliament would never have passed the Land Bill if it had not been clearly understood that the whole of its administration was to be entrusted to the management of those three gentlemen whose names were approved by Parliament. At the time the Bill was going through the House of Commons a committee of Irish gentlemen was sitting in London, trying to move or get moved amendments which we thought from our intimate knowledge of the country might be useful. And I ventured to suggest that the appointment of these Sub-Commissioners should not rest with the Government or with the Lord Lieutenant, but with the Chief Commissioners themselves. My reasons were these. I considered in the first place that the Chief Commissioners, being men of large and varied experience, would know thoroughly the claims and qualifications of the men to whom they were giving the offices of assistants; and further, I thought it was clear that the honour of the Chief Commissioners would be bound up in the efficiency of the Assistant-Commissioners, and if the Chief Commissioners had their appointment they would be responsible for their misdemeanours, and mistakes and errors. But as it is now they can turn round and say, "We know nothing of these men; they were appointed by the Government, and we are not responsible for their mistakes." But I say now, make them responsible at once by forcing them to hear appeals. Let there be no further delay. Delay is cruel—it is not only cruel to the landlord, but cruel to the unfortunate tenant, because every one of those cases decided brings hundreds more into court; every one of these decisions of injustice against the landlord raises higher the hopes of the peasantry; and every decision of that kind diminishes the feeling of honesty and honour in the minds of those in whose breasts there is still left some honour and honesty. Further than that, I say it is cruel, because the majority of these decisions must be upset. It is impossible that they can be otherwise, because the decisions of one court are exactly contrary to the decisions of another court; and where you have half a dozen decisions in different courts differing as far as possible, it must be perfectly clear that if the decisions of one court be right, the decisions of the other five must be wrong; and if the appeals against the

decisions be sustained—as they must be—think of the bitter pang of disappointment which the unfortunate tenant must feel when, thinking he had got his rent reduced, and was going to get his holding at far below its proper value, and had been rejoicing, and exulting, and revelling in the result of the case; that when he comes before the Chief Commissioners his hopes are crushed, and so, instead of being a messenger of peace to him, it will be a message of bitterness and sorrow. The Land League then outside, point at him, and say, "Aha! didn't we tell you so? Didn't we tell you there would be no use in going into the Land Court?" This is how the Government sends peace on earth, goodwill towards men at this happy Christmas time. This is how the people will be taught to reverence the decisions of the law, and the lawyers and experts who have been sent to administer it.

I will touch one small point before I conclude as to the operations of the Assistant-Commissioners. A friend of mine—a valuator of great experience—was giving his evidence the other day in one of the courts, and his evidence was, that he valued the farm let at £52 a-year by the landlord at £45 a-year, but he stated that the farm had been, chiefly through the improvements made by the landlord, worth considerably more, and he considered that the Assistant-Commissioners should put on a larger rent than the value put on the farm at the present day as compensation for deterioration of the most pronounced description committed by the tenant, and further, that he believed that if the same tenant remained in the farm for fifteen years more, at the end of that time the farm, instead of being worth £45, would not be worth £20. The Assistant-Commissioners distinctly stated that they had no power to take the question of deterioration into consideration at all. Now, it is within my recollection that when the Bill was passing through the House of Commons the question of deterioration was two or three times brought under the attention of the Government, and strongly urged on them, and the Minister in charge of the Bill invariably said that it was a point which the Commissioners and the Sub-Commissioners would undoubtedly take cognizance of. Here you have the Assistant-Commissioners repudiating the authority with which they were clothed, and in two other

cases you have the legal Commissioners giving decisions compelling the landlord to pay county cess, in distinct opposition to the ruling of Lord Justice Christian and others in a celebrated case—showing, I think, very conclusively, that while agricultural experts are not quite so qualified or experienced in the value of land as they might be, the legal Commissioners are not completely immaculate as regards their knowledge of law. The hour is late, and I had not intended to inflict a long speech upon you; and I may further say if I had intended I would have been unable to do so, because every speaker before me has taken a plum out of my pudding, and has left me nothing but dry matter to deal with.

I therefore conclude by urging strongly upon you the necessity of passing this resolution with acclamation; but before sitting down I would just turn to one remark that fell from Mr. Mahony in his brilliant speech. He said that in a certain event one course only was open—that the course of sedition was not open to us—and he represented that course as, practically speaking, emigration on a large scale of the loyal classes from Ireland. I think there is another course which I commend to your notice—a course which should have been taken by us long ago, and which should be taken by us now, and which this meeting makes me hope may still be taken, and that course is *united action.* We have been beaten in detail, and struck down one by one while the others looked on. In many parts of Ireland it seemed to be a race with the landlords who should give in quickest. Let it now be with us a point of honour who shall stand stoutest, shoulder to shoulder. Who have we been beaten by? Has it been by men of unexampled talent and great experience? Nothing of the kind. We, the educated class, have been struck down by men of little education; we, the men whose fathers showed no craven front in former days, are cowed before a despicable foe. Let this be no longer the case. Stand together with determination and fixity of purpose; let our watchword be "no surrender," and above all, "fatherland."

The resolution was then passed with acclamation.

MR. R. U. PENROSE FITZGERALD,

who was received with applause, said—

My Lord Duke, my Lords and Gentlemen—the late hour at which we have arrived enables me to state that I shall let you off with five-sixths of what I was going to say; and also for the further reason to which Colonel King-Harman has referred—that all I had intended to say has been already said by those who have preceded me. A resolution has been intrusted to me to propose, and I shall now read it to you—

"That an humble petition to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, embodying the views of this meeting, be signed by those present; that the Executive Committee be directed to adopt measures so as to enable others not now present to append their signatures; and that his Grace the Duke of Abercorn be requested to transmit the same to the Secretary of State, to be laid before her Majesty."

In proposing that resolution to you, I only ask you to exercise a constitutional right in a constitutional country. I am asking you to do it in a country where up to now I have thought that Constitution as near perfect as it could possibly be; but in the last two or three years those of us who have lived in this country have seen justice in contempt and law in abeyance, and we have seen freedom murdered by a semi-lawful lawlessness, and seen liberty mutilated by mob law. Therefore I ask you to adopt this resolution, and to do this constitutional thing in a constitutional way. It is unnecessary for me to detain you with any criticism of the mode in which this Act is being administered.

I wish to point out to you one or two things in connexion with these Sub-Commissioners, whose proceedings have been tolerably well sifted here to-day. Let me mention this: First, we have the Legal Commissioners. Of them I know very little except that, so far as I do know them, it would be perfectly true that the most of them could tell you how many lines of engrossment could be put on a parchment rather than the number of animals that could be fed on an acre. Then we have another—a relation of the secre-

tary of the local Land League, if not exactly in his own district, certainly in a district not far from it. He gives his decision, and goes home to rest among his friends. I need not tell you what his bias is likely to be. Then we have a third—a man who in most cases is a professor taken from some Government seminary in the country. And these are the people we are to have our estates valued by. I need not detain you further on this subject.

Colonel King-Harman referred to the county cess. There is something more behind what he mentioned to you. It is the tax out of which comes the damages for malicious injuries; and if the tax be now sought to be put on the landlords, and taken off the tenants, why in future, when malicious injury is committed, unless the landlords take to burning their tenants' stacks, the landlords themselves will have their own stacks burned, and will be called upon to pay for it.

LORD DE FREYNE

seconded the resolution. He said—

I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution which has been so ably proposed, and which needs no words of mine to recommend it.

The resolution was adopted.

The EARL OF BELMORE.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I have been asked to move the next resolution, and I do so with pleasure. It is as follows:—

"That copies of the foregoing resolutions be forwarded by the chairman to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and the Prime Minister, and that this meeting be now adjourned to a day to be hereafter fixed by the Executive Committee, by whom at least ten days' notice shall be given of the day on which such adjourned meeting shall be held."

This is a resolution which, if I may venture to use the expression, gives motive power to the other resolutions that have gone before it. In the speeches that we have all listened to with so much pleasure, our attenton has been called to the various points in the resolutions in an able and exhaustive manner, and it will

not, therefore, be necessary for me to do more than to notice them in a very cursory way. Why is it that we are here to-day? Why is it that this great and closely-packed meeting is here to-day? It is because we feel that we are brought face to face with a great national calamity. It is not merely because we feel that our own class, the class that owns the land in Ireland, is menaced, but also that the vital interests of those who are interested in land, the labourers and those who have to depend upon the landlord class, are menaced. And depend upon it if this class should be swept away other classes will suffer. If you destroy capital invested in land, it will be felt that capital otherwise invested will not be very secure, for capital, as we all know, is a very shy bird indeed.

The passing of the Land Act through Parliament is sufficiently close for us all to remember what then occurred. We were distinctly assured by the Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor, and others, that the average value of property would not be depreciated; on the contrary, it was affirmed that, owing to the greater security the Act would give for the payment of rents judicially fixed, it would be increased. But what do we now see? We see property in the Landed Estates Court almost absolutely unsaleable, and we see an average reduction of incomes from land of 25 per cent. Lord Monck seems to think that 25 per cent. reduction is not very much to be grumbled at. 25 per cent. of an average means a very much larger reduction in a great many cases: it means a reduction in many instances below Griffith's valuation. We have heard *ad nauseam* what Griffith's valuation is. We know that it is a mere rating valuation, and that in various districts varying sums should be added to arrive at a fair rent. It is not my intention to say much about the Assistant-Commissioners. It is not a pleasant thing to deal in personalities, and I do not care to do it. But I must remind you that in all the discussions in Parliament on the question of fair rent we were always assured that the rents would be fixed by the Head Commissioners themselves. It was not known at that time what the exact duties of the Assistant-Commissioners would be, for they were not clearly defined. What do we find now? We find that the Head Commissioners have devolved upon the Assistant-Commissioners the

whole of the duty in the first instance of fixing the rent. The Head Commissioners themselves were asked, I believe, to try a few test cases, in order to give the public some idea of what the standard should be. They declined to do so, and left the matter to be dealt with by the Sub-Commissioners. Mr. Mulholland, who, I am sorry, is prevented from being with us to-day, in a speech he made in the House of Commons with reference to the Sub-Commissioners, said that after all they could only be valuators, whereupon Mr. Gladstone informed him that the Assistant-Commissioners would not be valuators. We now see that they are valuators. And how do they arrive at a definition of a fair rent? In general terms, they go in for a reduction of rent. Professor Baldwin has told us that they have some plan by which they arrived at a fair rent, but what that plan is he has not informed us. They appear to forget that the rent of the man who is owner of the land is a preferential charge upon it. They take into account the tenant's interest in the land, the expense of the management, and, if possible, the extent of the family; and, after deducting all expenses from what they believe the land produces, they say what is left is the landlord's rent. I maintain that that is an entirely erroneous and false plan on which to proceed.

We are all agreed that we are not here to pick holes in the Act itself. For my own part I may say that I never concealed my opinion that I thought the principle of the Land Court an erroneous principle. I do not see how you are to ascertain the value of anything unless by seeing what it will bring in the open market. We have passed a resolution calling upon the Head Commissioners to hear appeals at once, and to suspend the action of the Sub-Commissioners until they have done so. There is one very unanswerable reason for that resolution. The actual money value of the reductions made in the rentals of all the estates from which tenants have come into court is, according to the returns we have heard, a little over £4000; and if compensation is to be provided, it will not amount to a very large sum.

It seems to me that compensation may be based on two grounds—one ground is the actual value of the land—what would be a fair rent for it in the open market. Then there is

another ground, and that is the altered position which the working of this Act has given to the landlords. An election has lately taken place in the county of Derry, and the Solicitor-General made a great many speeches at that election, with most of which I disagree. But he said one thing that I think is very true. He said, "The freehold in point of fact has passed to the tenant." I did not see the speech, but I saw a letter written by Sir Frederick Heygate upon that portion of it. Surely that alone is a ground for granting compensation. Then again, if the land is not to rise in value in the hands of the landlord, but to decrease for the next fifteen years, that also would be a good ground for compensation. I will not detain you any longer, and I therefore beg to move the resolution.

COLONEL FFOLLIOTT.

At this very late hour at which it is my privilege to address you, I intend to do little more than second the resolution. Very little—nothing, I may say—remains for me to state but this: I do say from the bottom of my heart that I congratulate your Grace and this great meeting upon the success which has attended our proceedings. Probably never in the life of any one of us—certainly not in my own life—has there been held a meeting of such paramount importance as this. Some of us may have feared that the subject might not be treated in a manner worthy of it; but such fears have not been realized. There is not one man in this room who did not realize that the importance of this meeting was far beyond all party politics, and went down to the very foundations of civilization and liberty. We have met here men of all shades of politics, and we have heard not a word of party difference. We knew we were dealing with a matter of vast importance—the sacredness of private property—and once the sacredness of private property is destroyed, there is an end to civilization.

Now, your Grace, when I speak of property, I do not allude to the property of the rich alone. The property of the poor man is as sacred to my eyes as the property of the rich man. The property of the poor Irish tenant—a class of people among whom I have lived all my life—the property of the poor Irish tenantry is as dear to me as my own. What I say is this, your

Grace, touch one class of private property, and you can never consider that any other class is safe. But we shall be told, probably, to-morrow morning by some of the papers, that landed property is totally different from all other kinds of property. I do not deny that, but it so happens that property in land has been taken under the special guardianship of the British Government. It has been taken specially under the protection of the British Government in the way in which any other kind of property is taken under its protection. You remember how, through the Incumbered Estates Court, the British Government undertook to be salesmasters of private property, and put forward splendid catching advertisements, as any salesmaster might do setting forth a rental, not at Griffith's valuation, but setting forth the letting value of the land, and adding in some cases—"At the falling in of a lease the rental of this property may be doubled." The British Government, acting as the salesmaster, did not say to those who purchased, "We offer you a certain rental, which never can be made less or greater." Still less did they sell with a condition added that this rental cannot be increased, but it may probably be reduced. If they had done that, probably not one purchaser would be found in the Landed Estates Court. What did happen? Why not only wealthy landlords, who wanted a bit of land that lay into their estates, but shopkeepers, who had accumulated money in neighbouring towns, went into the court and gave enormous prices for land to make provision for their families. Purchases at enormous prices were then made, and when the rentals are now being reduced there is an absolute and just claim for compensation. It seems to me impossible to deny that for one moment. It cannot be denied by any man of honour. It has been a principle always—in every civilized country—that what a man has inherited or what he has bought with his money is his absolute property, and cannot be taken from him without compensating him for it. The individual instance in which another kind of property was confiscated has been already referred to—the case of the slaveholders. It was very right to take away their property. I am not going to say that it is not just as right to take away the right of property in land from us: perhaps it is; but there is some little difference in the two cases. The slaves were brought

from their native country under every circumstance of barbarity and horror that could possibly be imagined, and in defiance of every law human and divine ; and when the British Government deprived the owners of those slaves of their property they paid them for the loss. Possibly there are persons in high positions in England who, no doubt, lecture us from a very high moral position upon the enormity of being Irish landlords and taking anything in the shape of rents, who have been enriched from the money compensation paid for those slaves. I think we have a right to see that men are not condemned to utter poverty for no other crime than that they had relied on the faith of the British Government.

It is terrible to think that old people should be deprived of their all, and that young people should be deprived of their hopes of life for no fault of theirs. Is it too much to say *quousque tandem*—are we to go on enduring and seeing these horrors committed ? I think we are entitled to know what is to be the mode and the measure of chastisement which is about to be inflicted upon us, of whom the Prime Minister has said that we have been tried and had been acquitted. We have been called the garrison of this country, and some approve of our holding that position, and hope that we will remain so. Well, we are a garrison, no doubt, but this is not the only country that requires a garrison. Does not every civilized, well-ordered country require a garrison of well-disposed, honest, right-minded men ? There was no civilized country that could possibly exist without such. Then, why are we twitted by so many with being "the garrison" in this country ? The reason is, that the garrison is small, that our sentry duties are too numerous, and our fatigue duties too heavy. That is the reason we are spoken of as a little garrison with contempt. Yes, we are a small garrison ; but I hope we shall do our duty while we are here. Why is it that the garrison is not larger ? I could answer that question, but it would involve a matter of politics, and I will therefore refrain. The garrison might be larger—three or four times larger—and the aim of all good statesmen should be, not to depress honest, well-disposed, law-abiding men. If they are small in number do not for that reason treat them with contempt or turn them out of the country altogether. If they are too small, he would

say to the Government, rather "endeavour to make them larger —do not depress the orderly and well-disposed men upon whom you depend—do not encourage those who would destroy the garrison altogether."—Those issues are not in our hands, but I rejoice to say that going from this meeting we can all think that if our present rulers are determined that this little garrison of law-abiding and moral men—and I speak of no one religion or class, but all Roman Catholics and Protestants, tenants and landlords, shopkeepers, and merchants, all honest men of whatever class or creed—if the Government are determined to depress or destroy us they cannot now, thank God, do so without having received a dignified and solemn protest from this meeting.

SIR GEORGE COLTHURST.

My Lord Duke and Gentlemen, I have had intrusted to my hands what to me is a most pleasing task. I have been asked to convey to your Grace the warmest and most sincere thanks of this great meeting for your able and judicious conduct in the chair. And now, gentlemen, late as it is, I hope you will excuse my pointing out to you that there are two ways of giving thanks. You can cheer, and you can go away and forget all about it; but, if you want to make the thank-offering really worthy of you who give, and worthy of him who receives, you must take a lesson from this meeting. We have met here to-day from all parts of Ireland—north, south, east, and west—and cannot we, the gentlemen of Ireland, take a lesson from our opponents and organize and combine. We are having hard times just now: our opponents, aye and our candid friends, accuse us of apathy and want of energy—even of cowardice. Gentlemen, let your answer to that be in deeds and not in words.

Even now, if at the eleventh hour the landlords of Ireland could join in one common bond of union; if ignoring all personal interests, postponing, or perhaps surrendering their favourite amusements, they would work for the welfare—aye the very existence of the class to which they belong—at all events, if we are to pass away, if our name is to be no more known in the land, no man could shame us by

saying that we behaved like cowards. You may easily cavil at the advice I give, because of the youth and inexperience of the speaker; but forgive me for urging on you at this dark moment the necessity of working for yourselves. Cannot you join those organizations; cannot you try to help yourselves, instead of calling out to others? And I believe from the bottom of my heart, if you are united, we have a chance of winning the battle which is waged against us; but, if divided, there is nothing left but to fall.

LORD RATHDONNELL.

I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution, and I only hope that the voice of this meeting will sound through the length and breadth of the land, and that the words spoken here may really and truly bring home to the British public the determination of the landlords of Ireland that they are not going to be put down by any Government without making a struggle for their rigths.

The motion was passed with acclamation.

The Earl of Donoughmore called for three cheers for the Duke of Abercorn.

The call was right heartily responded to, the entire audience rising, and cheering most enthusiastically for several minutes. When silence had been restored—

The DUKE of ABERCORN

spoke as follows:—

My Lords and Gentlemen, allow me to return you my grateful thanks for the honour you have done me, and for the favourable view you have been pleased to take of my poor services in the Chair. I am conscious myself that I hardly deserve that approval, but I hold that every man in the present distracted state of the country is bound to do whatever in him lies for the protection of the rights of property and the maintenance of law and order. In doing this he is doing no more than he is bound in duty to do. Before sitting down I would again beg to return you my most grateful thanks

for the kind manner in which you have supported me to-day in the Chair, and for the way the meeting has united to carry out our proceedings to a successful and useful issue.

As the proceedings of the meeting terminated, the powerful tones of the organ were heard in the music of the National Anthem, which was sung by the audience, standing.

THE following is the petition referred to in the proceedings, and which was signed in the hall by a large number of those attending :—

"PETITION

"TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

"The Humble Petition of the undersigned Landowners and others interested in the Land in Ireland—

"HUMBLY SHEWETH,

"That we, while expressing our unalterable attachment and devotion to your Majesty and to the Constitution of the realm, and our readiness, as loyal subjects, to submit to the provisions of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, observe with alarm that that measure is being at present administered in a manner at variance with the pledge given by its promoters, that it would not diminish the value or disturb the foundations of property, and contrary to the assurances on the faith of which Parliament was advised not to provide compensation.

"That while we are convinced that the position, antecedents, experience, and status of the Assistant-Commissioners should be such as to insure the impartial and judicial exercise of their functions, and to command the confidence of suitors and of the public ; we respectfully represent to your Majesty that, in many of the appointments by which these offices have been filled the above considerations appear to have been overlooked.

"That we most respectfully pray your Majesty's gracious attention to the action of the Assistant-Commissioners, inasmuch as we observe that in determining what is a fair rent they appear to rest their decisions mainly upon their own cursory inspection of the lands, during hurried visits in the depths of winter; that, contrary to the practice of all other courts, they fail to state the grounds of their judgments, thus doing great injustice to parties who may desire to appeal against their decisions; that, while it is presumed, and has been stated by some of them, that they are guided by certain definite principles, they have abstained from announcing what those principles are, and they proceed as if they were bound to make an indiscriminate reduction of rents.

"That we respectfully represent to your Majesty that, owing to the aforesaid unexpected reduction of rents, many landowners in Ireland are threatened with sudden aud immediate ruin; while the security of mortgagees, incumbrancers, and others depending for their income upon landed property, is seriously affected, and in some cases entirely destroyed.

"We therefore humbly beseech your Majesty to take such steps, in conjunction with your Majesty's responsible advisers, as may relieve your petitioners from the calamity with which they are menaced.

"And your Majesty's petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

THE

PROPERTY DEFENCE ASSOCIATION,

IRELAND.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH NOV., 1882,

AND

THE DIRECTOR'S REPORT TO THE LONDON MANSION HOUSE COMMITTEE, TOGETHER WITH AN ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS,

AND A

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS;

FOR SAME PERIOD.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED BY ROBERT CHAPMAN
—
1882.

PROPERTY DEFENCE ASSOCIATION.

Chairman;

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF COURTOWN.

General Committtee:

MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.	COL. E. R. KING-HARMAN.
EARL OF BANDON.	MAJOR BARTON, D.L.
EARL OF CARYSFORT.	CAPT. J. McCALMONT.
EARL OF DONOUGHMORE.	T.ST.J.BLACKER-DOUGLAS,D.L
EARL OF LEITRIM.	J. C. BLOOMFIELD, Esq., D.L.
EARL OF MEATH.	WM. Y. DONNELLY, Esq.
EARL OF ROSSE.	C. M. DOYNE, Esq., D.L.
LORD ARDILAUN.	J. PENROSE FITZGERALD, Esq.
LORD FARNHAM.	R. U. P. FITZGERALD, Esq.,D.L.
LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE.	HENRY A.HAMILTON,Esq., J.P.
HON. B. FITZPATRICK, M.P.	HENRY A. JOHNSTON, Esq.
SIR G. ST. G. COLTHURST, Bart.	A. McM. KAVANAGH, Esq.
SIR E. SYNGE HUTCHINSON,Bt.	M. W. O'CONNOR, Esq., J.P.
COL. H. ALCOCK, D.L.	R. J. MAHONY, Esq,. D.L.

Director;

CAPTAIN SOMERSET H. MAXWELL, D.L.

Legal Director:

NORRIS GODDARD, Esq.

Bankers:

MESSRS. BALL AND COMPANY, DUBLIN.

PETER MARSHALL, **Secretary.** | HENRY JONES, **Accountant.**

Superintendent of Executive Department:

MARTIN BEATTIE.

MEMORANDUM:

THIS Association was formed in the month of December, 1880, with the following objects :—

To aid Landlords: by effecting service of Writs in cases of fraudulent combination to withhold payment of rents; by insuring purchasers for goods to be sold under Decrees, where otherwise no purchasers could be had through intimidation; by procuring Tenants for, or otherwise utilizing evicted premises now lying waste in various parts of the country.

To aid Tenant Farmers: by insuring purchase of goods otherwise unsaleable through combination; by procuring labourers, herds, and other farm servants, at ordinary wages where those previously employed have left their service through intimidation.

To aid shopkeepers: by giving legal assistance, and protection against hostile combination.

To aid labourers: by affording such protection as may be possible to those desirous of remaining in employments which they have been warned to leave.

And to aid those whom local tradespeople refuse to supply; by sending to such persons goods, etc., at market price.

Persons desirous of further information, or wishing to be enrolled as Members, are requested to communicate with the Secretary, 4, Henrietta Street, Dublin, in order that their names may be submitted at the next meeting of the Committee.

☞ Cheques should be crossed Messrs. BALL and Co., and made payable to PETER MARSHALL, Secretary.

4, HENRIETTA STREET, DUBLIN,
7th December, 1882.

PROPERTY DEFENCE ASSOCIATION.

REPORT.

THE Committee, in presenting to the Members and Subscribers of the Property Defence Association, their Second Annual Report, do not consider it advisable to go into so great detail as they did in their Report last year. That being their First Report, it was necessary to go at considerable length into the causes which led to the formation of the Association and its method of working, showing great and satisfactory results effected through the medium of an organization, put together as the occasion arose under great pressure of work, and entirely without precedent.

It was to be expected that an organization, constructed under such circumstances, should present some imperfections, and require reconstruction and adaptation as defects showed themselves. Accordingly, shortly after the General Meeting, the Committee gave their serious attention to this subject, and decided that the whole of their staff

should be placed under a Director, who should be responsible to them for the working of every department. The post was offered to and accepted by Captain Maxwell, the Committee being confident that from the admirable way in which he had discharged the duties of the Executive Department, he would be the best person to be entrusted with the control of the whole of their organization. The result has fully justified their expectations.

The Director's Report (appended hereto) contains full details of the work done during the past twelve months, and shows that the work undertaken last year has been fully carried out, though not always in the same way. Thus, for instance, the Committee have not themselves undertaken the saving of crops, but have furnished labourers and machinery to employers who, except in certain special cases, have paid for their hire. In consequence of the success of your Association, the Director's report is, with some exceptions, deficient in the striking and interesting details which occurred when there was greater resistance.

Under the new arrangement the valuable services of Mr. Goddard were retained, by giving him the post of Legal Director, in which capacity he has continued to render that assistance which has proved of such value to the Association from its commencement.

The reform of the Administrative Department is a matter entirely within the scope and power of your Committee, but they are of opinion that the terms and conditions of Membership should be reconsidered. This being

a matter beyond their control, a resolution to carry it into effect will be presented to you.

Your Committee, in its previous Report, made an urgent appeal for funds to enable them to carry out the objects of the Association, but the response to this was hardly what might have been expected, and it would have been impossible for your Committee to have done all they have, but for the generous assistance afforded them through the medium of the London Mansion House Committee for the Defence of Property in Ireland, from which they received £13,000, as stated in the audited accounts now laid before you.

Your Committee had found it necessary last year to increase the amount of charges for services rendered by the Agents of the Association, but on receipt of funds from the London Mansion House Committee, they reduced them; in view, however, of a possible diminution of income, they have lately thought it necessary to consider the advisability of again raising them.

With a view to the economical administration of the funds entrusted to them, your Committee have taken new offices in Henrietta Street, where the reserve men can be lodged, (at a cost of 75 per cent. less than under the former arrangement), horses stabled, and carts and implements stored. Previous to this the reserve men were lodged at an hotel at a very heavy cost.

Your Committee find it difficult to make a close estimate of their requirements; but they have no hesitation in ask-

ing for your continued support, otherwise they would be obliged to part with tried and efficient officers, when perhaps at no distant date they may have need of their services, and make other reductions which must seriously cripple the working of the Association. It is needless to remark, that if a defensive organization such as ours should be given up, we may bitterly regret it when too late.

COURTOWN, *Chairman.*

4, HENRIETTA STREET,
Dublin, 7th Dec. 1882.

DIRECTOR'S REPORT.

To the Right Honorable the Earl of Courtown, Chairman of the Property Defence Association.

MY LORD,

It is my duty to lay before you a report of the work performed by the Property Defence Association during the past year, and I think the simplest course will be for me to submit for your consideration a copy of the report furnished by me for the information of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of London, and the Mansion House Committee, and adopted by them at their meeting held upon the 7th of November, 1882.

Since that date no case requiring any special comment has come before me, and I shall therefore make no supplementary statement further than that from the 1st of December, 1881, to 30th of November, 1882, the total amount performed has been as follows:—

257 Writs and Notices served,
222 Sheriff's Sales attended,
660 Caretakers supplied for Farms,
226 Bailiffs to assist at Seizures, &c.,
324 Labourers for "boycotted" Farmers.

I think my report will shew that I consider the necessity for our organization in no way diminished. The work performed during the year 1882 has been greater even than during the previous year, and had it not been for the assistance rendered by the London Mansion House Committee, our means would have come far short of our requirements. Whether we shall receive any further assistance from that quarter depends entirely upon the amount of Subscriptions paid in this country. The English people have no intention of coming to the aid of those in Ireland who are suffering from the present condition of affairs, unless they are given practical proof that those persons are doing their utmost to help themselves. It is the intention of the Committee to submit for your approval a new regulation by which no assistance except under most exceptional circumstances will be given to those who have not subscribed something more than the mere nominal sum which at present entitles an individual to all the rights of membership.

I will not trespass upon your time further than to submit the report already made to the Mansion House Committee, trusting that it will meet with your approval.

Your obedient servant,

SOMERSET H. MAXWELL,

Director P.D.A.

PROPERTY DEFENCE ASSOCIATION,

4, HENRIETTA STREET, DUBLIN,

November 4th, 1882.

MY LORD MAYOR, MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN,

I have the honour to submit for your consideration my Report of the work that has been carried on in Ireland by the Property Defence Association from the 1st January to the 31st October, 1882.

I have prepared for your information—

1st. A return which sets forth in numerical order every case of the 617 in which application for assistance has been received between the dates above mentioned, and shows the name of the applicant in each instance, the nature and date of application, and, finally, the manner in which each case was dealt with by the Association, and the ultimate result of its operations.

2nd. A statement showing the actual cost of each of the cases above alluded to, with a supplementary statement of the cost of those cases in which application was received previous to the 1st January, 1882, but which have been either partially or entirely carried out since that date.

3rd. An abstract of work done, by which it appears that

since the 1st January last, 122 sales of farms, and 83 sales of cattle have been attended by agents of the Association; 622 caretakers, 320 labourers, and 216 bailiffs have been supplied; and 257 writs served or posted.

This abstract also shows an amount of £38,702 17s. 6d. as having been realised in various ways, but I must ask you to bear in mind that this amount only represents the instances in which I have been able to procure accurate and reliable information as to the sum recovered at the time of sale or seizure, and contains no estimate, either of sums recovered in which no definite report as to the amount was received, or of those instances in which the recovery of a comparatively small amount at the time of action has been the signal for cessation of resistance, and consequent payment of rent throughout most probably a large district.

It would be impossible for the Association to carry out its undertakings with efficacy and expedition without the maintenance of a considerable number of agents and labourers, not only at headquarters, but also at different depôts throughout the country; by these means assistance can be rendered upon the shortest notice, and with that promptness which is in many cases essential to success; and further, each important district is placed under the care of a trusted agent, who is responsible for the welfare of the men, and for the proper performance of their duties.

The accompanying statement will show the number of those depôts with the cost of maintaining them.

The only other return I have considered it necessary to prepare is the balance sheet of the Association, showing the total amounts received from all sources from the 1st January to 31st October, 1882, and the expenditure classed under the different heads of office expenses, wages, &c., during the same period.

I now pass on to the actual work done during the past ten months, and will explain, as briefly as possible, its general character, and the various conditions under which the assistance of the Association has been sought, selecting from each

class of cases one or two which I may consider either as typical of the majority, or as deserving notice for some special reason.

The cases the Association have had to deal with may be classed under five principal heads.

1st. Procuring sale for farm produce or other goods which, owing to the practice known as boycotting, their owners have been unable to dispose of locally.

2nd. Providing agents to attend at Sheriffs' sales of cattle, or the interest of tenants in their farms, which would have been abortive but for the presence of a bidder to force the tenants either to pay their lawful debts, or to see their property bought and carried away before their eyes.

3rd. Supplying caretakers for farms which the Land League had decreed should lie waste, and which, but for their presence, would either become a common, trespassed upon from all sides, or else be utilised by the evicted tenant, who, comfortably installed in a neighbour's house, or Land League hut, would graze his cattle, cut his corn, and set landlord, agent, and all the machinery of the law at defiance.

4th. Supplying labourers. In many instances individuals, for acting independently and refusing to obey the law of the Land League, have been placed under its ban, and have been unable to procure labourers to save their crops. The edict had gone forth that the latter should rot in the ground, and such is the terror inspired by the means used by the agents of the Land League to enforce their orders, that money would not procure men in the neighbourhood daring enough to disobey them.

The Property Defence Association is in a position, by supplying labourers at short notice in any part of Ireland, to checkmate the dishonest and lawless in their effort to starve others into submission to their commands, and to render harmless the once dreaded weapon of boycotting.

5th. Supplying bailiffs. Sheriffs and officers of the law would find it impossible to carry out their operations without the assistance of experienced and fearless men, such as the

Property Defence Association has at its disposal. Seizures of stock, crops, &c., had become an impossibility in many parts of the country owing to the combination that existed, and the rapidity with which stock, or even crops could be removed, upon the Sheriff's approach being heralded in the usual manner by the blowing of horns, ringing of bells, &c. Without men to assist him in the execution of his duties the Sheriff would have been an object of ridicule, and the arm of the law completely paralysed.

The first class of cases, viz., the disposal of boycotted goods, is one that has almost disappeared.

During the first year of the existence of the Association numerous applications were received for assistance to dispose of farm produce and other goods, such as butter, corn, fruit, &c., which, for the reasons alluded to above, their owners had been unable to sell at the local fairs and markets. Such was the organization then existing in the country that immediately upon the cart, or stock, of a boycotted farmer appearing at a fair or market, the word was passed round, a watch set upon them, and not a man would be found daring enough to make an offer. I have even known instances where, after a bargain had been completed, the intending purchaser, upon receiving intimation that the seller was a boycotted man, precipitately withdrew and refused to pay the money or take the goods.

When, however, it became generally known that there was an Association in Dublin ready to assist farmers, or others who were unable to find local sale, and that through its assistance, the boycotted was enabled to procure higher prices in the Dublin markets than the boycotter could expect from the country dealers (which latter were then the only sufferers), the practice was deprived of most of its terrors, and is now but seldom resorted to. I have no hesitation in saying that this happy result is mainly due to the existence of organizations such as ours, and that were they to cease it would soon be found that one of the earliest lessons of the Land League is by no means forgotten.

The second class of cases, viz., the attendance of an agent at Sheriffs' sales, calls for no very particular comment·

A refractory tenant's chattels are seized under a writ of *fi. fa.*, and advertised for sale, which sale, in the absence of an agent of the Association, ends in the tenant returning *with* his goods and the landlord *without* his rent. As a rule, however, no sale is held without the presence of one of our agents, and the result is, in most cases, the surrender of the tenant and the vindication of the rights of property.

It may be worth mentioning that out of the eighty-three sales of cattle attended this year by our agents, in only five or six have the tenants allowed them to become the purchasers, thus showing that it was the will and not the ability that was wanting to pay their debts.

In the third class, viz., that of caretakers, we have at this moment 239 in our employment. They occupy evicted farms in parties of from two to six men, occasionally by one man, whose duty is to guard the lands from trespass, and keep the fences in repair. These duties are often most harassing, and attended with considerable danger. The men have occasionally been fired at, on two occasions the houses have been burnt over their heads, and at all times their duties are attended with no ordinary amount of privation and discomfort. I would call your special attention to three examples of this class of case, which have occurred during the current year.

On the 9th of July, in the neighbourhood of Killarney, a caretaker in the employment of the Earl of Kenmare was shot, and the terror was so great that no one would go near the farm. Application was made to the Association, and upon the 21st July two men were sent down to the locality where they still remain under police protection. Particulars of the outrage appeared in the newspapers and attracted notice at the time, and the moral effect of the arrival of our caretakers, and their residence in such a district, is stated to be very considerable.

I will quote another case in this class, which will show in

mean to put the law in force and to seize his property; should any one known to be in communication with the landlord, agent, or Sheriff be seen in the vicinity of his farm, the word is passed round, and upon the slightest sign of anything partaking of the nature of an expedition, or party of bailiffs, the stock are driven off the lands, and removed to some neighbour's farm (whose occupier is perfectly prepared to swear they are his), where they are kept until the baffled Sheriff with his accompanying escort have returned from their bootless errand, and the exulting tenant keeps his rent in his pocket, and in triumph drives his cattle back upon his farm.

All this was known to, and taken into consideration by, Mr. Gibson, the agent of the Association to whom was entrusted the conduct of (Mr. Percival's) Case No. 415. Major Tanner, the agent of the estate, had received a special warrant from the Sheriff, and was to act for him on the occasion, and with Mr. Gibson planned the expedition.

No one in connection with the landlord, agent, or Sheriff was seen in the neighbourhood for some days previous, but at two on the morning of the 31st August, Major Tanner, accompanied by Mr. Gibson, arrived upon the lands, where they were joined in about a quarter of an hour by fifteen men, who dropped in one by one, having proceeded according to order from the different stations through the country where they were acting as caretakers, one man being withdrawn from each post for the time being.

The party then proceeded to surround the cattle in the fields, and to guard every outlet by which they could be driven away should the tidings arrive of the approach of the military and police, who were timed to arrive at four A.M. They then collected the outlying stock and drove them into the field which was their base of operations, so that, on the arrival of the protection party, they were ready for an immediate start, which was accordingly made, and every head of cattle seized was safely lodged in the pound before owners their knew that they were off their lands.

The immediate result of this stroke was the recovery of £184 19s. 7d., and the effect which it has produced in the neighbourhood is most remarkable. One of the worst districts in Tipperary is now peaceable, and the tenants having been thoroughly out-manœuvred and beaten are disposed to show a more friendly spirit towards the agent of the property and the *employes* of the Property Defence Association.

In addition to the above case, Mr. Gibson has been successful in carrying out other seizures in the same county, and equally satisfactory results have attended the efforts of Mr. Spunner, another agent, who is in charge of the depôt at New Pallas, County Limerick.

Case 557 may require some explanation.

The plaintiff was a lady named Russell, and the defendant a market gardener near Limerick, who, being a leading member of the Land League, had refused to pay his rent. His chattels were seized, and a considerable number of plants, &c., bought by the lady, which the tenant defied her to remove. She accordingly applied to the Association, who sent men, horses, and carts, removed the purchased goods, packed them in train for Dublin, and left the dupe of the Land League lamenting the folly which had induced him to allow property to the value of £80 to be sold for £10.

The above few examples, selected from out the great number of cases we have been engaged in carrying out, will, I trust, be sufficient to satisfy you of the valuable work the Association has been, and is, doing in the cause of law and order in Ireland. The continued, I may almost say unvarying, success which has attended its movements has created for it a certain prestige which has had the effect of making its opponents more and more unwilling to come to a trial of strength with it. In every case where such has been attempted the cause of law and order has come off victorious, and the fiercer the struggle the more important the victory.

The necessity for the continuance of the Association is evident to all who are acquainted with the true state of affairs in Ireland, and are anxious to see her freed from those evil influences which during the last three years have been crippling her resources, demoralising her people, and paralysing her trade. Much of the power to harm has been removed through the existence of such institutions as ours, but the will remains, and were those institutions to disappear, I have no doubt but that boycotting and resistance to the law would revive with redoubled vigour.

The sums which, owing to the energy, ability, and public spirit shown by your Lordship and your Committee, have been so generously subscribed by the English people, have enabled our Association to give assistance upon a mnch larger and more liberal scale than we otherwise should have been in a position to do, and, furthermore, have shown the disaffected and disloyal that our proceedings have been stamped with the mark of approval by a large section of the English nation, and by the chief magistrate of the richest and most powerful city in the world.

In conclusion, on my own behalf, as well as on that of the loyal people of Ireland with whom I have come in contact, I beg to assure your lordship and the members of the Mansion House Committee that the sympathy you have shown with our cause, and the noble efforts you have made on our behalf, will make your name, already justly celebrated for acts of benevolence and philanthropy, remembered with gratitude by those for whose assistance you established a fund for the Defence of Property in Ireland.

Your obedient servant,

SOMERSET H. MAXWELL,

Director, Property Defence Association.

Property Defence Association, Ireland.

Abstract of Treasurer's Account of the Association for the year ended 30th November, 1882.

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account	493	1	1
To Amount of Subscriptions, and Donations, ...	16,370	17	1
,, Contributed by Mansion House Committee, London	13,000	0	0
,, of Payments for Services rendered ...	5,177	4	0
,, realized by Sale of Cattle...	727	4	5
,, ,, by Sundries	264	2	3
	36,032	8	10

Disbursements.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENT :—						
Director and Legal Director's Salaries	1,086	6	8			
Secretary, Accountant, Clerks, &c. ,,	400	10	10			
Rent, Taxes, Furniture, Fuel, and Gas	636	9	10			
Newspapers and Advertisements ...	73	0	9			
Printing, Postage, and Stationery ...	223	17	10			
Car Hire and Incidental Expenses ...	96	6	8			
				2,516	12	7
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT :—						
Superintendent and Clerks' Salaries	496	0	0			
Agents, Caretakers', and Labourers' Wages	15,782	7	4			
,, Board	8,484	5	8			
,, Travelling Expenses ...	3,421	1	1			
,, Bedding & Cooking Utensils	422	17	1			
Car Hire, and Incidental Expenses	239	0	6			
Miscellaneous Charges	1,621	12	1			
				30,467	3	9
GENERAL EXPENSES :—						
Cattle purchased	1,186	6	5			
Machinery, Plant, and Tools ...	1,393	17	4			
Legal Charges	154	19	6			
				2,735	3	3
				35,718	19	7
Balance to Credit				313	9	3
				36,032	8	10

We have audited the Accounts of the Property Defence Association from the 1st December, 1881, to the 30th November, 1882. We find the total receipts, including the balance of £493 1s. 1d. from last year amount to £36,032 8s. 10d., and the expenditure for the same period to £35,718 19s. 7d., leaving a balance of £313 9s. 3d., to the credit of the Association. The accounts have been kept with great accuracy, and the several details laid before us are perfectly satisfactory.

6th December, 1882.

GEO. WOODS MAUNSELL,
JAMES STEWART KINCAID.

THE PROPERTY DEFENCE ASSOCIATION

IRELAND.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS,

(For the Year commencing 1st December, 1881, and ending 30th of November, 1882.)

	£	s.	d.
MANSION HOUSE COMMITTEE, LONDON ...	13,000	0	0
CAVAN BRANCH	50	0	0
CORK ,, ...	800	0	0
DONEGAL LAND COMMITTEE	150	0	0
DUBLIN BRANCH	420	0	0
GALWAY ,, ...	75	0	0
KILDARE ,, ...	70	0	0
LONGFORD ,, ...	40	0	0
MONAGHAN ,, ...	100	0	0
SHILLELAGH ,, ...	10	0	0
TIPPERARY—S. R. BRANCH	400	0	0
WEXFORD BRANCH	17	15	0
WICKLOW ,, ...	300	0	0

NOTE—The names of the Contributors of the above sums were not supplied.

	£	s.	d.
Abbott, Samuel	1	1	0
Abercorn, Duke of	112	10	0
Abercromby, Sir Robert, Bart.	23	10	0
Acheson, Mrs.	5	0	0
Acton, Colonel Hampden ...	2	0	0
Acton, William	5	0	0
Alcock, Col. H.	5	0	0
Alcock, E. V., J.P. ...	2	0	0
Alcorn, James G.	1	0	0
Aldworth, A. E. H. ...	4	0	0
Alexander, Rev. C. L. ...	1	10	0
Alexander, Samuel ...	5	0	0
Allen, Richard	2	0	0
Ambrose, J. & C.	2	0	0
Anderson, J. W.	21	0	0
Anderson, William	3	0	0
Anderson, W.	2	0	0
Andrews & Co.	5	0	0
Apjohn, Dr.	5	0	0
Ardilaun, Lord	332	19	8
Armitage, Mrs. Harriet ...	10	0	0
Armstrong, Captain Jameson	10	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Armstrong, Captain W. ...	5	15	0
Armstrong, Col.	1	16	6
Armstrong, Edward M., J.P.	9	12	0
Armstrong, F. Henry ...	7	0	0
Armstrong, H. B.	16	10	0
Armstrong, Major Thos. P. St. G.	3	0	0
Armstrong, R. O. ...	2	0	0
Ashbrook, Viscouut ...	55	0	0
Ashtown, Lady	27	0	0
Atkinson, Rev. Dr. ...	5	0	0
Atkinson, Thos. R. D. ...	8	5	0
Arthur, Augustus	10	0	0
Bagenal, B. F.	6	0	0
Bagge, J. H.	5	0	0
Baily, Edward	10	10	0
Baily, Miss Florence ...	5	0	0
Baily, Mrs. Susan ...	30	0	0
Baker, Godfrey J.	2	3	0
Baldwin, Miss E. F. ...	2	5	0
Ball, B. M., J.P.	5	0	0
Ball, Mrs. Knox ...	5	0	0
Bantry, Earl of ...	100	0	0
Barnes, W. A., J.P. ...	3	0	0
Barron, Sir Henry P. T., Bart.	22	0	0
Barry, St. Leger	10	5	0
Barton, Major H. L., D.L. ...	50	0	0
Bateson, John	3	3	0
Bath, Marquis of	100	0	0
Bateson, Sir Thomas, Bart. ...	5	0	0
Barton, B F.	5	5	0
Barton, C. R.	1	17	0
Barton, Miss A. S. F. ...	15	0	0
Barton, Miss Anna S. ...	20	0	0
Bartrum, Sir E.	1	1	0
Barnwall, Charles .	5	0	0
Barry, E. R. C.	1	7	6
Bayly D. A.	3	0	0
Bayley, Edward	50	0	0
Bayly, John	11	0	0
Bayly, R. W.	3	0	0
B. C. ,(131-56-2)	5	0	0
Beamish, Francis	10	0	0
Beamish, Henry B. ...	1	1	9
Beatty, Mrs. P.	2	10	0
Becher, Mrs. J. D. ..	3	0	0
Bedford, Duke of	100	0	0
Belfour, B. F., Reps. of late ...	14	0	0
Bellew, Lord . ..	24	0	0
Bellew, Sir Henry Grattan ...	10	0	0
Bellingham, Rev. W. C. ...	2	0	0
Bennett, Arthur	10	0	0
Rennett, Francis Val. ...	10	0	0
Benyon, Richard	50	0	0
Bernard, Mrs.	1	5	0
Beta (103-318-2)	1	0	0
Bevington, J. B.	10	10	0
Biddulph, Mrs.	4	0	0
Bigger, Eastwood	1	0	0
B. J. (95-250-2)	5	0	0

	£	s.	d
Blacker, Rev. Canon ...	12	10	0
Blacker, William ...	5	0	0
Blacker-Douglas, St. Jn. T., D.L.	35	0	0
Blackwood, Hans S. ...	10	0	0
Blennerhassett, John ...	2	0	0
Bligh, Msjor F. C. ...	5	0	0
Blood, William Bindon ...	5	0	0
Bolger, F.	5	0	0
Bolster, Rev. R. C. ...	1	0	0
Bolton, C. A.	7	0	0
Bond, Rev. T. H.	1	0	0
Bonham, Major Francis ...	14	4	6
Borrer, Dawson	1	0	0
Borrowes, Lt.-Col. Walter J.	1	0	0
Borrowes, Sir Erasmus D., Bart.	13	0	0
Bouverie, P. P.	20	0	0
Bosworth, William ...	50	0	0
Bowen, E. F.	3	5	0
Boyd, John	1	0	0
Boyle, Richard	1	0	0
Boyse, Capt. H. A. ...	10	0	0
Brabazon, Lord	110	0	0
Brady, C. Cornwall	3	3	0
Brady, James, M.D. ..	5	0	0
Bramley, W. J.	5	0	0
Brewster, Robert A. French ...	50	0	0
Bridges, Rev. T. P. ...	9	0	0
Brisco, Edward	5	0	0
Brisco, Rev. Francis ...	1	0	0
Brooke, Sir Wm. De Capell, Bart	10	0	0
Brooke, Capt. H. V. ...	5	0	0
Brooke, George F. ..	27	7	6
Browell, Rev. J.	5	0	0
Browne, George Garde ...	6	10	0
Brown, Gilliman	1	4	0
Brown, James	5	0	0
Browne, John G.	2	0	0
Browne, Lord John ...	10	0	0
Browne, R. H.	2	2	0
Bruen, Rt. Hon. H. ...	50	0	0
Brush, G.	35	0	0
Brush, Mrs. General ...	10	10	0
B. S. (21-88-3)	5	0	0
Bryan, L. A., Estate of, per Mrs. G. P. Bryan	21	10	0
Bryslop, Mrs.	1	0	0
Buckley, Nathaniel ...	5	0	0
Budgeon, Thomas J., J.P. ...	11	0	0
Bunbury, Hon. J. W. McClintock	10	0	0
Bunbury, H. M.	7	2	4
Bunbury, Mrs. Col.... ...	5	0	0
Bunbury, Mrs. V.	1	0	0
Bunbury, Rev. Sir John R., Bt.	5	0	0
Burroughs, E. H., Q.C. ...	3	0	0
Burke, Dominick F.... ...	1	10	0
Burton, Sir Charles, Bart. ...	10	0	0
Bury, Charles M. ...	2	10	0
Butcher, S. H.	5	0	0
Butler, James	3	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Butler, Lord James ...	1	0	0
Butler, Mrs. Mary ...	4	0	0
Butler, Sir Thos. P., Bart. ...	20	0	0
Byrne, Edward A., J.P. ...	4	0	0
Byrne, James A. ...	2	0	0
Byrne, John	1	12	6
Cairnes, Thos. P., J.P. ...	15	0	0
Callinan, P. M.	1	15	0
Candy & Co., Charles ..	10	10	0
Cannon, J. W., J.P. ...	15	0	0
Carbery, Lord	5	0	0
Carden, Andrew M. ...	10	0	0
Carden, Col. H. D. ...	6	0	0
Carden, Sir John C., Bart. ...	40	0	0
Carew, Robert Thomas ...	8	0	0
Carleton, Mrs. Perry ...	2	0	0
Carlingford, Lord	8	10	0
Carnegie, H. Lindsay ...	5	0	0
Carter, Henry T. Sheen ...	6	13	4
Carysfort, Earl of ...	100	0	0
Carysfort, Lady	25	0	0
Casey, Capt. C. Leslie, R.A. ...	7	0	0
Castletown, Lord	25	0	0
Catherew, Graves	5	0	0
Caulfield, Col. Robert, J.P. ...	5	0	0
Cavanagh, Gen. Sir Orfeur ...	1	0	0
Chadwick, Samuel C. ...	2	0	0
Chafy, Mrs.	1	1	0
Challoner, J.	2	2	0
Chapman, Sir Benjamin, Bart.	31	10	0
Charles, Analey C. ...	5	0	0
Chester, Finlay	7	0	0
Chester, Miss	20	0	0
Chinnery, Mrs. Frances ...	5	0	0
Clancarty, Earl of ...	20	0	0
Clayton, Browne	20	0	0
Clayton, Robert Browne, jun.	2	0	0
Clayton, R. C. Browne ...	17	0	0
Clements, Colonel	145	0	0
Clermont, Lord	80	0	0
Clifden, Lord, Trustees of ...	100	0	0
Cliffe, A. J.	25	0	0
Clive, Lt.-Col. Hon. G. H. W. W.	20	0	0
Clive, Meysey	15	0	0
Clonbrock, Lord	55	0	0
Cloncurry, Lord	10	0	0
Close, V.	3	0	0
C.M., (96-257-2) ...	3	10	0
Cobbe, Charles, D.L. ...	9	18	6
Coddington, H. B., D.L. ...	6	0	0
Coddington, Lieut.-Col. John	2	0	0
Coghlan, Mr. & Mrs. J. B. ...	4	0	0
Colchester, Dowager Lady ...	5	0	0
Colquhoun, David ...	1	8	0
Coltsman, Daniel C., jun., J.P.	5	0	0
Concert, Proceeds of, per Mrs. Adair	148	6	11
Conelly, Eugene	5	10	0
Conn, J. L.	3	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Connolly, Wm., M.D. ...	2	0	0
Connor, Captain Daniel ...	19	0	0
Considine, H., D.L. ..	5	0	0
Conyngham, Marquis of ...	100	0	0
Cookman, N. A.	3	0	0
Cooper, Col. Joshua, D.L. ...	10	0	0
Cooper, Col. Richard, ...	10	17	6
Coote, Admiral Robert ...	25	0	0
Coote, John C.	2	0	0
Coote, Rev. A.	5	0	0
Corbet, Sir Vincent Rowland, Bart.	20	0	0
Cotter, Sir James L., Bart. ...	6	0	0
Cordner, Mrs.	1	0	0
Cornwall, W. Stewart ...	1	0	0
Cosby, Robert A. G., D.L. ..	33	10	0
Courtney, Capt. D. C., R.E. ..	100	0	0
Cowen, Rev. E.	3	4	0
Courtown, Earl of	105	0	0
Cox, Major-General W. H. ...	1	1	0
Crawford, H.	1	0	0
Creagh, Capt. Richard G. ...	2	10	0
Cremorne, Dowager Lady ..	20	0	0
Crofton, Denis	1	0	0
Crofte, Richard F.	5	0	0
Cross, Miss	1	0	0
Cross, Surgeon-Major T. H. E.	3	0	0
Cuming, Robert J., J.P. ...	5	0	0
Daly, John N.	5	0	0
Damer, Capt. Dawson ...	5	0	0
Dames, Capt. Longworth ..	8	10	0
D'Arcy, Hyacinth ...	5	0	0
Darnley, Earl of	50	0	0
Dartry, Earl of	70	0	0
Dawson, Hon. Capt. ...	10	0	0
Dawson, Mrs. J. A. ...	2	0	0
Dawson, W. M. Westropp ...	3	0	0
Dean, Drake J. E. ...	9	10	0
Deane, James	2	10	0
Deane, J. W.	4	5	0
Deane-Morgan, Hon. Mrs. ...	20	0	0
Dease, M. O'Reilly ...	10	10	0
De Boisi, Count	5	0	0
De Burgh, Thomas J., J.P. ...	25	6	5
De la Poer, Count Edmund ..	20	0	0
D. F. (156-70-2)	6	15	0
Delta	10	10	0
De Montmorency, Rev. Waller	10	0	0
Dennis, Major-General J. B. ...	3	0	0
Dennis, Lt.-Col. Morley S. J.	1	10	0
Dennis, Edward E. A. ..	1	10	0
Derry, Bishop of	5	0	0
Desbrowne, Miss Charlotte A. A.	3	0	0
Deshon, General	1	1	0
Des Vœx, Sir Henry D., Bart.	5	0	0
Devonshire, Duke of ...	280	0	0
De Yarburgh, G. Bateson ...	1	10	0
Dickson, Rev. W. ...	4	0	0
Digby, Lord	70	0	0
Digby, Major W. B., J.P. ...	3	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Dillon, Hon. Major R. V., R.H.A.	5	0	0
Dillon, Sir John, Bart. ...	5	0	0
Dillon, Viscount	50	0	0
Dobbin, Col. G. M. ...	13	10	0
Dobbs, C. R.	10	0	0
Dobbs, Conway E. ...	12	10	0
Dockrill, ——— ...	1	1	0
Doherty, John	6	0	0
Dolling, Robert W. R. ...	4	7	0
Donne, B. J. M.	2	0	0
Donoughmore, Earl of ...	110	18	8
Douglass, Captain Henry S. ...	10	10	0
Downshire Estate, Trustees of, per G. T. Tyrrell ...	10	0	0
Doyne, C. M., D.L. ...	50	0	0
Dring, Mrs.	10	0	0
Dring, S.	3	0	0
Drogheda, Marquis of ...	52	6	9
Drought, Rev. T. A. ...	3	10	0
Drummond, Charles ...	25	10	0
Dublin, Archbishop of ...	7	15	0
Ducie, Earl of	20	0	0
Duckett, Charles	3	0	0
Duckett, Stuart	20	0	0
Duckett, William ...	38	10	0
Duke, Roper	2	2	0
Dunally, Lord	32	0	0
Dundas, G. H., M.D. ...	3	13	3
Dunlop, Hon. Mrs. ...	6	0	0
Dunne, Jeremiah	1	0	0
Dunne, Robert	2	2	0
Dunsandle, Lord	86	15	0
Dunsany, Lord	47	6	6
Durdin, Alexander ...	2	2	0
Dwyer, Henry	6	0	0
Eden, Rev. Arthur ...	5	0	0
Egmont, Earl of	68	15	0
Ekins, Mr. E.	4	0	0
Ellard, Richard Oliver ...	3	0	0
Elliott, Nicholas G. ...	1	15	0
Elliott, W. J.	5	5	0
Ellis, George, M.D. ...	5	0	0
Ellis, R. F.	20	0	0
Ellis, Robert W.	3	5	0
Ely, Marquis of	30	0	0
English Earl, per Lord Ardilaun	30	0	0
English Lady, (109-374-2)	50	0	0
Erasmus Smith's Schools, Govrs. of	25	0	0
Erskine Estate, Trustees of ...	1	9	6
Eustace, Henry, J.P. ...	20	0	0
Everard, N. T., J.P. ...	11	0	0
Eyre, Thomas	20	0	0
Farnham, Lord	168	3	0
Farrell, John Arthur, D.L., ...	10	0	0
Ferrall, John O. F. C., J.P. ...	2	0	0
Fetherstonhaugh, Hon. Mrs. ...	3	10	0
Fetherston-H, William ...	12	10	0
Filgate, Charles	5	0	0
Filgate, W. D., D.L. ...	5	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Fisher, W. S. and others ...	1	10	0
Fitzgerald, Lord Maurice ...	10	0	0
Fitzgerald, Percy ...	10	0	0
Fitzgerald, Purcell ...	7	4	2
Fitzgerald, Sir Augustus, Bart.	30	0	0
Fitzgerald, Sir Gerald D., Bart.	5	0	0
Fitzgerald, W. H. Wilson ...	25	0	0
Fitzherbert, R. R., D.L. ...	20	0	0
Fitzmaurice, A.	5	0	0
Fitzmaurice, W. R. ...	5	0	0
Fitzmaurice, W.	5	0	0
Fitzwilliam, Earl	1,000	0	0
Fleming, B. L.	4	10	0
Fleming, H. E.	1	1	0
Flynn, John	2	0	0
F.M., (27-45-3)	1	10	0
Foley, Richard	2	10	0
Foster, T. F.	4	10	0
Foster, Sir Cavendish, Bart. ...	12	10	0
Fortescue, Earl	20	0	0
Fortescue, Col. J. C. W., D.L.	50	0	0
Fortescue, Hon. D. F. ...	10	0	0
Fowler, Mrs. Catherine J. ...	5	0	0
Fowler, Robert	45	0	0
Fox, Captain W. Waller ...	10	0	0
Foy's Trustees	1	17	6
Frazer, Mrs. Jane ...	2	0	0
Freeling, Hugh	5	0	0
Freeling, Sir Henry, Bart. ...	2	0	0
French, Arthur	6	0	0
French, Mrs.	7	0	0
French, P. M. ...	2	15	0
French, Savage, J.P. ...	7	10	0
Friend, A (105-343-2) ...	1	0	0
Friend to the rights of property, per Dennis Crofton, Esq.	2	0	0
Fuller, Thomas	0	8	9
Fulton, Edward	7	10	0
Fulton, E. M. H.	10	0	0
Furlong, C. F.	2	6	3
Galway, Charles R. ...	2	0	0
Garde, H., Representatives of	6	0	0
Garner, R. J.	10	0	0
Garnett, William, J.P. ...	5	0	0
Garrett, W. R.	6	6	0
Garvey, T. R., J.P. ...	4	10	0
Gascoigne, Col.	34	0	0
Gaussen, Charles	5	10	0
G. C. (75-3)	1	1	0
George, Barry	1	5	0
George, Capt. R. D'Olier ...	11	0	0
Gibbing, Rev. R., D.D. ...	2	10	0
Gibson, William	11	5	0
Gifford, Nicholas	6	4	0
Girdleston, Rev. H. ..	0	10	0
Glascott, William	11	0	0
Goff, James C.	2	0	0
Goff, S. D.	8	0	0
Going, Samuel	6	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Goodman, A. J.	2	0	0
Gore, The Misses	20	0	0
Gormanston, Viscount ...	10	0	0
Grace, J. D. F., D.L. ...	38	10	0
Gradwell, Richard ...	5	0	0
Grant, Lt.-Col. G. Fox ...	1	0	0
Gray, Miss M.	1	0	0
Gray, Richard	5	0	0
Gray, Surgeon-Major Wellington	2	0	0
Gray, William H., J.P. ...	3	0	0
Graydon, Richard	5	0	0
Greaves, Colonel	10	0	0
Greville, Lord	10	0	0
Griffin, E. Lysaght ...	5	0	0
Griffith, William ...	1	10	0
Guillamore, Viscount ...	7	0	0
Guinness, Charles D. ...	6	8	0
Guinness, E. Cecil, D.L. ...	200	0	0
Guinness, Mrs.	1	10	0
Guinness, Thomas H., J.P., ...	3	5	0
Guise, General, C.B., V.C. ...	7	10	0
Guise, Mrs.	7	10	0
G. W. R., per Lord Rosse ...	5	0	0
Gyles, Captain G. ...	2	0	0
Hackett, Captain Charles ...	1	10	0
Hackett, Colonel S. ...	5	0	0
Hall, Charles, and Sisters ...	2	0	0
Hall-Dare, Mrs. ...	3	0	0
Hall, Mrs. A.	5	0	0
Halpin, Joseph	1	0	0
Hare, Captain R. ...	12	10	0
Hamilton, Claud Cole, J.P. ...	8	10	0
Hamilton, Ion T., M.P. ...	20	0	0
Hamilton, Major G. R. ...	7	10	0
Hamilton, Mrs. Rowan ...	7	10	0
Hamilton, Rev. H. F. ...	2	5	0
Hamilton, Rev. James ...	7	10	9
H. B. X. (128-35-2) ...	6	0	0
Handcock, Hon. Robert J. ...	3	0	0
Handcock, William D. ...	1	0	0
Hankey, Lady Emily ...	14	0	0
Harden, R. J.	5	0	0
Hardy, Captain Fred., R.N.	10	0	0
Harvey, Mrs. R.	1	0	0
Harvey, James G. M. ...	5	0	0
Harvey, Joseph	3	0	0
Harvey, Mrs.	2	0	0
Hassard, Francis T. ...	6	0	0
Hassard, Richard	5	0	0
Hatchell, John	10	0	0
Hatchell, Rev. F. H. ...	1	0	0
Hatton, Rev. Henry W. ...	3	3	0
Haughton, J. Wilfred ...	5	0	0
Hawley, Major-General ...	1	0	0
Head, W. H.	8	0	0
Headfort, Marquis of ...	90	13	0
Heard, Robert, J.P. ...	10	0	0
Heard, Robert W. ...	5	0	0
Henry, Frederick H. ...	5	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Henry, Major-General, C. B. ...	5	0	0
Hervey, Charles Jno. V. ...	5	0	0
Hewson, J. H. F. ...	5	0	0
H. G. (158-92.2) ...	5	0	0
Hickman, P. D.	10	0	0
Hill, Frederick	1	1	0
Hill, Rev. M.	1	1	0
Hoare, Major O'Brien ...	5	0	0
Hohn, Francis E.	5	0	0
Holmes, Barsett W. ...	12	6	0
Holmes, R. W. A.	5	0	0
Hoops, Rev. S. E., D.D. ...	1	0	0
Hope, John	3	0	0
Hore, Walter	2	10	0
H. S. K. (93-234-2) ...	5	0	0
Hudson, Henry	6	10	0
Hughes, Sir Frederic ...	50	0	0
Humble, Sir N., Bart. ...	15	0	0
Humphry, H.	4	6	6
Hungerford, Mrs. Mary S. ...	2	0	0
Hunt, C. B.	1	0	0
Hunt, E.	2	0	0
Hunt, E. L.	5	0	0
Hunter, Col. S. A.	2	10	0
Hunter, G. M.	5	0	0
Hussey, Anthony S. ...	5	0	0
Hussey, H. J.	5	0	0
Hutchins, S. N., J.P. ...	10	0	0
Hutchinson, Joseph F. ...	16	0	0
Hatton, Lt.-Col. V. L. ...	20	0	0
Hutton, S.	20	0	0
Injustice, A Hater of, ...	1	0	0
Innes, M. J.	3	0	0
Irish Woman, ...	15	0	0
Ironmongers' Co. per E. Stronge	24	10	0
Irwin, Burton	14	12	9
Irwin, Henry	3	0	0
Irwin, J. Arthur	5	0	0
Irwin, Mrs. Edward ...	2	0	0
Izod, L. N., D.L.	8	0	0
Jackson, Captain Oliver V. ...	2	3	4
Jackson, G. H.	4	0	0
Jackson, Very Rev. W. ...	2	5	3
Jameson, William, J.P. ...	5	0	0
Jebbs, Rev. Dr.	2	0	0
Jeffreys, M. P.	5	0	0
J. F., (128-39-2) ...	5	0	0
J. H., (131-64-2) ...	1	16	3
J. H. B., (125-17-2) ...	2	0	0
Johnson, Captain Edward ...	2	11	3
Johnson, Samuel ...	4	0	0
Johnston, Rev. Richard ...	3	0	0
Johnston, S. J.	2	0	0
Johnston, William ...	10	0	0
Joly, J. R., LL.D. ...	16	0	0
Jones, Percival	2	0	0
Jones, W. R.	7	10	0
Julian, Robert	2	0	0
Kane, John F.	3	8	3

	£	s.	d.
Kavanagh, Arthur McM. ...	81	0	0
Kehoe, H. A.	4	0	0
Keily, John	7	10	0
Kelly, Charles	5	0	0
Kelly, Fitzjames	2	0	0
Kemble, Mrs.	1	1	0
Kemmis, A. H. N. ...	4	10	0
Kemmis, Thomas ...	5	0	0
Kemmis, William ...	10	0	0
Kennedy, Hugh ...	2	2	0
Kennedy, John C. ...	15	0	0
Kennedy, J. Peto ...	1	14	0
Keogh, Henry A. ...	2	10	0
Keogh, John	6	0	0
Kerry, The Knight of ...	20	10	0
King, J. E., D.L., ...	15	0	0
King, H.	2	2	0
King, Sir Gilbert Bart. ...	12	16	0
King, William	3	0	0
King, William C.	20	0	0
King, Very Rev. W. Smyth ...	3	0	0
King-Harman, Col. E. R. ...	25	0	0
King-Harman, Hon. Mrs. ...	20	0	0
King-Harman, Major R.A. ...	10	0	0
Kingston, Earl of ...	5	0	0
Kirkpatrick, Alexander R. ...	11	10	0
Kirkpatrick, Frederick, M.D. ...	5	0	0
Knox, Charles H., D.L. ...	40	0	0
Knox, Lady Louisa ...	20	0	0
Knox, Miss	5	0	0
Lair, Hon. F. L.	10	0	0
Lambert, Brien, & Co. ...	5	0	0
Lambert, Gustavus W. ...	3	0	0
Landlord, F. G., per Col. Maunsel	5	0	0
Lane, James	5	0	0
Lane. Samuel W.	2	15	0
Langford, Arthur ...	5	0	0
Langley, George ...	7	10	0
Langton, Frances A. ...	4	10	0
Lansdowne, Marquis of ...	78	0	0
Lawlor, Thomas	14	0	0
Leahy, Mrs.	1	0	0
Lecky, J. Frederick, J.P. ...	10	0	0
Lecky, W. H.	20	0	0
Leeonfield, Lord	400	0	0
Lee-Norman, L. A. ...	10	0	0
Leicester, Rev. W. Henry ...	20	0	0
Leigh, C.	10	0	0
Leitrim Landlord, A. ...	5	0	0
Lennis, L.	21	0	0
Leslie, John	2	0	0
L'Estrange, E.	1	0	0
Lett, B.	5	0	0
Levinge, M. A.	5	0	0
Lewis, Captain Loftns ...	5	0	0
Levis, James W.	1	15	0
Levis, John S.	5	0	0
Liberal, A, who hates the Tyranny and Dishonesty of the Irish Agitation, (75-3) ...	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Lidwell, George	5	0	0
Lindesay, Mrs.	0	10	0
Lindesay, Samuel ...	1	5	0
Lislie, Major	3	0	0
Lloyd, G. W.	12	7	6
Lloyd, Richard J.	5	10	0
Longfield, Rt. Hon. M. J. C. ...	20	0	0
Longfield, The Misses ...	4	0	0
Longfield, W. M. ...	1	5	0
Longford, Earl of	75	0	0
Longford, Earl of, and De Vesci, Viscount	20	0	0
Longworth, Capt. Dames ...	8	10	0
Louth, Lord	10	0	0
Low, Capt.	5	0	0
Low, Francis W., D.L. ...	30	0	0
Lyle, James A.	3	0	0
Lyle, Major	5	0	0
Lymbery, John	3	3	0
Lynch, Lt.-General E. P. ...	5	0	0
Lyons, Henry	1	0	0
Mackesy, Rev. William P. ...	5	0	0
Magan, Percy	4	5	0
Mahon, John Ross ...	1	15	0
Mahon, J. G. S.	10	0	0
Mahony, Richard J., D.L. ...	15	0	0
Malcomson, F. R.	3	0	0
Malcolmson, R.	1	5	0
Malone, John	10	0	0
Malone, Rev. Savile ...	7	10	0
Manchester, Duke of ...	146	0	0
Markham, W. O., M.D. ...	5	0	0
Marmion, Thomas H. ...	2	0	0
Marsh, Major J. F., R.E. ...	7	10	0
Mason, Mr.	0	10	6
Massy, Lady Isabella ...	8	0	0
Massy, Lord	10	0	0
Massey, Mrs. S. W. ...	3	0	0
Maxwell, Lady	7	18	0
Maxwell, The Hon. Lt.-Col.	50	0	0
Mayne, Edward Graves ...	5	0	0
Mayne, Edward J. ...	5	0	0
Mayo, Lord	10	0	0
Meares-Devenish, Major-General	10	0	0
Medlen, Austin	2	16	0
Medlycott, J. T.	5	0	0
Meltham, Rev. T. O. ...	5	0	0
Mercers' Company ...	52	10	0
Meynell, G.	2	2	0
M. G. (158-91-2)	5	0	0
Mills, Arthur	3	0	0
Minchin, Falkner T. ...	5	0	0
Minchin, G. J.	5	0	0
Mitchell, James W. ...	2	0	0
Mitchell, W. R.	10	0	0
Moffatt, James	4	0	0
Mollan, Col., C. B.	5	0	0
Monck, Lord	40	0	0
Minnett, J. R., J.P. ...	4	10	0
Montgomery, George ...	7	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Mooney, R. J. E. ...	2	10	0
Moore, Lady Jane ...	1	7	0
Moore, Mrjor R. St. G. ...	5	0	0
Moorehead, William R. ..	2	0	0
Moreton, James ...	1	0	0
Morony, Mrs.	11	0	0
Morris, William J.	2	0	0
Morton, Villiers	10	0	0
Mountgarret, Viscount ...	10	0	0
Mulock, Thomas ...	5	0	0
Murphy, J.	2	0	0
Murphy, J. N.	5	0	0
Musgrave, Sir Richard J., Bart.	27	0	0
Muskerry, Lord	10	0	0
McCan, Joseph	5	0	0
McCausland, C. T. ..	10	0	0
McClintock, Mrs. ...	0	15	0
McDermott, S. O. G. ...	1	0	0
McDonnell, John ...	5	0	0
McMahon, Col. C. J., R.A. ...	5	0	0
McMahon, C. W. ...	1	0	0
Needham, Major Charles ...	5	0	0
Newton, P.	2	0	0
Newton, P. J.	20	0	0
Nicholl, W. E.	5	5	0
Nicholson, Gilbert, J.P. ...	2	10	0
Nugent, Colonel	37	10	0
Nugent, Major-Gen. St. G. M.	5	0	0
O'Beirne, Capt. Arthur ...	2	0	0
O'Dell, Mrs.	1	0	0
O'Grady, Edward S. ...	5	0	0
O'Grady, S. De Courcy, Capt.	2	0	0
Ogilby, Robert O. L. ...	3	8	0
O'Grady, W. M. ...	5	19	0
Oliver, Reprs. of (120-473-2) ...	4	12	0
O'Neill, Lord	85	0	0
O'Reilly, J. F.	5	0	0
Orme, George, J.P. ...	2	0	0
Ormsby, Anthony ...	10	0	0
Ormsby, Rev. Watson K. ...	1	0	0
Orpen, John R.	2	2	0
Osborne, C. W.	5	0	0
O'Shea, P.	11	10	0
Ottley, Francis J. ...	0	10	6
Ottley, J. T.	0	10	0
Owen, Mrs. Frances ...	2	0	0
Palliser, Captain Wray ...	10	0	0
Palmer, Charles C. ...	10	5	0
Palmer, John R. ...	5	0	0
Parker, Miss	2	7	0
Parker, Rev. J. H. ...	1	1	0
Parsons, Hon L. ...	1	1	0
Paul, Sir R., Bart., ...	10	0	0
Pembroke, Earl of ...	25	0	0
Pennefeather, Edward, Q.C. ...	8	15	4
Pepper, Thomas St. George, D.L.	20	0	0
Percival, W.	1	0	0
Perry, James	8	0	0
Perry, Robert Deane ...	5	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Petty, Mrs.	1	0	0
Peyton, J. Reynolds ...	10	0	0
Peyton, T. H.	1	10	6
Pidgeon, William	20	0	0
Pim, W. Goff	2	0	0
Plunket, Hon. David, M.P. ...	10	0	0
Poctur, Mrs.	5	0	0
Poe, Commander Edward S. ...	3	0	0
Poe, William S.	5	0	0
Poer, G. B.	3	0	0
Pollard-Urquhart, W. W. D.	47	16	8
Pollock, John	60	0	0
Ponsonby, C. B.	15	0	0
Ponsonby, C. W. Talbot ...	33	10	0
Poole, Rev. Hewitt P. ...	1	10	0
Pope, William	1	0	0
Popplewell, H. J.	0	10	0
Porter, Thomas	20	0	0
Powell, Lt.-Col. H. C. ...	10	0	0
Powell, Nathaniel R. ...	2	0	0
Power, A. W. B.	2	0	0
Power, Richard	1	0	0
Power, R. H.	2	0	0
Powerscourt, Viscount ...	75	0	0
Pratt, Col. H. H.	4	0	0
Pratt, Mervyn	26	0	0
Preston, Capt. Arthur J. ...	1	0	0
Preston, A. F.	3	10	0
Purser, John T.	20	0	0
Q. per Lord Rosse	5	0	0
Quain, J.	1	0	0
Quin, Henry	13	0	0
Raban, Rev. R. C. M. ...	5	0	0
Ram, Rev. Canon	8	7	6
Rathdonnell, Dowager Lady ...	10	10	0
Rathdonnell, Lord ...	60	4	0
Reade, Wm. Morris, R.M. ...	2	17	6
Reeves, R. W. C. ...	10	0	0
Reilly, John T.	3	0	0
Rice, Justice D., J.P. ...	2	0	0
Rice, Mrs. A.	1	10	0
Richards, A. W. A. ...	22	10	0
Richards, Edward M. ...	14	10	0
Richards, S.	5	0	0
Richardson, Thomas ...	1	0	0
Ridgeway, J.	2	10	0
Ridley, Col. J. H. E. ...	5	0	0
Robertson, Edward Stanley ...	1	0	0
Robertson, J. J. ...	5	0	0
Roberts, W. W. ...	3	10	0
Robinson, Sir John S., Bart.	14	0	0
Roch, George	0	10	0
Roch, Miss	0	10	0
Roch, Surgeon-General ...	3	0	0
Roche, Thomas R. ...	5	0	0
Rochfort, Captain C. G. ...	5	0	0
Rochfort Boyd, Capt. R. H. ...	3	10	0
Rochfort, Capt. C. G., Executors of	5	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Rochfort, Horace	7	0	0
Rochfort, John Downes ...	2	5	0
Roe, Mrs. Isabella ...	4	0	0
Roe, Robert	1	0	0
Rosse, Earl of	25	0	0
Rotheram, Edward, J.P. ...	5	0	0
Rotheram, Morgan ...	10	0	0
Rothwell, T. J.P. ...	5	0	0
Ruby, Rev. J. F. ...	1	1	0
Russell, F. W.	3	0	0
Russell, Hon. Mrs. ...	3	0	0
Rutledge, F.	45	7	0
Rynd, C.	5	0	0
Salters' Co., London, per H. E. Cartwright	25	0	0
Sampey, A. W., J.P. ..	1	0	0
Sanders, Thomas, J.P. ...	11	1	6
Sargent, Mrs. D. A. ...	1	0	0
Schoales, George ...	3	3	0
Scott, John	4	4	0
Scott, Rev. Charles B., D.D.	7	0	0
Scott, S.	10	0	0
Scrapper, Rev. S. M. ...	5	0	0
Scully, William	7	10	0
Sheil, Robert	2	10	0
Sheppard, H.	1	0	0
Sheridan, W. P.	2	0	0
Sinclair, J. G. S. ...	10	0	0
Sinclair, William, D.L. ...	10	0	0
Singleton, H. S. ...	11	0	0
Singleton, Major H. C., D.L.	53	10	0
Sligo, Marquis of ...	25	0	0
Slingsby, Captain ...	15	0	0
Slothart, J.	1	1	0
Smith, C. Wilmot ...	10	0	0
Smith, George C.	1	10	0
Smith, Henry	2	0	0
Smith, Henry St. G. ...	5	0	0
Smith, Ralph	1	0	0
Smyley, Major	5	0	0
Smyth, Percy	12	15	0
Smyth, Skeffington ...	10	0	0
Soames, Mrs.	10	0	0
Spaight, Captain W., R.E. ...	1	0	0
Spaight, William ...	10	0	0
Sparrow, W.	1	0	0
Spratt, Richard	0	15	0
Stackpoole, Miss W. ...	5	0	0
Stackpoole, Richard ...	15	0	0
Stanford, T. G. Willes, D.L.	10	0	0
Stanford, Woodward ...	4	0	0
Stewart, Robert A. ...	7	0	0
Stoney, Johnston J. ...	1	0	0
Stoney, R. Vesey, D.L. ...	7	0	0
Stopford, Viscount ...	5	0	0
Streane, Arehdeacon ...	3	0	0
Strettill, Miss	2	10	0
Stronge, J. C.	6	0	0
Stronge, Sir James M., Bart.	45	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Stuart, Hon. & Rev. A. G. ...	5	0	0
Stuart, H. Villiers, M.P. ...	65	0	0
Stubbs, Major-General J. W.	1	0	0
Studdart, Rev. G. ...	4	4	0
Swanton, J. H.	8	0	0
Sweetman, Patrick, D.L. ...	5	0	0
Swifte, William R. ...	3	3	0
Synge-Hutchinson, Sir E., Bart.	60	0	0
T. A. D. (96-260-2) ...	25	0	0
Talbot-Crosbie, W., D.L. ...	23	0	0
Talbot, R. W.	10	0	0
Tanner, Major K. D. ...	1	12	0
Tatlow, J. Garnett	2	0	0
Teevan, Thomas	4	0	0
Temple, Hon. R. T. H. ...	10	0	0
Templemore, Lord	50	0	0
Templer, Robert B., J.P. ...	25	0	0
Templetown, Viscount ...	20	0	0
Tenison, Lady Louisa, per T. G. Tattow, Executor of the late ...	30	0	0
Tighe, Col.	58	0	0
Tipping, E., J.P.	2	12	6
Tisdall, John	25	0	0
Thomas, Jocelyn H. W. ...	4	0	0
Thomas, Major	5	0	0
Thompson, C. W., J.P. ...	1	11	8
Thompson, Wm. Thos. ...	10	4	10
Thomson, Col.	5	0	0
Thorpe, Charles	6	0	0
Todd-Thornton, Lieut.-Col. J. H.	5	0	0
Toler, Hon. A.	25	0	0
Tollemach, A. T. C. ...	6	0	0
Tollemache, Hon. Fredk. James	10	0	0
Tota (105-337-2) ...	3	0	0
Tottenham, A. Loftus, M.P.	24	0	0
Tottenham, Col. C. G., D.L.	40	0	0
Tottenham, John D. ...	20	0	0
Tottenham, Richard ...	4	0	0
Tower, Richard	1	0	0
Townsend, W. U. ..	2	17	0
Townshend, C. U. & Co. ...	10	0	0
Townshend, John Handcock ...	22	0	0
Trant, John, D.L. ...	10	0	0
Travers, Grneral	5	0	0
Tredennick, W. R. ...	13	0	0
Trench, Reprs. of late H. ...	10	0	0
Trench, William T. ...	10	0	0
Tuckey, Mrs. Francis ...	1	0	0
Turpin, Thomas ...	5	0	0
Tynte, J. P.	15	0	0
Waggett, Thomas and others	7	10	6
Wakely, J.	5	0	0
Wakely, John, D.L. ...	7	10	0
Walker, P. J.	10	0	0
Wall, Rev. C. J. ...	5	0	0
Wallace, Sir Richard, Bart. ...	500	0	0
Waller, William Newcombe	10	0	0
Walpole Brothers ...	5	0	0
Walsh, Mrs. Albert ...	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Waring, John	6	12	0
Warren, Henry C.	5	0	0
Warren, Robert, D.L. ...	10	0	0
Warren, Richard L. ...	7	0	0
Waterford, Marquis of ...	540	3	0
Watson, Solomon	23	12	0
W. B. (108-365-2) ...	26	5	0
W. B. per Lord Rosse ...	5	0	0
Webb, Charles D. H. ..	10	0	0
Webb, Mrs.	10	0	0
Webber, W. D.	50	0	0
Well Wisher per T. W. Anderson	5	0	0
Well Wisher (116-458-2) ...	5	0	0
Weld, E. Hartstronge ...	5	5	0
Weldon, Sir A. C., Bart. ...	14	0	0
Welsh, Marcus F.	0	12	6
West, L. A.	10	0	0
West, W. H.	10	0	0
Westropp, R. M. B. ...	2	0	0
Wexford, Co. J.P. ...	3	0	0
White, Hans	4	0	0
White, Mrs. Newport ...	1	15	0
White, J. Gore	1	0	0
Whyte, Capt. William ...	12	0	0
Whyte, Mrs. P.	16	0	0
Widderburn, Mrs. Henry J. ...	2	0	0
Widdup, John	1	0	0
Wilbraham, Hugh, J.P. ...	5	0	0
Wilde, Charles	5	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Williamson, Major-General ...	1	10	0
Willis, G.	1	1	0
Wills, John	10	0	0
Wilson, George O.	10	0	0
Wilson, James, J.P. ...	12	0	0
Wilson's Hospital, Trustees and Guardians per E. C. Hamilton	20	0	0
Winter, James S.	15	0	0
Wolfe, Richard	11	15	0
Wolseley, Sir C. J., Bart. ...	10	0	0
Wood, G. A.	10	0	0
Woods, Captain	25	0	0
Woods, Edward H. ...	10	0	0
Woods, W. St. L., J.P. ...	20	0	0
Woodhouse, C. O. ...	2	15	0
Woodroofe, R. H. ..	4	0	0
Worsley, Sir W. C., Bart. ...	10	0	0
Wynne, A.	50	0	0
Wynne, H. E.	1	1	0
Wynne, Owen	22	0	0
Ussher, John	7	0	0
Vanston, John D.	1	18	0
Venables, Rev. C. B. Whyte	5	0	0
Ventry, Lord	10	0	0
Verschoyle, R. J.	3	0	0
Vesey, George	15	10	0
Vigors, Col. Philip D ...	2	0	0
X Y Z per J. B. Pim ...	10	0	0
Yorke, Thomas E.	5	0	0

PUBLICATIONS OF THE NATIONAL UNION, No. LI.

THE SAYINGS

OF

LIBERAL POLITICIANS

ON THE

IRISH LAND QUESTION

IN AND OUT OF PARLIAMENT,

1869—1879.

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL UNION OF CONSERVATIVE & CONSTITUTIONAL
ASSOCIATIONS,
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APRIL 1881.

PREFACE.

This publication is intended to place in a concise and convenient form the opinions expressed by prominent Liberals on the Irish Land Question during the last ten years, both in and out of Parliament. A distinction has been made, however, in the manner in which their opinions have been quoted. Extra-Parliamentary utterances reported in the *Times* have been quoted at greater length than those opinions which, given in Parliament, may be readily referred to in *Hansard*, while the process of referring to speeches in the *Times* is more laborious and difficult. Of some of the principal Parliamentary speeches an analysis has been made, with full marginal reference to *Hansard*, which it is hoped will much facilitate reference.

The order adopted in cataloguing the speeches is chronological, and falls naturally into six divisions.

1.—Extra-Parliamentary speeches in 1869.

2.—Extra-Parliamentary speeches in 1870.

3.—Debates in the House of Commons, 1870.

4.—Debates in the House of Lords, 1870.

5.—Speeches made on the Irish land question out of Parliament between the years 1871—1879.

6.—Opinions expressed *in* Parliament on various occasions during the same period.

In referring to the extra-Parliamentary speeches, the date given with the name of the speaker is that of the *Times* in which the speech will be found reported. The *number* following refers to the page, and the *letter* to the column in which the words may be found.

In reference to *Hansard*, the date, number of volume, and number of page is given.

Where the words of Conservative speakers are given it is in illustration or quotation of the opinions of Liberal politicians.

Conservative Central Office,
April, 1881.

SAYINGS OF LIBERAL POLITICIANS

ON THE

IRISH LAND QUESTION,

1869—1879.

OUT OF PARLIAMENT, 1869.

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

Guildhall Speech, Times, Nov. 10, 1869.

"We are bound to confess that even this very year has been marked in Ireland by a sad augmentation of those agrarian outrages which, occurring as they do in a country singularly free from a general tendency to crime, acquire a painful notoriety, and strike at the heart of Englishmen a deadly chill. What may be the cause of this increase of outrage, it might be premature and it would be difficult to say; but one thing I know, and I would that I could convey it to the minds of those who are connected with those sad atrocities. *Let not those who perpetrate them suppose that that is the path by which they are to attain to success or legislation for the removal of grievances.* On the contrary, every one who lifts his hand to harm his neighbour in Ireland at this moment is not only, as he always was, merely guilty before God and man, but he is, before all things, and above all things, the enemy of the best interests of his country."

MR. E. A. LEATHAM, M.P.

Huddersfield. *Times*, Nov. 20, 1869. 5E.

With regard to the Irish land question he was not in favour of heroic remedies, or any remedy which would be unfair or unjust, he did not say inexpedient, if applied upon this side of the Channel. Because the whole or part of Ireland had been confiscated centuries ago, that was no reason why we should now proceed to an act of confiscation. That was what we should do if, by what was called Fixity of Tenure, we should hand over to the tenant the soil in perpetuity with a simple rent-charge in favour of the landlord.

THE LATE MR. C. BUXTON, M.P.

Letters to the Times, Nov. 22, Nov. 23. and Nov. 29, 1869.

Letter. er Custom.

"The extension of the Ulster Custom to the rest of Ireland would be a flagrant confiscation of the landlord's property. In support of this view he quotes the opinions of Lord Dufferin and Mr. Clare Read."

Letter.

"We cannot grant absolute Fixity of Tenure." He also argues that revaluation is bad. "The best authorities are agreed that in Ireland it is a snare, a mockery, and a delusion."

uation of t.

The farmers themselves are the best valuators, and revaluation would be both expensive and inefficacious.

Letter.

This letter deals with the question of Courts of Arbitration—a system which Mr. Buxton deprecates.

THE LATE RIGHT HON. E. HORSMAN, M.P.

Times, Nov. 20, 1869.

ity of ure.

"No Government would dare to comply with the extravagant demands of agitators. If Mr. Gladstone released the Fenian prisoners and granted Fixity of Tenure, the life of his Government would not be worth three weeks' purchase after Parliament met."

LORD LIFFORD.

Letter to the Times, Nov. 7, 1869.

Argues that Fixity of Tenure would be a great evil to the labouring class, as tending to hinder cultivation.

EARL OF LICHFIELD.

Times, Dec. 6, 1869.

Disapproved of the system of Fixity of Tenure, and thought that the same land reform should be given to both England and Ireland.

THE O'DONOGHUE, M.P.

Times, Dec. 20, 1869. Page 4.

sh gislation.

"The picture held before the Irish of a House of Commons oligarchical, fanatical, anti-Irish, prepared to bully and cringe alternately, has no existence in these days, and is a creation of the perverted imagination of those who desire to sow horror, hatred, and despair where confidence, friendship, and hope should alone flourish.

ish Agitators ndemned.

"As if to illustrate the perversity of human nature, this is the precise time which some men have selected to counsel the Irish people to abandon constitutional action, and to become practically a nation of conspirators. We are to exhume old wrongs, to inhale afresh the spirit of revenge, and steel our hearts against the approach of friendship. We are to forswear all good that has not been baptized in blood. . . . It is scarcely possible to imagine a situation where such a programme could be accepted by Christian men, and when estimated in relation to the actual position and prospect of Ireland it stamps its originators and promulgators as the incarnation of mischief."

THE LATE C. BUXTON, M.P.

Times, Dec. 21, 1869. Page 4.

It was desirable to give Irish *Security* of Tenure.

"I do not mean that we could or that we should give them the whole of their demands. They wish, no doubt, for Fixity of Tenure. . . . *We cannot give them that.*" Fixity of Tenure.

J. MUSGRAVE, (IRISH LANDLORD).

Letter to the Times. Dec. 21, 1869. Page 9.

Dwelt on difficulties of Irish landlord. Tenants had refused to pay increased rent, *former rent having been declared by Landed Estates Court to be far below real value.*

OUT OF PARLIAMENT, 1870.

RIGHT HON. J. BRIGHT.

PART II.

Times, Jan. 12, 1870.—Predicts effect of legislation.

"We propose, then, a new conquest of Ireland without confiscation and without blood—with only the weapon of a frank and generous justice, which is everywhere potent to bring together nations which have been long separated by oppression and neglect"* * * Prophecy of Effect of Legislation.

"If we are able to suppress conspiracy, if we can banish agrarian crime, if we can unbar the prison doors, if we can reduce all excess of military strength, if we can make Ireland as tranquil as England and Scotland now are—then at least I think we may have done something to justify the wisdom and the statesmanship of our time."

Birmingham. *Times*, Jan. 13, 1870. 8 D.

"It is not a light matter for men to conspire and arm and drill and break out into open insurrection. I am not speaking of specific crimes which men of violent and untameable temper have committed; but I speak of the general act of war, because that is what was contemplated. You must bear in mind that it is not only the rich who suffer from these convulsions. Every disturbance of the public peace affects to a great extent the solidity of our social system and the industry of the people; it affects the security of capital and the general condition of trade."

"Though I have been one who has always spoken strongly in favour of change, and changes which we showed by great demonstration were to be effected, still for all that I am bound to say I know no greater enemy to our country than the man who attempts by force of arms to disturb the public peace, and to break down the authority of laws. Least of all are they to be excused who, being in a country to which they have emigrated, and escaped from what they suppose to be the tyranny and oppression here, are free to do what they please, yet conspire against our common country. I cannot say Condemns lence espec by returned Emigrants.

that any kind of allowance is to be made for such persons. *If they like to be citizens of America* let them be so, but, having transported themselves to another country and become citizens of another State, they are the enemies of our country if they come here to disturb the public peace. Men, because they are Americans, are not to be judged less leniently than men who remain in this country and endeavour to do what they believe to be in the interests of their country."

RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER.

Bradford. *Times*, Jan. 18, 1870. P. 5 A.

Resolution of Government to maintain order in Ireland.

MR. STANSFELD, M.P.

Halifax. *Times* Jan. 26, 1870. 7 E.

ossible to fy all Irish ands.

"He did not believe that the settlement of the Irish land question on any practicable basis would be an immediate cure for all the grievances under which Ireland labours, because there must be some hopes too unreasonable to be satisfied by any possible measure."

SIR J. D. COLERIDGE, M.P. (NOW LORD COLERIDGE).

Exeter. *Times*, Jan. 29, 1870. 5 D.

nt to have ore than t is fair.

"At all events I think this is clear, that whatever is done in Ireland will be done for the purpose of giving to the tenant neither more nor less than that which a fair man, and an equitable man, will say he has a right to."

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

Answer to Deputation. Times, March 7, 1870. 6 A.

opinion not to be con- red on Irish tions.

"They had in the first place to consider the opinion of the Irish people, for they felt that if the measure which they brought forward for the settlement of this important question failed to satisfy public opinion in Ireland, it would reflect a shame and scandal both upon Ministers and Parliament. The Irish people, however, should in forming their opinion, recollect that the Government had also to satisfy what he might call Imperial opinion—the public opinion of England and Scotland—which would not permit any Government to carry exceptional legislation in the case of Ireland to a point which was calculated to produce a rupture of our social relations. But far above either Irish public opinion or the public opinion of the other portions of the Imperial Corporation was the principle of justice."

THE LATE ISAAC BUTT, Q.C., M.P.

Letter to the Times, March 7, 1870. 6 B. & C.

"I have myself long since come to the conclusion that it is not possible to frame a measure which will by indirect means give any real security or stability of tenure to the Irish occupiers, but,

knowing as I do the difficulties that are to be encountered in the prejudice—the natural and even praiseworthy prejudice—that exists against direct interference with the action of proprietary rights, I would be sincerely rejoiced to see that others had succeeded in the solution of the problem for which I have been unable to discover any."

Letter to the Times, March 10, 1870. P., 5 F.

Asserting absenteeism to be more common in Huntingdon than in Armagh

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

Letter to Dublin Corporation. Times, March 23, 1870. 12 D.

Answers criticism on Land Bill and then concludes: "I can therefore only say that the Government will be most ready to propose or adopt any amendments which may be shown to conduce to the completeness or efficiency of the measure; but we *do not see in what manner* the plans described as perpetuity of tenure, or as valuation of rents by public authority, could be rendered consistent *either with any fair interpretation of the laws of property*, or with the peace of mind of the *people of Ireland, and the most effective development of her agriculture and industry*." Condemns ity of Tenu and Valued Rent.

A. M. SULLIVAN, M.P.

Commenting on above letter. Same date.

Spoke of Judge Longfield's "*admirable plan*" (for which see Cobden Club Essays, No. 1). Judge Longfield denounces the "Three F's.

JUDGE LONGFIELD.

Letter to the Times, March 26, 1870. 4 B.

Contrasting Irish Land Bill with his own system of "Parliamentary Tenant Right."

G. POULETT SCROPE.

Letter to the Times, April 23, 1870. 7 D.

Government reclamation of waste land desirable, and establishment thereon of tenants at long lease or tenant proprietary. Reclamatio Waste Land

Compulsory sale of waste land to Government approved by Mr. G. Fitzgibbon, Master in Chancery.

Estimates waste land in 1870 at 3,000,000 acres *at least*.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1870. PART II

QUEEN'S SPEECH.

Feb. 8, *Hansard*, cxcix. 4.

Legislation to inspire "steady confidence in the law and desire to render assistance in its effective administration."

LORD CAIRNS.

Feb. 8, *Hansard*, cxcix. 25.

Quotation from speech of Mr. W. E. Forster ascribing agitation to Fenians, saying their agitators live by their agitation.

RIGHT HON. B. DISRAELI, (EARL OF BEACONSFIELD).

Feb. 8, *Hansard*, cxcix. 73.

Quotation from speech of Mr. W. E. Forster. This says that the existence of a Liberal Government has encouraged the agitators in Ireland.

Column 84. Sketch of Irish demands in 1869. Encouraged by Disestablishment to demand more.

Quotation from Lord Stanley, 30th April. *Hansard*—cxcv.,2001-2. That proprietary rights of landlords should be maintained.

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

Feb. 15, *Hansard*, cxcix. p. 343.

P. 343. It was the excessive subdivision of land with the view to the creation of 40s. freeholds which ushered in the horrors of the famine of 1847 and 1848.

P. 350. Fixity of Tenure. Necessity of compensating landlords for diminished value of property. Practical difficulty in the way of this.

ty of Tenure lemned.

P. 351. Landlord reduced to a mere rent charge by Fixity of Tenure. Not prepared to do this. It would be a social revolution, absolving wealth and property from their duties.

P. 353. Fixity of Tenure would proscribe that class of tenants which does not want a permanent estate in land, otherwise it would not be final.

This principle is equally applicable and necessary for England and Scotland.

P. 354. The instances in which Fixity of Tenure does virtually exist in Ireland do not present encouraging features.

P. 356. Ulster compared with rest of Ireland.

P. 366. Ulster Custom, its characteristics, compensation for improvement and price of good-will.

P. 369. Compensation for Disturbance.

P. 379. High Rents. Anxious to avoid interference of public authority with existing rent.

P. 386. Operation of Bill to be quiet and gradual.

Appended are Mr. Gladstone's views on the three F's at full length.

As I understand it, the scheme itself amounts to this—that each and every occupier, as long as he pays the rent that he is now paying or else some rent to be fixed by a public tribunal charged with the duty of valuation, is to be secured, for himself and his heirs, in the occupation of the land that he holds, without limit of time. He will be subject only to this condition—somewhat in the nature

of the Commutation of Tithe Act—that with a variation in the value of produce the rent may vary, but it will be slightly, and at somewhat distant periods. The effect of that provision will be that the landlord will become a pensioner and rent-charger upon what is now his own estate. The Legislature has, no doubt, the perfect right to reduce him to that condition, giving him proper compensation for any loss he may sustain in money; the State has a perfect right to deal with his social status, and to reduce him to that condition if it thinks fit. But then it is bound not so to think fit unless it is shown that this is for the public good. Now, is it for the public good that the landlords of Ireland, in a body, should be reduced by an Act of Parliament to the condition practically of fundholders, entitled to apply on a certain day from year to year for a certain sum of money, but entitled to nothing more? Are you prepared to denude them of their interest in the land; and, what is more, are you prepared to absolve them from their duties with regard to the land? I, for one, confess that I am not; nor is that the sentiment of my colleagues. We think, on the contrary, that we ought to look forward with hope and expectation to bringing about a state of things in which the landlords of Ireland may assume, or may more generally assume the position which is happily held, as a class, by landlords in this country—a position marked by residence, by personal familiarity, and by sympathy with the people among whom they live, by long traditional connection handed on from generation to generation and marked by a constant discharge of duty in every form that can be suggested—be it as to the administration of justice, be it as to the defence of the country, be it as to the supply of social, or spiritual, or moral, or educational wants—be it for any purpose whatever that is recognized as good and beneficial in a civilized society. Although, as I have said, nothing would induce me voluntarily to acquiesce in the continuance of such a state of things as has prevailed, and still to a great extent prevails, in Ireland—it would, I own, be a most melancholy conclusion were we to find that we could not rectify that which is now wrong in the land tenures of that country without undertaking a social revolution, a social revolution in which the main characteristics would be the absolution of wealth and property from the performance of duty, and an addition to that lounging class—unfortunately too abundant in this country—who are possessed of money and of nothing else, and who seem to have no object in life but to teach us how to multiply our wants and to raise the standard of our luxuries, even when we have not yet solved the problem, or got to the heart of the secret how we are to relieve the destitution which is pining at our doors.

But consider again how this plan is to work. Let me suppose myself an Irish occupier invested by an Act of Parliament with perpetuity of tenure. If I want to let the property which I have thus acquired, am I to be allowed to let it to a tenant—a mere tenant—or am I not to be allowed to let it to anybody but a perpetuity-man,

like myself? If I am only to let it to a perpetuity-man, I can only let it to that class of men who are prepared both to cultivate the soil and to pay me the price of the permanent estate. The strange position in which we should then find ourselves would be that all that active and energetic class which does not require any permanent estate in the land, but exists by the intelligent and profitable application of capital to farming purposes, would be absolutely proscribed; you would not anywhere let a man in to put a spade or plough into the ground unless he was able to purchase the perpetual estate. But, on the other hand, if I am told—"You, a perpetuity-man, will be allowed to deal with the land as you choose—to let it from year to year, to create yearly or any other form of tenancies which you think proper"—then I say the Act of Parliament would contain within it the seeds of its own destruction; nay, not the germs only, but the body and substance of provisions which would soon generate the very mischiefs which you proposed to extinguish. We should still have landlords and tenants with relations as ill-regulated as ever. At first they would be small landlords, but not long. The wealth of this country would go forth once more into the market and accumulate great estates, so that—not we, perhaps, but at any rate our children, should again have to assemble within these walls, and to deal afresh with the difficulties of the Irish land question.

"If perpetuity of right is to be transferred from one class to another, that would not be a bit more or less expedient on this side of the water than on the other; and accordingly in that view of the matter this with which we have now to deal is not an Irish land question but an United Kingdom land question. Lastly, I must put yet one other point. These tenures, which partake of the character of perpetuity, or approximate to it, already to some extent exist in Ireland. I do not say that it would be a sufficient argument in favour of the plan—I rather think it would not—if you had proof that this perpetuity of tenure was good for the people themselves who had been the recipients of that mode of treatment; but this I must say, having endeavoured to examine, as well as we can, the evidence with regard to the agricultural condition of those portions of Ireland which are at present held upon tenures of perpetuity without proprietorship, or which approximate to those tenures, that we do not feel the result to be such as to assure us that this class of tenure would in Ireland attain the object which we greatly prize—namely, the object of enlarging the wealth of the soil and of developing a powerful and flourishing agriculture. Having urged these arguments, to which I am aware of no reply, I may, for the present at any rate, quit this part of my subject."

RIGHT HON. C. FORTESCUE (LORD CARLINGFORD).

March 7, 1870. *Hansard*, cxcix. 1442.

Custom. Extension of Ulster Custom to rest of Ireland not fair either to Landlord or Tenant.

P. 1443. Government wise in not depriving Irish Landlord of the power of dealing with his own land.

B. SAMUELSON, M.P.

March 8, *Hansard*, cxcix. p. 1530.

Protest against Fixity of Tenure. Fixity of nure.

THE O'DONOGHUE, M.P.

March 8, p. 1537.

"Member of Extreme Tenant Right party. Never met a member of the Tenant Right party who did not recognize in the landlord an undoubted title to ownership of land."

MR. DOWSE, SOLICITOR-GENERAL, IRELAND (NOW BARON DOWSE).

March 8, p. 1560.

The House would not be asked by Her Majesty's Government, whatever might be done by any other subsequent Government—to sanction any Bill laying down the principle of Fixity of Tenure. Fixity of nure.

SIR ROUNDELL PALMER (LORD SELBORNE).

March 10, 1664 Sq.

"Fatal for Government to yield to wild demands."

P. 1665. Desirability of having larger holdings in Ireland. Large Hol Desirable.

"Could not be induced to agree to any measure which seemed, on the whole, to involve any serious and substantial departure from the great and necessary principle in which the rights of property rest."

P. 1666. Some schemes do ignore rights of property. Such is Fixity of Tenure, "which, in plain English, means taking away the property of one man and giving it to another." Fixity of T is Confisca

It would be a breach of faith to destroy titles in one Session on which properties have been purchased under the Encumbered Estates Act.

Disturbance clause only one at all at variance with principle of equity.

P. 1667. Fixity of Tenure with periodical revaluation of rents. Valued Ren

"A scheme more full of objection both as regards landlord and tenant I cannot conceive."

P. 1668. Disturbance clause objectionable unless guarded by careful restrictions, as in clause 14.

P. 1669. Necessity for the Bill a great misfortune.

P. 1670. This Bill powerless in itself to stop outrage, but it will remove everything like plausible reason for outrage.

P. 1671. Land Bill must be supplemented by Coercion.

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

March 11, 1870. *Hansard*, cxcix.

y of Te- P. 1842. Notices fact that no argument had been introduced in favour of Fixity of Tenure which could for a moment abide its trial at the bar of reason.

Bright. P. 1843. Asserted that Mr. Bright always said that any reform proposed by him in reference to Irish land would be based on sacred respect for rights of property. "Perpetuity of tenure is a phrase that I flatter myself is a little going out of fashion. If I have contributed anything towards disparaging it I am not sorry."

Rents. P. 1844. *Fair Rents.* "Remedy should be protection against eviction, not of a joint property in the soil. Neither I nor my colleagues are prepared to admit that just protection of him (tenant) affords either an apology or an excuse for endowing him with a joint property in the soil."

P. 1845. "I have not heard, I do not know, I cannot conceive what is to be said for the prospective power to reduce excessive rents."

"Reduction of excessive rents would (1) throw into confusion the whole economical arrangements of the country. (2.) Drive out of the field honest and solvent men. (3) Spread demoralization through the whole Irish people."

ıation of s. P. 1846. Government not prepared to take valuation of rent into their own hands. Would entail valuation of all other agricultural conditions.

Practical difficulty of valuation.

P. 1847. No one able to fix by law any system upon which it would be possible to adjust rents by calculations founded upon prices of agricultural produce.

P 1848. Establishment of Fixity of Tenure and fair rent a social revolution.

P. 1851. Bill of 1870 conferred privileges of occupation on Irish cottier and farmer superior to any enjoyed by them in other countries.

P. 1852. England had made great efforts for peace and union. Irish warned not to make demands that justice cannot sanction or concede.

RIGHT HON. R. LOWE, (LORD SHERBROOKE).

April 4, 1870. *Hansard*, cc. 1191. *Committee on "Disturbance" Clause.*

ed Rent. P. 1191. "Saved the landlord from that from which we recoil—the notion of submitting to the Court what rent a holding should pay."

P. 1196. "The disturbance of a tenant by eviction is a legal act, and a man is right in doing it."

P. 1200. "This Bill is the foundation of a better state of things in Ireland—a state of things in which each man shall respect the rights of his neighbour, the tenant the right of the landlord, the landlord those of the tenant.

P. 1201. We have avoided the Charybdis represented by those who advocate Fixity of Tenure. We have endeavoured without shaking the foundation of property, to give adequate relief to the tenants; we have entirely repudiated the notion of Fixity of Tenure." Fixity of T nure.

N.B.—Compare Mr. Lowe's speech on March 12, 1868. *Hansard*, 190. Col. 1483. Sq.

Ireland progressing. Advantages enjoyed by her compared with England. Column 1488 he says: "I have sat on several Committees of this House to investigate this question of the land in Ireland, and it has never been my fate to hear a single case of grievance or ill-treatment of a tenant alleged, with dates and circumstances, so that it could be verified. "Our Committees were entirely unsuccessful in discovering any case of real grievance." "It is ridiculous to inveigh against the law which is the same in Ireland as in England." Speech in 18 No Irish G vance.

Small holdings cause of distress in Ireland. Small Holdi

P. 1493. Arbitrary restrictions with regard to land depreciate its value, and tend to prevent that desire of accumulation on which the wealth of nations depend.

P. 1494. Sq. Objection to Peasant Proprietary.

By forming a Peasant Proprietary we would give the strongest impulse to the desire for separation.

SIR R. PALMER, (LORD SELBORNE).

April 4, 1870. *Hansard*, cc. *Committee on "Disturbance" Clause.*

P. 1211. Great caution required in giving this compensation. "We must keep the principle within proper limits and accompany it with all reasonable checks" or "it will become an invasion of all the rights of property." Great changes had been made in the bill (1) as regards Ulster custom; (2) alteration in the scale of compensation; (3) withdrawal of the option of giving a 21 years' lease.

P. 1212. Extreme political necessity might justify the retrospective action of the Bill as only applying to year-to-year tenancies. "But to interfere in that way prospectively with freedom of contract, to dictate new terms, and such extraordinary terms as at first sight these are, is a thing which can only be justified by the necessity of the case, and this, again, should not be carried one single inch beyond that necessity." Only extrem necessity w justify the visions of th Bill.

P. 1214. He points out that the effect of the change would be that *primâ facie* the Judge would assess the compensation at the maximum, unless the landlord would show good cause for reducing it.

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

April 4, 1870. *Hansard*, cc. *"Disturbance" Clause Committee.*

P. 1255. Land Bill not to be permanent. Hope that Ireland would work out of her anomalous circumstances, "but way of doing that will be by reintroduction of principle of freedom of contract." Hope that need not be manent.

P. 1261. Quotation from Mr. O'Connell, M.P,. saying that all that would be needed to confer great benefits on the tenants would be the restoration of the ancient law with respect to the relations of landlord and tenant.

P. 1262. "I hope it will be admitted on all sides that we have not been indistinct in the declaration of our intention to offer a firm resistance to all attempts to introduce principles into the Bill, which would go to make the power of a landlord over his property, or the receipts he derived from it, subject to the indefinite claims of a separate and rival interest."

MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON.

May 2, 1870. *Hansard*, cci. 19 Sq. *Amendment on length of lease.*

P. 23. "I believe that the Irish landlords have, as a body, done their duty to their tenants, while they have, perhaps, put up with more and sacrificed more than any body of landlords in either England or Scotland have done."

RIGHT HON. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE (LORD CARLINGFORD).

May 19, 1870. *Hansard*, cci. 991 Sq. *Debate on Sir J. Gray's amendment, giving virtual Fixity of Tenure with restrictions on non-payment of rent, subdivision, and serious waste.*

P. 994. The Government had steadily resisted the idea of rent being fixed arbitrarily by a public authority.

P. 995. This scheme would not tend to promote peaceful and harmonious relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland, but would be attended by the very contrary effects.

MR. DOWSE (SOLICITOR-GENERAL, IRELAND).

May 19, 1870. 1104. *Same debate.*

P. 1014. There might be something to be said for Fixity of Tenure; there was certainly a great deal to be said against it.

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

May 19, 1870. *Hansard*, cci. 1022 Sq. *Debate on Sir J. Gray's amendment.*

P. 1024. "I am irreconcilably opposed to granting Fixity of Tenure."

P. 1025. Deprecates interference with freedom of contract, except when quite unavoidable.

P. 1027. "We carefully put aside everything that promised, or seemed to promise, Fixity of Tenure, and everything in the way of what may be described as valuation of rent."

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

May 30, 1870. *Hansard*, cci. *Land Bill*, Third Reading.

P. 1611. Asserts strongly that it was advisedly that the Government had refused to yield to the popular demand in Ireland for Fixity of Tenure and valuation of rents.

P. 1613. General moderation displayed towards the Bill had laid on the Government the obligation to be faithful to those who had been faithful to the public interests, and to use their best efforts to maintain it (the Bill) in its integrity and efficiency.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

PART IV.

EARL GRANVILLE.

June 14, 1870. *Hansard*, ccii. 4 Sq. Second Reading.

Ireland rented low.

P. 5. "Landlords too have their grievances. It is stated, on good authority, that the rent of land in Ireland is lower, considering the capability of the soil, than that of any civilized country in Europe."

Fixity of Tenure and Valuation of Rent.

P. 10. "They (the Government) might indeed have done that which they were resolved not to do—namely, have introduced a Bill adopting Fixity of Tenure, taking away his property from the landlord, and establishing a valuation rent. They might thereby have excited in Ireland—at all events for the moment—an enthusiasm which would have made reasonable legislation impossible."

DUKE OF RICHMOND.

June 14, 1870. 25.

P. 25. Refers to reports of the Poor Law Inspectors to disprove existence of harshness or frequency of eviction.

N.B.—Compare speeches of Lords Granville and Kimberley on Tenure (Ireland) Bill, referred to by the Duke of Richmond, and to be found in *Hansard*, cxcv. 1163 and 1179.

LORD DUFFERIN.

June 14, 1870. *Hansard*, ccii. 60 Sq. Second Reading.

Irish Landlords.

P. 64. "To say that the landlords of Ireland have only contributed in an insignificant degree to the improvement of their properties is a cruel and outrageous calumny. In no country in Europe have such exertions been made, or so much time, labour, anxiety, and money been expended in the amelioration of the agricultural status of the country and of the peasantry as in many parts of Ireland during the last 30 years."

P. 66. "I discard, as altogether monstrous and untenable, any claim preferred in behalf of the tenant, to any partnership or proprietary interest in the soil on the ground of ancient Irish habits or tribal

laws and customs, or on the strength of ethnological characteristics, or prescriptive right of occupation or any other of the fantastic apologies which have lately been invented."

P. 69. Advisability of consolidating holdings to avoid the evils incident to the small holdings.

LORD DERBY.

June 16, 1870. 233 Sq. Second Reading.

P. 235. Strong dislike to the principle of compensation for disturbance.

all Holdings. P. 237. Vehement opposition to anything tending to perpetuate a system of small holdings.

P. 242. "That curious and fantastic delusion which appears to have taken hold of some of the agricultural population in Ireland, that in some vague, unexplained way the land belongs of right or ought to belong to those who live on it."—"That delusion will be finally negatived by this Bill."

This Bill would not stop agitation which was too profitable a trade to be laid down. Land Bill and Irish Church Disestablishment both due to agitation.

DUKE OF ARGYLL.

June 16. 243 Sq. Second Reading.

nts increased Land Law. 250. "This Bill would by its passing make it fair and right for the Irish landlord to raise his rents, since the compensation for disturbance and improvement by it legalized enhanced the value of the holding. This was the course he would himself adopt were he an Irish landlord."

June 24, 1870. *Hansard*, ccii. 859 Sq. Committee.

Notice general agreement of speakers that it is desirable to give landlord right of interference in the assignment of his holding by the tenant.

PART V.

LAND QUESTION OUT OF PARLIAMENT.

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

Aberdeen. *Times*, Sept. 27, 1871. 6 A.

land, Home le. "Ideas which are very unintelligible and superfluous."

"Has Ireland grievances? What is it that Ireland has demanded from the Imperial Parliament and that the Imperial Parliament has refused?"

"There is no such grievance. There is nothing that Ireland has asked and which this country and this Parliament have refused. This Parliament has done for Ireland what it would have scrupled to do for England and Scotland."

"What are the inequalities of England and Ireland,"

"I declare that I know none except that there are certain taxes levied on Englishmen and Scotchmen which are not levied on Irishmen." Ireland.

"People say that we have tried to conciliate Ireland and have failed. I do not admit that Ireland is not going to be conciliated, but I say this—that we must always keep in mind that there is a higher law to govern the actions of Parliaments and of politicians than the law of conciliation, good as that law may be."

"There was a higher and a paramount aim in the measures that Parliament has passed, and that was that it should do its duty. It was to set itself right with the national conscience, with the opinions of the world, and with the principles of justice, and when that is done, I say fearlessly that, whether conciliation be at once realized or not, the position of this country is firm and invulnerable." Irish Legislation.

HON. G. G. GLYN (LORD WOLVERTON).

Shaftesbury. *Times*, Oct. 21, 1871. 5 D.

"Mr. Gladstone's Government had done justice to Ireland. It had taken away the excuses of complaint."

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

Greenwich, Oct. 30, 1871. 3 A. Sq.

"I believe the community of Ireland is well satisfied with the measures which obtained the sanction of the Legislature, and that in Ireland there has been laid for no very distant future, the foundations of solid political content. It would be premature to anticipate too confidently their ultimate results, but I feel justified in saying that of all I addressed to you in December, 1868, there is no part or portion which it is needful for me to qualify or retract. In the face of the three countries and in the face of civilized mankind, the Legislature has made a great effort to do justice, and all that has taken place leads me to the confident hope that that effort will be crowned with success." Satisfaction Ireland.

A. WELLESLEY PEEL, M.P.

Warwick. *Times*, Nov. 2, 1871. 6 C.

"It was impossible for any candid man to say that Ireland had any grievance since the Irish Church had been disestablished."

RIGHT HON. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE, M.P. (LORD CARLINGFORD.)

Bristol. *Times*, Nov. 15, 1871. 4 C.

"He believed that there was more prosperity, less disturbance and crime in Ireland at this moment than at any previous period of her history, and he believed the great measures of the last two years, to which allusion had been made, were not bearing most rapidly, as if by magic, but steadily and reasonably—the fruits which all reasonable men expected."

THE LATE ISAAC BUTT, Q.C., M.P.

Glasgow. *Times*, Nov. 15, 1871, 3 c.

be the best of obtain- Concessions.

Alluding to Mr. Gladstone's confession that it was the Fenian insurrection which had brought the Irish Church Act within the sphere of "practical politics," he said: "If we have any grievance and the English Ministry and Parliament disregard it, we are actually to get up another insurrection in order to get justice. This is the lesson we are taught." "A few years more and some other grievance will arise. Are we again to awake the slumbering friendship of Mr. Gladstone or some future Gladstone by a second insurrection?"

RIGHT HON. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P.

Times, Dec. 21, 1871. 3 F.

"In a letter written to the Tenant Right Association of Munster he says that he is greatly pleased to hear that the Land Act meets with so much favour, and that it was a measure intended by the Government that framed it and the Parliament that passed it to do justice to the tenant farmers of Ireland. And he hopes most fervently that those objects may have been attained."

RT. HON. HUGH CHILDERS, M.P.

Pontefract. *Times*, Dec. 29th, 1871. 6 A.

"I conceive nothing could be more dangerous than weakening the tenure of property."

MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON, M.P.

Knighton, *Times*, Jan. 6, 1872. 6 A.

"He denied that their conciliatory policy towards Ireland had failed. In dealing with Ireland, firmness and patience were necessary."

EARL OF DERBY.

Liverpool. *Times*, Jan. 10th, 1872. 10 K.

"The Church has been disestablished and disendowed, the land has been practically handed over to the enemy. No further sacrifice of the kind remains to be made."

He then urges the danger of yielding to Irish agitation.

OSBORNE MORGAN, M.P.

Wrexham. *Times*, Jan. 6, 1872.

"Ireland was in a satisfactory state. Poor rates had diminished, and the value of ratable property increased. Moreover, he cited Mr. Heron's testimony that the Land Act was working satisfactorily."

MR. JUSTICE KEOGH.

Galway. *Times*, May 28, 1872. 5 C.

In giving judgment in the Galway election petition said: "All the witnesses deposed that the landlords in Galway were the best in the world."

RIGHT HON. J. STANSFELD, M.P.

Halifax. *Times*, Sept. 25, 1872. 6 c.

"The freedom of land in Ireland from what trammelled it, and what kept it unjustly from the population of Ireland,—have you forgotten that enormous boon ?"

SIR J. D. COLERIDGE, M.P.

Liverpool. *Times*, Nov. 8, 1872. 3 E.

Speaking of the Irish Church and Land Acts he said : "You cannot expect from two acts of justice, notable though they may be, and in three years, to undo the effect of centuries of oppression."

Causes of Discontent removed.

"Our hands in dealing with Ireland are immensely and permanently strengthened by the removal of causes of just dissatisfaction and complaint. The Irish policy of the Government had been a great success."

RIGHT HON. G. J. GOSCHEN.

Bristol. *Times*, Nov. 14, 1872. 10 A.

The Irish land question was solved in 1870. "Our second year of office was marked by the solution of the Irish land question."

RT. HON. HUGH CHILDERS, M.P.

Pontefract. *Times*. Jan. 14th, 1873. 12 a.

"Neither the House of Lords, nor the Connexion of Church and State, nor the tenure of property, will find in me either an open or a secret foe."

A. J. OTWAY, M.P.

Chatham. *Times*, Jan. 17, 1873. 7 D.

Ireland had been relieved from every just grievance.

EARL OF KIMBERLEY.

Ipswich. *Times*, April 18, 1873. 6 A.

He said that the Land Bill of 1870 had been a success and had worked well.

"I rejoice that we have purged our conscience of whatever injustice we have committed towards Ireland."

MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON.

Nottingham. *Times*, July 17, 1873. 12 B.

Liberal Legislation for Ireland successful.

"We are told that our remedial legislation for Ireland has failed. . . . I say that no proof can be adduced that that legislation has failed. On the contrary, I assert, without fear of contradiction, that never was Ireland in a state of more material prosperity than she enjoys at present.

"I believe that ignorance, poverty, and bad laws have fed disaffection ; but as I see the people becoming better educated, as I see them becoming happy, I cannot but believe that the same causes which operate in the people of any other country will operate upon Irishmen, and we shall see disaffection slowly but surely diminish."

RIGHT HON. R. LOWE, M.P. (LORD SHERBROOKE).

Sheffield. *Times*, Sept. 5, 1873. 3 c.

nd. "They (the Ministry) thought that no object should be dearer to the heart of an English statesman than to knit the hearts of the Empire into one harmonious concord, and they despaired of doing that unless, by giving her the strictest and fullest justice, they took away from her all grounds of complaint. . . That was the programme we started with. It was an audacious and extravagant one. . Well, but the strangest thing is that, with the single exception of the higher education of Ireland, one of the least important points of the whole system, *we have realized the whole of this programme.*"

SIR J. D. COLERIDGE, (LORD COLERIDGE.)

Exeter. *Times*, Oct. 31, 1873. 7 D.

"Do you think it a blunder to have done justice between landlord and tenant in Ireland?"

SIR W. V. HARCOURT.

Oxford. *Times*, Jan. 2, 1874. 6 c.

l Question. Speaking of the land question in its widest sense, and not as applied specially to Ireland.

"Too much philosophy had been talked about land by 'rickety' philosophers with very unsound constitutions. 'The unearned increment of land' is an idea so illogical, so unreasonable, so perfectly unjust, and so absolutely philosophical that it does not require a refutation. I am content to assume that a man's right to his land depends on the same principle as your right to the coat on your back, namely, that you have paid for it.

"When we want to reform the landowner we should not begin by bullying the landowners.

Land. "If 'free land' means making free with other people's land, that is a sort of liberty I am not disposed to take.

"Compulsory subdivision of land in opposed to freedom, and subdivision of land is injurious, the produce is less and the condition of the cultivator worse." In support of this he quoted M. Lavergne on France, showing that the condition of the people was worse than in England, that 40 persons in France only get half the produce that 30 Englishmen do, and says, "This is the result of an experiment tried with the three specifics, subdivision of land, peasant proprietorship, and universal county franchise."

ant Pro- ors. "Can any prospect be more hopeless than that of a small man striving with insufficient capital upon land which he has not the means to cultivate?"

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

Electoral Address. *Times*, Jan. 24, 1874. 8 A.

"The great Irish question of Church and land now so happily

disposed of." And he said that the House of Lords had, much to its credit, deferred to the voice of the country in 1868 and 1870.

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

New Cross. *Times*, Feb. 3, 1874. 5 F.

"It is sometimes said that we are half ashamed of the work we have done with regard to Ireland. To my dying day it will be a source of unfeigned delight to me to reflect that I have been enabled to bear a part in that great and glorious work of doing justice to our fellow countrymen in Ireland, irrespective of ancient prejudices, irrespective of religious difference,—justice, and no more than justice, for when justice has been fulfilled concession likewise must be arrested. . . . No doubt we did endeavour to give security to the Irish tenant. That was a new policy. The Irish tenant now pursues his industry fearless of being disturbed." Justice to land.

SIR W. LAWSON, M.P.

Carlisle. *Times*, Oct. 23, 1874. 5 E.

He did not understand that Ireland then had any great legislative grievances, but he believed that some statesmen would recognize sentimental grievances, which often worked as much or more mischief than real grievances.

RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

Birmingham. *Times*. Jan. 2nd, 1877. 12 A.

"You have referred to the condition of Ireland, the liberation of its conscience by the Disestablishment of the Church, and the endeavour to heal its wounds by a reform of its land laws. . . . . For after these great changes in Ireland,—changes which I am very far from saying left nothing to be done with regard to the special condition of that country, but changes which have removed by far the greatest and most crying, and the most searching evils or public evils by which it was afflicted—so far as these evils lie within the range of the legislature."—etc. . . .

"I believe we have put into operation processes by which, not in a moment, but yet by a steady and sure advance, the Irishman will learn—to a great extent the Irishman has learnt—to cease to view in the law of the Government of his country his natural enemy." . . . .

"I believe that all our questions of difficulty with Ireland will now be symptomatic and superficial."

RIGHT HON. J. BRIGHT, M.P.

Letter to Mr. J. G. McCarthy, M.P.

Times. Dec. 6th, 1879. 6 A.

"What you have written seems to me most worthy of consideration by the Government, and I hope something may be done; but all Administrations are afraid of touching the proprietors of land, and

the rights of property are, I fear, deemed more sacred than the comfort and even the lives of the people." . . .

"I think there is nothing which is possible and which it would be wise to do that might not be done for Ireland if her representatives in Parliament would unite with the Liberal Party in combined and honest action for the real benefit of their country. Whether such union will ever come I know not. Without it I fear your country and mine may suffer a long spell of the rule of the party which now directs the destinies of both."

IRISH LAND QUESTION IN PARLIAMENT.

QUESTION.—ANSWER BY RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

Feb. 24, 1873. *Hansard*, ccxiv. 835.

t under h Tenants ot contract nselves out he Act.

"They had arrived at the conclusion that for many important questions the line ought to be drawn at £50 rental; that under £50 rental certain claims should exist, and that the tenant should not be permitted to contract himself out of the Act, because the House did not think that he had sufficient independence to enable him to contract fairly with his landlord. But above that line the House thought that the tenant was able to hold his own against the landlord. . . . The Act drew a certain line and there was no reason to think that that line had worked unsatisfactorily, and therefore he could say very distinctly that it was not the intention of the Government, as at present advised, to apply to Parliament to amend the Act by repealing the 12th clause of the Act. It would be exceedingly mischievous if any doubts were to exist as to the intentions of the Government on the subject. They did not intend to propose themselves nor would they regard favourably any proposal from others to amend the Act in accordance with these views."

June 2nd.

ite, 1875.

Debate on amendment of Act of 1870 so far as it relates to the Ulster custom.

March 29, *Hansard*, ccxxviii. 771 Sq.

Debate on Bill of Mr. Butt on Land Tenure (Ireland). The basis of the Bill was the "three F's."

LORD ELCHO.

March 29, 1876. 804.

ite, 1876.

Quotation from speech of the O'Connor Don in which he declined to support this Bill.

THE O'DONOGHUE.

March 29. 810.

Deprecates the idea that the Irish landlords are at all tyrannical.

RIGHT HON. HUGH LAW, M.P.

June 29, 1876. *Hansard*, ccxxx. 624. *Adjourned Debate.*

630. Opposed to Fixity of Tenure. Fixity of T nure.

631. Subdivision of farms injurious. This would be encouraged by Fixity of Tenure.

632. Further objections to Fixity of Tenure.

633. "I will not adopt as my own the forcible language of 'Philocelt,' a well-known Irish writer, in reference to 'Fixity of Tenure,' which, he said, would 'smite Ireland as with a curse;' but I do very much fear that under the stereotyped, perhaps I might even say paralyzing system, that these proposals would force upon us, the last state of poor Ireland, would, in respect of agriculture at least, be worse than the first." Absenteeism undesirable, and would be increased by this measure.

634. Valuation of rents mischievous. Fixity of Tenure and valuation of rent would tend to prevent competition for land, and so prevent Irish labourers from ever becoming farmers. Competition desirable; attempts to check it futile and impolitic. Valued Rent

635. Capricious eviction has been almost wholly stopped by the penalties imposed by the Act of 1870. Eviction.

636. Evictions by landlords in 1875, &c., for other causes than non-payment of rent about 1 in every 2,000 holdings. Average of decrees to tenants in 222 cases was £87.

637. Largest number of land cases by far arose in Ulster; proportion for the provinces for every 10,000 holdings above an acre being, Ulster 39, Leinster 6, Connaught 5, Munster 4.

Bishop of Cloyne in 1865 called Fixity of Tenure an "exaggerated claim."

THE O'CONOR DON.

June 29, 1876. 674 Sq. 29.

Opposed to the Bill as monstrously unfair.

MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON.

June 29, 1876. 702 Sq.

704. Speech of Mr. Law had expressed his views.

705. This Bill would tend to increase middlemen, a bad system.

706. He could not see how either now or in future the Irish could benefit by any legislation interfering with competition for and price of land.

Debate on Proposed Inquiry into Land Bill of 1870.

RIGHT HON. G. SHAW-LEFEVRE, M.P. Debate, 187

April 27, 1877. *Hansard* ccxxxiv.

62. Land Act of 1870 had benefited both landlords and tenants Fixity of T nure.

63. "The time had not arrived, nor was it near, when it would be possible to review the working of the Act, nor would the House, Valued Rent

within any reasonable period, accede to either Fixity of Tenure or rents fixed by independent valuers."

He was obliged to vote against the motion, because—

64. "It was directly in conflict with the ideas of English members with regard to property and because he had propounded doctrines which it was practically impossible should be adopted by an English House of Commons."

MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON.

April 27, 1877.

lued Rent.

97. Could not vote for motion because of principles it embodied. It meant valued rents, "and a principle which involved valued rents appeared to him to conflict altogether with the freedom of contract." The Land Act was not intended to upset the ordinary relations of landlord and tenant. "He was not convinced that the prosperity of Ireland would be advanced or improved by the adoption of an altogether new and untried system, instead of that which had been found to work, on the whole, in a satisfactory manner."

98. "He should be adverse to an enquiry if it were supposed by the people of Ireland that it was intended to be a prelude to legislation or new principles for the purpose of establishing Fixity of Tenure and the valuation of rents."

Land Tenure (Ireland) Bill.

bate, 1878.

THE O'CONOR DON.

Feb. 6, 1878. *Hansard*, ccxxxvii. 1187 Sq.

Opposed to Bill as tending to confusion. Majority of landlords good. On the large and long settled estates in Ireland the rent was often lower than the economical rent.

eedom of Con-ct.

He was in favour of leaving terms and contract and all agreements in land perfectly free. *For his alternative scheme*, see 1192 Sq.

N.B.—There were in this year several debates on various points connected with the tenure of land in Ireland, but on none of them, with the exception noted above, was any speech delivered by those members whose opinion was desired in this index.

Hansard, ccxlvi, 346.

Long debate on Irish Land Bill moved by Mr. Shaw. No speeches made by prominent Liberals. Motion rejected on proposition of Sir S. Waterlow.—Division list No. 93.

May 20, 1879. *Hansard*, ccxvvi. 795.

bate, 1879.

Bill on Tenant Right (Ireland) Bill introduced in the House of Lords by Lord Belmore.

DUKE OF ARGYLL.

807. Opposed by Duke of Argyll as rendered unnecessary by Land Bill of 1870.

THE

DEFENCE OF PROPERTY IN IRELAND.

MANSION HOUSE FUND.

REPORTS

READ AT A MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE,

On November 7th, 1882.

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1882.

THE MANSION HOUSE FUND

FOR THE

DEFENCE OF PROPERTY IN IRELAND.

FOUNDED DECEMBER, 1881.

The Committee.

ALDERMAN SIR JOHN WHITTAKER ELLIS, BART. (LORD MAYOR 1881—2), *Chairman.*

THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT, K.G.
THE DUKE OF BEDFORD, K.G.
THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS, G.C.S.I.
THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, K.G.
THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER, K.G.
THE DUKE OF ABERCORN, K.G.
THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.
THE MARQUIS OF HEADFORT.
THE MARQUIS OF WATERFORD, K.P.
THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD, M.P.
THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.
THE MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.
THE EARL FITZWILLIAM, K.G.
THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH.
THE EARL OF YARBOROUGH.
THE EARL OF LISTOWEL, K.P.
THE EARL OF KILMOREY.
THE EARL OF FIFE, K.T.
THE EARL CAIRNS.
THE EARL OF COURTOWN.
LORD CLAUDE J. HAMILTON, M.P.
LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P.
LORD COLIN CAMPBELL, M.P.
LORD DE L'ISLE AND DUDLEY.
VISCOUNT CRANBROOK, G.C.S.I.
VISCOUNT POWERSCOURT, K.P.
VISCOUNT BURY, K.C.M.G.
VISCOUNT BARRINGTON.
VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE, M.P.
LORD ELCHO, M.P.
LORD DIGBY.
LORD SUFFIELD, K.C.B.
LORD PENZANCE.
LORD DUNSANY.
LORD COLVILLE OF CULROSS, K.T.
LORD DORCHESTER.
LORD AVELAND.
HON. E. DIGBY, M.P.
HON. E. CHANDOS LEIGH, Q.C.
HON. E. R. BOURKE.
HON. H. L. BOURKE.
HON. W. LE POER TRENCH.
HON. L. AGAR-ELLIS.
RIGHT HON. E. P. BOUVERIE.
RIGHT HON. G. CUBITT, M.P.
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. GREEN, K.C.S.I.
SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, BART., M.P.
SIR C. H. MILLS, BART., M.P.
MR. ALFRED DE ROTHSCHILD.
SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID, BART.
SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE, BART., M.P.
THE GOVERNOR OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND.
MR. HENRY HUCKS GIBBS.
SIR J. M'GAREL HOGG, BART., K.C.B., M.P.
SIR E. COLEBROOK, BART., M.P.
SIR H. FLETCHER, BART., M.P.
SIR GEORGE BOWYER, BART.
THE MAYOR OF SHEFFIELD.

The Committee—*continued.*

THE MAYOR OF SWANSEA.
MR. J. HUGHES, J.P. (EX-MAYOR OF LIVERPOOL).
THE LORD PROVOST OF GLASGOW.
ALDERMAN SIR R. W. CARDEN, M.P.
MR. ALDERMAN LAWRENCE, M.P.
ALDERMAN SIR B. S. PHILLIPS.
ALDERMAN SIR F. WYATT TRUSCOTT.
MR. ALDERMAN STAPLES.
ALDERMAN SIR R. HANSON.
SIR W. A. OGG.
SIR ERASMUS WILSON, F.R.S.
SIR G. H. CHAMBERS.
SIR H. W. TYLER, M.P.
SIR W. T. CHARLEY, Q.C.
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MR. HENRY CHAPLIN, M.P.
MR. F. J. S. FOLJAMBE, M.P.
MR. MARRIOTT, Q C., M.P.
MR. CHAS. MURRAY, M.P.
MR. E. HENEAGE, M.P.
MAJOR-GENERAL BURNABY, M.P.
MR. JOHN AIRD.
MR. A. M. KAVANAGH.
MR. C. T. LUCAS.
MR. T. LUCAS.
MR. F. A. LUCAS.
MR. J. M'MASTER.
MR. F. CHARSLEY.
MR. S. HOARE.
MR. F. M. HUTH.
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MR. WALTER MORRISON.
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MR. H. H. DOBREE.
MR. N. P. SIMES.
MR. E. EASTON.
CAPT. S. H. MAXWELL.

Bankers.

THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

Secretaries.

MR. W. J. SOULSBY, Mansion House.
MR. H. WRIGHT, Stafford House, St. James.

REPORT.

At a Meeting of the Committee held at the Mansion House on Tuesday, November 7th, 1882, the Lord Mayor (Sir J. Whittaker Ellis) presiding, the following reports from Capt. Somerset Maxwell, the Director of the Property Defence Association, and Mr. A. J. Dudgeon, the Hon. Sec. of the Emergency Committee, were read :—

Property Defence Association,
4, Henrietta Street, Dublin,
November 4th, 1882.

My Lord Mayor, my Lords, and Gentlemen,

I have the honour to submit for your consideration my Report of the work that has been carried on in Ireland by the Property Defence Association from the 1st January to the 31st October, 1882.

I have prepared for your information—

1st. A return which sets forth in numerical order every case of the 617 in which application for assistance has been received between the dates above mentioned, and shows the name of the applicant in each instance, the nature and date of application, and, finally, the manner in which each case was dealt with by the Association, and the ultimate result of its operations.

2nd. A statement showing the actual cost of each of the cases above alluded to, with a supplementary statement of the cost of those cases in which application was received previous to the 1st January, 1882, but which have been either partially or entirely carried out since that date.

3rd. An abstract of work done, by which it appears that since the 1st January last, 122 sales of farms, and 83 sales of

cattle have been attended by agents of the Association; 622 caretakers, 320 labourers, and 216 bailiffs have been supplied; and 257 writs served or posted.

This abstract also shows an amount of £38,702 17*s.* 6*d.* as having been realised in various ways, but I must ask you to bear in mind that this amount only represents the instances in which I have been able to procure accurate and reliable information as to the sum recovered at the time of sale or seizure, and contains no estimate, either of sums recovered in which no definite report as to the amount was received, or of those instances in which the recovery of a comparatively small amount at the time of action has been the signal for cessation of resistance, and consequent payment of rent throughout most probably a large district.

It would be impossible for the Association to carry out its undertakings with efficacy and expedition without the maintenance of a considerable number of agents and labourers, not only at headquarters, but also at different depôts throughout the country; by these means assistance can be rendered upon the shortest notice, and with that promptness which is in many cases essential to success; and further, each important district is placed under the care of a trusted agent, who is responsible for the welfare of the men, and for the proper performance of their duties.

The accompanying statement will show the number of those depôts with the cost of maintaining them.

The only other return I have considered it necessary to prepare is the balance sheet of the Association, showing the total amounts received from all sources from the 1st January to 31st October, 1882, and the expenditure classed under the different heads of office expenses, wages, &c., during the same period.

I will now pass on to the actual work done during the past ten months, and will explain, as briefly as possible, its general character, and the various conditions under which the assistance of the Association has been sought, selecting from each

class of cases one or two which I may consider either as typical of the majority, or as deserving notice for some special reason.

The cases the Association have had to deal with may be classed under five principal heads.

1st. Procuring sale for farm produce or other goods which, owing to the practice known as boycotting, their owners have been unable to dispose of locally.

2nd. Providing agents to attend at Sheriffs' sales of cattle, or the interest of tenants in their farms, which would have been abortive but for the presence of a bidder to force the tenants either to pay their lawful debts, or to see their property bought and carried away before their eyes.

3rd. Supplying caretakers for farms which the Land League had decreed should lie waste, and which, but for their presence, would either become a common, trespassed upon from all sides, or else be utilised by the evicted tenant, who, comfortably installed in a neighbour's house, or Land League hut, would graze his cattle, cut his corn, and set landlord, agent, and all the machinery of the law at defiance.

4th. Supplying labourers. In many instances individuals, for acting independently and refusing to obey the law of the Land League, have been placed under its ban, and have been unable to procure labourers to save their crops. The edict had gone forth that the latter should rot in the ground, and such is the terror inspired by the means used by the agents of the Land League to enforce their orders, that money would not procure men in the neighbourhood daring enough to disobey them.

The Property Defence Association is in a position, by supplying labourers at short notice in any part of Ireland, to checkmate the dishonest and lawless in their effort to starve others into submission to their commands, and to render harmless the once dreaded weapon of boycotting.

5th. Supplying bailiffs. Sheriffs and officers of the law would find it impossible to carry out their operations without the assistance of experienced and fearless men, such as the

Property Defence Association has at its disposal. Seizures of stock, crops, &c., had become an impossibility in many parts of the country owing to the combination that existed, and the rapidity with which stock, or even crops, could be removed upon the Sheriff's approach being heralded in the usual manner by the blowing of horns, ringing of bells, &c. Without men to assist him in the execution of his duties the Sheriff would have been an object of ridicule, and the arm of the law completely paralysed.

The first class of cases, viz., the disposal of boycotted goods, is one that has almost disappeared.

During the first year of the existence of the Association numerous applications were received for assistance to dispose of farm produce and other goods, such as butter, corn, fruit, &c., which, for the reasons alluded to above, their owners had been unable to sell at the local fairs and markets. Such was the organisation then existing in the country that immediately upon the cart, or stock, of a boycotted farmer appearing at a fair or market, the word was passed round, a watch set upon them, and not a man would be found daring enough to make an offer. I have even known instances where, after a bargain had been completed, the intending purchaser, upon receiving intimation that the seller was a boycotted man, precipitately withdrew and refused to pay the money or take the goods.

When, however, it became generally known that there was an Association in Dublin ready to assist farmers, or others who were unable to find local sale, and that through its assistance, the boycotted was enabled to procure higher prices in the Dublin markets than the boycotter could expect from the country dealers (which latter were then the only sufferers), the practice was deprived of most of its terrors, and is now but seldom resorted to. I have no hesitation in saying that this happy result is mainly due to the existence of organisations such as ours, and that were they to cease it would soon be found that one of the earliest lessons of the Land League is by no means forgotten.

The second class of cases, viz., the attendance of an agent at Sheriffs' sales, calls for no very particular comment.

A refractory tenant's chattels are seized under a writ of *fi. fa.*, and advertised for sale, which sale, in the absence of an agent of the Association, ends in the tenant returning *with* his goods and the landlord *without* his rent. As a rule, however, no sale is held without the presence of one of our agents, and the result is, in most cases, the surrender of the tenant and the vindication of the rights of property.

It may be worth mentioning that out of the eighty-three sales of cattle attended this year by our agents, in only five or six have the tenants allowed them to become the purchasers, thus showing that it was the will and not the ability that was wanting to pay their debts.

In the third class, viz., that of caretakers, we have at this moment 239 in our employment. They occupy evicted farms in parties of from two to six men, occasionally by one man, whose duty is to guard the lands from trespass, and keep the fences in repair. These duties are often most harassing, and attended with considerable danger. The men have occasionally been fired at, on two occasions the houses have been burnt over their heads, and at all times their duties are attended with no ordinary amount of privation and discomfort. I would call your special attention to three examples of this class of case, which have occurred during the current year.

On the 9th July, in the neighbourhood of Killarney, a caretaker in the employment of the Earl of Kenmare was shot, and the terror was so great that no one would go near the farm. Application was made to the Association, and upon the 21st July two men were sent down to the locality, where they still remain under police protection. Particulars of the outrage appeared in the newspapers and attracted much notice at the time, and the moral effect of the arrival of our caretakers, and their residence in such a district, is stated to be very considerable.

I will quote another case in this class, which will show in

the first place the valuable assistance the Association has been able, through the support received from your Lordship's Committee, to give to those in reduced circumstances, and in the second the demoralising effect the teaching of the Land League has upon the people of the country.

Mrs. Holmes, a widow lady, paid a head rent upon a farm at Ballymacshamboy, near Charleville, in the County Limerick, and had let it for years to a man named Conolly, who, at the time the agitation commenced, was a solvent man, but refused to pay his rent, though able to do so. He was accordingly evicted, but lived in a Land League hut erected upon the boundary of the farm, and defied any one to enter upon it. Mrs. Holmes applied for assistance in March last, and four men were sent down, but were obliged to return on account of the impossibility of procuring provisions or fuel. They were, however, sent out again in September, and are now in possession (special permission having been obtained from the Mansion House Committee that they should be supplied free of charge), and are herding the cattle which Mrs. Holmes has been enabled by their presence to place upon the farm. The defendant Conolly, who at the time of his eviction was a solvent man, has since taken to intemperate habits, and has nothing but the doctrines of the Land League to thank for having altered his position from that of a comfortable farmer to that of a drunken pauper.

The third instance which I think worthy of your notice is a case in which caretakers had been supplied free of charge to a widow named Mrs. Petty, who had been subjected to very considerable persecution at the hands of the Land League, and had thereby been reduced to pecuniary want, but was still willing and anxious to hold out against her assailants. Two caretakers were sent to Carrowkeel, within ten miles of Ennis, County Clare, upon the 1st August. Upon the 2nd September a mob assembled and fired the house; the men escaped with their lives, but every article which they had in their possession was burnt. Upon receipt of the intelligence

the Association sent down tradesmen, who repaired the damages done, putting on new roofs, doors, windows, &c., and the same two men, nothing daunted, again went into possession, and are carrying out their duties as caretakers at this moment.

In many cases (as, for instance, Case 448, see detailed report) the tenants refuse to come to terms unless the caretakers appear upon the scene; but when they find that they are actually in possession, and intend to remain there, they come to their senses, and their debts are paid.

In the fourth class, *i.e.*, that of labourers, I would draw your attention to Case No. 513, in which the Court of Bankruptcy found itself boycotted, and was compelled to apply to the Property Defence Association for assistance in cutting and saving 100 acres of meadow at Ballyvodock, County Wexford.

Eleven men with four horses and all the machinery necessary for haymaking were accordingly despatched upon the 29th August, and the work has progressed most satisfactorily, about 280 tons of hay having been saved. The detailed report will show several other cases of a similar nature, in all of which application has been made to the Association on account of the order of the Land League having gone forth that the crops should rot in the ground.

I now come to the fifth and last class of cases which have been dealt with, in which the operation of the Association has had most striking results, and in which their efforts have been attended with the most unqualified success.

The organisation and carrying out of seizures under Sheriffs' warrants is an undertaking which, in the present state of the country, is one that requires courage and skill of no ordinary kind.

The best illustration of this will be to give a brief account of some work which was most successfully accomplished. When a tenant knows that a writ of *fi. fa.* is out against him for rent, he and all his neighbours are on the look-out

for the slightest indication that the Sheriff or his deputy mean to put the law in force and to seize his property; should any one known to be in communication with the landlord, agent, or Sheriff be seen in the vicinity of his farm, the word is passed round, and upon the slightest sign of anything partaking of the nature of an expedition, or party of bailiffs, the stock are driven off the lands, and removed to some neighbour's farm (whose occupier is perfectly prepared to swear they are his), where they are kept until the baffled Sheriff with his accompanying escort have returned from their bootless errand, and the exulting tenant keeps his rent in his pocket, and in triumph drives his cattle back upon his farm.

All this was known to, and taken into consideration by, Mr. Gibson, the agent of the Association to whom was entrusted the conduct of (Mr. Percival's) Case No. 415. Major Tanner, the agent of the estate, had received a special warrant from the Sheriff, and was to act for him on the occasion, and with Mr. Gibson planned the expedition.

No one in connection with landlord, agent, or Sheriff was seen in the neighbourhood for some days previous, but at two on the morning of the 31st August, Major Tanner, accompanied by Mr. Gibson, arrived upon the lands, where they were joined in about a quarter of an hour by fifteen men, who dropped in one by one, having proceeded according to order from the different stations through the country where they were acting as caretakers, one man being withdrawn from each post for the time being.

The party then proceeded to surround the cattle in the fields, and to guard every outlet by which they could be driven away should the tidings arrive of the approach of the military and police, who were timed to arrive at four A.M. They then collected the outlying stock and drove them into the field which was their base of operations, so that, on the arrival of the protection party, they were ready for an immediate start, which was accordingly made, and every head

of cattle seized was safely lodged in the pound before their owners knew that they were off their lands.

The immediate result of this stroke was the recovery of £184 19*s.* 7*d.*, and the effect which it has produced in the neighbourhood is most remarkable. One of the worst districts in Tipperary is now peaceable, and the tenants having been thoroughly out-manœuvred and beaten are disposed to show a more friendly spirit towards the agent of the property and the *employés* of the Property Defence Association.

In addition to the above case, Mr. Gibson has been successful in carrying out other seizures in the same county, and equally satisfactory results have attended the efforts of Mr. Spunner, another agent, who is in charge of the depôt at New Pallas, County Limerick.

Case 557 may require some explanation.

The plaintiff was a lady named Russell, and the defendant a market gardener near Limerick, who, being a leading member of the Land League, had refused to pay his rent. His chattels were seized, and a considerable number of plants, &c., bought by the lady, which the tenant defied her to remove. She accordingly applied to the Association, who sent men, horses, and carts, removed the purchased goods, packed them in the train for Dublin, and left the dupe of the Land League lamenting the folly which had induced him to allow property to the value of £80 to be sold for £10.

The above few examples, selected from out the great number of cases we have been engaged in carrying out, will, I trust, be sufficient to satisfy you of the valuable work the Association has been, and is, doing in the cause of law and order in Ireland. The continued, I may almost say unvarying, success which has attended its movements has created for it a certain prestige which has had the effect of making its opponents more and more unwilling to come to a trial of strength with it. In every case where such has been attempted the cause of law and order has come off victorious, and the fiercer the struggle the more important the victory.

The necessity for the continuance of the Association is evident to all who are acquainted with the true state of affairs in Ireland, and are anxious to see her freed from those evil influences which during the last three years have been crippling her resources, demoralising her people, and paralysing her trade. Much of the power to harm has been removed through the existence of such institutions as ours, but the will remains, and were those institutions to disappear, I have no doubt but that boycotting and resistance to the law would revive with redoubled vigour.

The sums which, owing to the energy, ability, and public spirit shown by your Lordship and your Committee, have been so generously subscribed by the English people, have enabled our Association to give assistance upon a much larger and more liberal scale than we otherwise should have been in a position to do, and, furthermore, have shown the disaffected and disloyal that our proceedings have been stamped with the mark of approval by a large section of the English nation, and by the chief magistrate of the richest and most powerful city in the world.

In conclusion, on my own behalf, as well as on that of the loyal people of Ireland with whom I have come in contact, I beg to assure your Lordship and the members of the Mansion House Committee that the sympathy you have shown with our cause, and the noble efforts you have made on our behalf, will make your name, already justly celebrated for acts of benevolence and philanthropy, remembered with gratitude by those for whose assistance you established a fund for the Defence of Property in Ireland.

Your obedient Servant,

SOMERSET H. MAXWELL,

Director, Property Defence Association.

OFFICE OF THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE,

49, YORK STREET, DUBLIN,

4th November, 1882.

MY LORD MAYOR, MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN,

Since details of the operations of the Emergency Committee have from time to time appeared in the public papers it is only intended in this Report to give particulars of the work done by the Committee during the period which has elapsed since the formation of the "London Mansion House Committee," while also giving a brief outline of the work previously done.

It may perhaps be well to mention that the "Emergency Committee" is in connection with the Loyal Orange Institution of Ireland, and that it has received valuable pecuniary aid from the members of the Society throughout the United Kingdom, as also those in Australia and New Zealand.

In the month of October, 1880, when murders and outrages to person and property were of daily occurrence in the South and West of Ireland, and persons were unable by reason of intimidation and violence to enforce their legal rights, the Central Committee of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland (which is composed of representatives from the various counties) resolved that steps should be taken to extend aid to those of Her Majesty's loyal subjects in Ireland who were suffering persecution at the hands of the illegal conspiracy known as the Land League.

In taking this action it was considered that a Society organised like the Orange Society, and possessing great influence with the loyal portion of the labouring and operative classes in the North of Ireland, offered peculiar advantages for opposing the designs of an Association like the Land League.

Accordingly on the 19th day of October, 1880, a Committee was formed, and at the half-yearly meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland on the 2nd day of December, 1880,

the action of the Central Committee was approved of, and an enlarged Committee was formed under the name of the "Emergency Committee."

The date of the establishment of the "Emergency Committee" is therefore the 19th day of October, 1880, and since that date to the 1st of November instant the Committee have held one hundred and forty-five meetings. The Committee was not formed for the protection of any particular class, but solely in the interests of law and order generally, and it is worthy of remark that the majority of its members are not landed proprietors.

At first the efforts of the Committee were mainly directed towards affording the means of self-defence to loyal subjects of Her Majesty in districts where, by reason of their numbers being few, they were exposed to great danger, and in organising the members of the Orange Institution so as to enable them to assist the authorities and defend themselves in the event of any disturbance of a serious character taking place.

The Committee are aware that their action in this matter had the effect of giving confidence to many loyal subjects of Her Majesty in disturbed districts and preventing outrages, as the fact of arms having been distributed became known to the disaffected, and deterred them from attacking dwelling-houses and committing other acts of violence.

The first relief expedition despatched to the aid of a "boycotted" person was on the 11th day of January, 1881, when the Committee sent farm labourers to the assistance of Colonel O'Callaghan, D.L., County Clare. After this numerous parties of men were sent to different districts in Ireland to the assistance of persons whose labourers had deserted them in obedience to the mandate of the Land League.

During the spring and summer of 1881 the Committee had upwards of 300 labourers, all from the loyal province of Ulster, working on "boycotted" estates and farms in nineteen different counties in Ireland.

The local process-servers being either in the pay of the

Land League, or having been intimidated by that body, refused to serve the writs of Her Majesty's Courts in cases where same had been issued for rent, and accordingly to meet this difficulty the Committee supplied men to serve such documents, and under military and police protection upwards of one thousand writs were served by agents of the Committee from its establishment up to the 1st day of December, 1881.

After writs had been served and judgments obtained the next obstruction adopted by the Land League was to prevent the plaintiffs in the several cases recovering the amount due to them by "boycotting" the sale of the defendants' cattle or farms when put up for auction by the Sheriff.

To counteract this the Committee sent persons (in almost every case gentlemen who volunteered their services) to attend at such sales, often at very great personal risk, whose instructions were to bid for the property offered for sale and thus prevent the proceedings being rendered abortive. The first of these sales which was attended by a representative of the Committee took place at Dungarvan on the 14th day of February, 1881, when, notwithstanding the presence of a large mob, the full amount due was realised for the plaintiff, Count de la Poer, a Roman Catholic gentleman of property in the County Waterford.

From that date down to the 1st of December last numerous sales in different parts of the country were attended by representatives of the Committee.

It is estimated that by the attendance at such sales of agents of the Committee, and by their action in supplying labourers, upwards of £60,000 was secured for landowners and other law-abiding subjects of Her Majesty; but owing to the Committee not having an accurate account of the value of the crops saved, and the fact that in numerous cases where farms had been purchased by the representatives of the Committee settlements were subsequently arrived at between the parties, it is impossible to fix, except approximately, the amount realised by the exertions of the Committee.

In addition to this, where possession had been recovered of farms, it became necessary, owing to the action of the Land League in locating the late tenants in proximity to their farms for the double purpose of intimidating others from taking the holdings and making use of them by grazing, &c., for the Committee to provide caretakers to remain in charge of the farms.

A large number of men were accordingly supplied to act as caretakers. These men, owing to the necessity for their being conversant with the use of firearms, were mainly composed of pensioners from Her Majesty's military and naval forces, and Royal Irish Constabulary or Army Reserve men, and they had to be armed and equipped by the Committee and conveyed with their baggage to distant parts of the country at very great expense.

The total sum received by the Committee from its formation up to the 30th of November, 1881, amounted to £9,176 0*s*. 10*d*., which included £2,850 8*s*. received from Orange Lodges in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and up to that date £8,980 17*s*. had been expended by the Committee.

The work done by the Committee from the 1st of December, 1881, up to the 1st of November instant, appears by the following abstract :—

ABSTRACT OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FROM THE 1ST DAY OF DECEMBER, 1881, TO THE 1ST DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1882.

Number of caretakers supplied to hold possession of vacant farms...		158
Number of men supplied to assist Sheriffs in executing works of *fi. fa.* or possession, or to make seizures of stock under Special Warrants		29
Number of labourers supplied to cut and save crops on boycotted farms		86
Number of cases in which Sheriffs' sales of stock or farms were attended by agents of the Committee		420
Cash realised by the attendance of such agents at the aforesaid sales, together with amount realised by sale of cattle seized by bailiffs in the employment of the Committee under Special Warrants	£17,977 10*s*. 10*d*.	
Number of farms purchased in trust for landowners		147
Writs of Summons for the recovery of land or rent, and Notices of Sale of holdings under the Land Act, served or posted by persons in the employment of the Committee		833

The caretakers supplied during the period mentioned were located in the Counties of Clare, Cork, Dublin, Galway, Kerry, King's County, Limerick, Longford, Louth, Mayo, Queen's County, Tipperary, Westmeath, Wexford, and Wicklow, on the properties of Lords Hawarden, Lismore, Mount Temple, Guillamore, Kilmaine, and Egmont, the Hon. Col. C. W. White, the Hon. R. J. Hancock, the Hon. Judge Townshend, Mr. R. Ferguson, Q.C., Mr. Henry Owen Lewis, D.L., Mr. R. J. Biron, Mr. W. K. Marshall, J.P., Mr. J. C. Brady, J.P., Mr. W. Potts, J.P., Mr. Henry Westrop, J.P., Mr. R. G. E. Mooney, D.L., Mr. John Neville Bagot, J.P., Mr. Walter Seymour, J.P., and a large number of other landed proprietors whose tenants had adhered to the "No Rent" manifesto.

The supplying of men by the Committee to assist Sheriffs in carrying out writs and to act as bailiffs under special warrants has resulted in the process of the law being carried out promptly.

A very considerable sum has been realised during the past few months by seizures of cattle (chiefly in the County Tipperary) by men in the employment of the Committee, acting under special warrants. Prior to the establishment of this system, defaulting tenants, so as to avoid their cattle being seized, were in the habit of removing their stock during the day to some neighbouring farm, and then replacing them at night when there was no danger of a visit from the Sheriff, and in this way seizures of cattle were seldom made.

To meet this difficulty the Committee advised applications to Sheriffs for special warrants, to be executed by men in the employment of the Committee. These seizures, which are usually made under military and police protection, take place generally about daybreak, and the dread of such visits has caused many tenants to pay when judgment was marked against them. The first of these seizures was effected at a place called Glengoole, near Newbirmingham, in the County

Tipperary, at three o'clock on the morning of the 15th day of March last, and since that date numerous other seizures have been successfully carried out by men in the employment of the Committee.

From the 1st of December last up to the 1st of November instant the total amount received by the Committee from all sources was £5,759 13*s.* 4*d.*, and the work detailed in the foregoing abstract has been carried out at an expense of £5,452 10*s.* 9*d.*

In the receipts is included a sum of £985, being the amount granted from the funds of the "Mansion House Committee" to aid the Committee in affording assistance in several pressing cases, and to purchase farming implements. The following account shows the cases in which grants were made, and the amount expended by the Committee :—

No.	Name of Case.	Amount of Grant.	Amount Expended by Committee.	Amount Expended in Excess of Grant.	Balance in Hands of Committee to be Expended.	Observations.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
1	E. A. Neville	125 0 0	143 11 4	18 11 4	.....	
2	Ewd. Tipping	20 0 0	20 0 0	.....	.....	
3	— Freehill	20 0 0	.....	.....	20 0 0	The landlord has requested the caretakers not be sent at present.
4	Dean West	70 0 0	91 17 6	21 17 6	.....	
5	— Ball	40 0 0	.....	.....	40 0 0	This grant was made to provide men to protect the caretakers; but the Police have not yet been withdrawn.
6	G. W. Cooper	60 0 0	25 0 0	.....	35 0 0	
7	Rev. E. Denny	50 0 0	142 2 10	92 2 10	.....	
8	Capt. Creagh	65 0 0	123 1 2	58 1 2	.....	
9	Mrs. Murray	50 0 0	86 10 10	36 10 10	.....	
10	Dr. Baldwin	70 0 0	135 5 3	65 5 3	.....	
11	N. Caldwell	90 0 0	128 19 6	38 19 6	.....	Richard Roache (late Sergt. 3rd Buffs), one of the caretakers in this case, was murdered on 17th April last, and the funeral expenses, and cost of bringing his remains to Dublin, were paid by the Committee.
12	H. O. Lewis	200 0 0	365 9 5	165 9 5	.....	
13	For purchase of machinery	125 0 0	127 0 0	2 0 0	.....	
		985 0 0	1388 17 10	498 17 10	95 0 0	

Besides this amount, a sum of £215 was paid by Mr. Kavanagh out of the "Mansion House Fund," for compressing a large quantity of hay on the estate of Dr. Twiss, at Birdhill, County Tipperary, which had been saved in the summer of last year by men in the employment of this Committee at very great expense. Dr. Twiss had been "boycotted" for instituting proceedings against his tenants, and it was felt that unless the hay was removed for sale to England the effect of the expedition would be lost.

Accordingly the Committee represented the matter to Mr. Kavanagh, who kindly defrayed the cost of having the hay compressed, and it was shipped and sold in Liverpool. The result of the removal of the hay has been that no attempt was made this year to "boycott" the meadows, and a much larger sum was realised by letting them than in former years. It is, perhaps, well to remark that the meadows were always let by auction to local farmers, and that the result of the hay being cut by the Committee and its removal to England was that those who had been accustomed to purchase it had to procure hay elsewhere at a largely-increased cost, hence the fact that "boycotting" was not resorted to this year. It is the belief of the Committee that had the hay remained on the ground and not been removed to England the meadows would again have been "boycotted," as the local Land Leaguers would have believed they could have compelled Dr. Twiss to let them have the hay at whatever price they chose to offer for it.

A salutary lesson has been taught in this case, and the Committee believe there will be no further "boycotting" in the locality in question.

It will be seen by the foregoing abstract of the operations of the Committee that they have been enabled, and that at comparatively small expense, to afford valuable aid to those who are endeavouring under great difficulties to assert their legal rights in Ireland, and the Committee confidently believe that to their action, in conjunction with that of the "Property

Defence Association," is to be attributed in a great measure the improvement which has taken place in the state of the country.

It is, perhaps, not known that the members of the Committee and its honorary officers give their time and services gratuitously, and that, with the exception of the staff of labourers, bailiffs, &c., the only paid persons connected with the Committee since its formation are two clerks in the office of the Committee, who receive the moderate salary of thirty shillings per week each.

Had the Committee established the system of having officials in receipt of large salaries they could not have achieved the great amount of success which has attended their efforts, as the funds placed at their disposal would have been thereby diminished.

From the fact that the Committee were in a position within a few hours to supply from the North of Ireland any number of men which might be required, they refrained from keeping a regular staff of men who would have to be paid whether at work or not, and only employed men when actually required, and in this way much unnecessary expense was avoided.

It will be seen that the total sum received by the Committee in subscriptions and otherwise, from its formation to the 1st of November instant, amounts to £14,935 14*s.* 2*d.*, and of this £3,146 19*s.* 1*d.* was subscribed by Orange Lodges in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Colonies. The amount subscribed by members of the Orange Society is rendered remarkable from the fact that the greater portion of those who subscribed were not affected by the Land agitation, and the circumstance that of this sum £758 6*s.* 7*d.* was forwarded by Orangemen in the Colonies, whose only interest in the struggle going on in Ireland was their loyalty and attachment to the British Crown and Constitution, and their desire to enable the Committee to defeat the designs of the disaffected in Ireland.

The entire working expenses of the Committee, including printing, advertising, postage, telegrams, salaries to office assistants, &c., are under £1,500.

The members of the Committee, recognising that leading obligation of their loyal Order, which binds every Orangeman, "as far as in him lies, to assist the magistrates and civil authorities of these kingdoms in the lawful execution of their duties," have from the commencement given their services cheerfully and gratuitously to the great cause and important duty of resisting the designs of a lawless and unscrupulous conspiracy.

In concluding this brief sketch of their operations, the Committee wish to record their grateful sense of the courtesy and promptitude displayed by Mr. Kavanagh in entertaining and acknowledging their applications for aid, and of the interest in their proceedings which he has constantly evinced.

I have the honour to be

Your obedient Servant,

ATHOL J. DUDGEON,

Hon. Secretary, Emergency Committee.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Moved by Viscount Folkestone, M.P., seconded by Sir W. T. Charley, Q.C. (Common Serjeant), and carried :—

"That the reports of the Property Defence Association and the Emergency Committee be printed and circulated, with an appeal for further subscriptions in aid of the Mansion House Fund for the Defence of Property in Ireland."

2. Moved by Mr. J. D. Allcroft, seconded by Mr. Alderman Staples, and carried :—

"That having heard the very interesting and important statements of Mr. Kavanagh and Captain Maxwell, the Committee, believing that a continuance of its organisation in England is of material assistance to the Associations for the Defence of Property in Ireland, and to the maintenance of law and order, deems it inexpedient that it should dissolve, and that the present members of the Committee be requested to continue to act as heretofore."

3. Moved by Mr. Alderman Staples, seconded by Viscount Folkestone, M.P., and carried :—

"That Sir John Whittaker Ellis, Bart., be requested to continue his valuable services as Chairman of the Mansion House Committee, and that a desire be expressed to the incoming Lord Mayor that he will permit the Committee to hold their meetings at, and conduct their correspondence from, the Mansion House."

4. Moved by the Lord Mayor, seconded by Viscount Folkestone, M.P., and carried :—

"That the thanks of the Committee of the Mansion House Fund for the Defence of Property in Ireland are eminently due, and are hereby unanimously accorded to A. M'Murrough Kavanagh, Esq., J.P., who, upon the invitation of the Committee, and at much personal sacrifice of time and labour, undertook the very difficult and responsible position of Commissioner for the due application of the Fund to secure the very important ends for which it was raised. The loyal, fearless, and able manner in which these arduous duties have been performed by Mr. Kavanagh entitles him to the very hearty acknowledgments, not only of this Committee, but of all interested in the preservation of law and order, and the restoration of peace and prosperity in the sister kingdom.

"That this resolution be suitably emblazoned and framed, signed by the Lord Mayor, and presented to Mr. Kavanagh."

4. Moved by Sir W. T. Charley, Q.C., Common Serjeant, seconded by Mr. Alderman Staples, and carried :—

"That the best thanks of this Committee be conveyed to Captain Somerset Maxwell, the Director, and the other officers of the Property Defence Association, and those of the Emergency Committee for the able and zealous manner in which they have carried out their very arduous and dangerous work in protecting property in Ireland, and the Committee congratulates the public on the successful way in which the preservation of law and order has been conducted in the various cases in which the Association have acted by the able officers to whom the work was entrusted."

5. Moved by the Earl of Courtown, seconded by Mr. A. M. Kavanagh, and carried :—

"That the most cordial thanks of the Committee of the Mansion House Fund for the Defence of Property in Ireland

be accorded the Right Hon. Sir John Whittaker Ellis, Bart., Lord Mayor, for having originated and carried out an organisation which has proved most efficient and successful for the objects for which it was promoted; and for the judgment, ability, and unwearying diligence which he has devoted to it, amid the many other objects connected with his high office."

(Signed) WILLIAM J. SOULSBY,
HENRY WRIGHT,
Secretaries.

Dublin Express
Saturday

THE LAND ACT.

BY

SIR EDWARD SULLIVAN, BART.

It is related that one day Southey, overflowing with excitement, was describing how every minute of his time was occupied by various pursuits of business and pleasure, when a Quaker, who had been listening, asked quietly, "Friend Southey, when dost thou think?" Perhaps the Ministers more immediately responsible for the present condition of Ireland would rather not think just now; but let them be of good cheer! Physiologists assure us that the thoughts of "superior persons" are always self-laudatory. Certainly one might suppose their thoughts are not very much to be envied; they are somewhat in the foolish position of the man who, having with great trouble led his horse to the water, can't make him drink. He finds that "force is no remedy," nor persuasion either. The Government has sacrificed some of the most sacred principles of political economy in order to concoct an Irish policy, and now they find it necessary to sacrifice liberty itself in order to give it effect! Like an actor who feels himself unsuccessful in a part he has taken a great deal of trouble to play well, they are painfully sensitive to adverse criticisms. If they think they detect a hiss in any part of the house they turn to it with fury.

Lord Carlingford is angered by what he considers the unnecessary cries of those who find themselves more than half ruined by the operations of the Land Act; but surely he can hardly expect the poor hens whose nests have already been robbed, or those who are awaiting a similar fate, to make no sign. "Qu'on laisse crier les poules dont on a besoin de manger les œufs," said the great Maréchal de Saxe, when he heard that some pillaged citizens were making louder complaints than

usual; in other words, "Let the poor hens cackle, if it is any comfort to them." But Lord Carlingford will not let them cackle; he considers it a reflection on "the most beneficent legislation of this or any other age."

Lord Carlingford assumes that it is too early a day to predict the eventual working of the Land Act. So it may be; but it can scarcely be argued it is too early a day for those already ruined by it to say something on the subject. If the public are unusually anxious about the working of the Land Act it is not very surprising. When we see a doctor dosing his patient at random with violent and antagonistic remedies, in entire defiance of all the tried and approved rules of the pharmacopeia, when the assurance that strong measures are no remedy is immediately followed by the administration of a dose of unequalled severity, it is only natural we should open our eyes wide at the new revelation, and watch the condition of the patient with anxiety.

The legislation applied to Ireland is so complete a reversal of all the principles hitherto held to be indispensable by all responsible Governments that it appears impossible to reason upon it. Success of course justifies everything; but nothing but success, absolute, complete success, can be the excuse for suspending the rights of property, the right of free contract, the imprisonment of Members of Parliament and 200 or 300 citizens without trial, the suppression of newspapers, and the employment of an army of 40,000 men.

The indifference with which the Irish people view the Land Act is no real measure of the extent of its failure. The Act that has failed to propitiate the Irish people is a very different Act to that explained by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons; it benefits the tenant at the expense of the landlord far more than the Act, as understood by the House of Commons, ever professed to do. Mr. Gladstone stated that the Act, if passed, was to be administered with the maximum of conciliation, and the minimum of confiscation; the Act is being administered with the maximum of confiscation, and the minimum of conciliation;

and if its failure has been complete in the latter form, what would it have been in the former?

We may be unjust, prejudiced, jaundiced, in saying the Act is a failure, but it cannot be considered unfair, now that it has been in operation some time, to compare the predictions of its promoters with the predictions of its opponents. The promoters of the Act predicted—(1) That it would not cause a general fall in rents. (2) That it would strengthen the position of the landlords. (3) That it would improve the quality of the tenantry. (4) That it would restore law and order. (5) That it would induce the tenants to purchase their holdings. The opponents of the Act predicted—(1) That it would cause a general fall in rents. (2) That it would make the position of the landowners untenable. (3) That it would in many cases perpetuate the tenancy of very bad tenants. (4) That it would not restore law and order. (5) That it would give the existing tenants such valuable holdings that they would have no inducement to buy. (6) That it would place a limit on the right of the landlord, but no limit on the right of the tenant. (7) That it would destroy all real proprietorship in the land. That it would belong neither to the landlord nor the tenant. (8) That it would indirectly make land dearer to rent than at present. (9) That it would benefit the present race of tenant farmers at the expense of other classes of the community. (10) That it would be a fortune to the lawyers.

Now I think my readers will not have much trouble in coming to the conclusion that the working of the Act so far has proved that in every case the predictions of the supporters of the Act were wrong, and in every case the predictions of the opponents of the Act were right. This, of course, does not prove that the Act itself is a failure; but it does prove clearly that if it succeeds it must be by some very different means from those predicted by its promoters.

If what we read of the sayings and doings of the sub-commissioners are true, they are an outrage on justice and an insult to common-sense; if the accounts are not true, the

Government ought authoritatively to disprove them; but they do nothing of the kind; they complacently assure us that the uniformity of their decisions, the invariable reduction of from 25 to 50 per cent., is proof positive of the necessity of the Act. But is this so? The sub-commissioners were nominated expressly for the purpose of reducing rents; at least if this was not the mission given them by Parliament, it is the mission they have assumed, and which one of their number announced, amid the loud cheers of the court, they "intended to carry out without fear and without favour." Judge Jeffery was nominated expressly to hang and quarter the rebels in the west, and he carried out his instructions to the letter, but I have never yet heard it argued that the number of those he left for execution was any evidence of the justice of his sentences.

Surely some very strange madness has come over the consciences of Englishmen during the last few months that they should allow fools to rush in where hitherto they had scarcely allowed angels to tread. If two years ago we had been told that throughout a large portion of Her Majesty's dominions the immemorial rights of every man to exercise the rights of property, to treat with his neighbour on the basis of free contract, were to cease, we should have laughed him to scorn. The conception even of a dozen briefless barristers, accompanied by tenant-farmers, and perhaps an ex-butcher or publican, scouring the country, and in the name of law and justice confiscating property right and left, absolutely according to their own fancy, would have appeared an impossible fiction; but not only has this fiction become fact, but it is hailed by a large number in the country as a "happy thought" for effecting the ruin of the land-owning class.

The position of the landowners of Ireland is indeed a hard one. To bear the injustice of the law is bad enough; to bear the injustice of those who administer it is still worse. "Je ne me plains pas de la justice," said a French litigant, who, having gained a verdict, found himself a ruined man, "elle est très equitable: je voudrais seulement que tous les officiers fussent d'honnêtes gens."

When Parliament says to the landlords of Ireland, "It is only simple justice that you shall return a quarter or half your income to your tenants," is it not in so many words saying to the landlords, "You have been robbing your tenants; you have been spending income that of right belonged to them; you must make restitution?" Take a case—10 or 20 years ago A bought property with a Government title, and kept on the existing tenants at the same rent; now, the same Government that gave A the title says to him, "You have no right to this rent; you must reduce it 25 per cent. or 50 per cent." Does not this mean that during the last 10 or 20 years A has been drawing from B rent he had no right to draw; and that, in exercising what he considered, and what up to this time everybody has considered, the rights of property he has been committing robbery? Does not this, I venture to ask, come very near an affirmation of the doctrine "Le propriété c'est le vol?"

Hitherto "land hunger" has been understood to mean a desire to remove your neighbour's landmark; a disposition to break the Tenth Commandment that it has usually been considered judicious to restrain by force. But Mr. Gladstone does not take this view of it; he recognises it as a regular disease; he diagnoses it with great care; expresses his sincere sympathy with those suffering from it; and then propounds the cure. Force, he tells us, is no remedy; the real and only remedy is that familiar one, "a hair of the dog that bit you," in other words, a slice of the land hungered after. The disease, Mr. Gladstone pointed out, was chronic, and, in order to bring it within the reach of his remedies, it was necessary that it should assume an acute form. The patient, therefore, was left very much to himself, in fact some think openly encouraged in his evil courses, till at last the acute form was reached; but here the skill of the physician failed him. The disease assumed an acute form certainly, but the form was so acute that instead of a hair of the dog being sufficient to effect a cure it required the whole skin; in other words, instead of a slice of land being sufficient the whole was demanded. Some

years ago a somewhat parallel incident occurred at St. Petersburg. A certain eminent personage had invented a fire extinctor, and was very anxious to try its effect. One evening a small fire broke out that could easily have been put out, say, with a watering-pot: but the authorities would not touch it till the great man arrived with his "extinctor." There was some delay, and at last when he did arrive the fire had gained such a head that his extinctor was useless, and there was an immense conflagration. Then of course there were recriminations without limit, one party saying, "If you had done your duty at the proper time you might have put out the fire with a watering-pot;" the other side pointing to the great conflagration and saying, "Listen to these fools; they ask us to put out the fire with a watering-pot."

I am quite aware that in the opinion of many it is as wicked to doubt the dispensations of Providence as it is to doubt the dispensations of Mr. Gladstone; but, as the dispensations of Providence are not always immediately evident, neither are those of Mr. Gladstone. Take a case:—A has a farm let to B, but B is idle, drunken perhaps, thriftless, has no capital, and a dozen children, and he cannot "live and thrive" at a rent that, compared with rents in England and Scotland, is very liberal. Well, A, who sees the value of his farm annually diminishing, would like to cultivate it himself or to let it to C, who has capital and no children, is sober, and intelligent, and thrifty, and can "live and thrive" on a rent that B cannot pay. It would appear better for the country, for the community, more in accordance with the rules of justice and common sense, that the land, neglected and going to ruin under B, should be well and profitably cultivated by the owner A, or that it should be let to a competent tenant C; but the Land Act says no. It says, to A, "You shall not cultivate your land yourself, you shall not let it to C, who has capital and energy to cultivate it; but you shall lower the rent to B 15 or 30 per cent., or, indeed, by such an amount as will enable him, drunken, idle, thriftless as he is, with no capital and ten children, to "live and thrive."

Now, is this an exaggerated case? Is it a solitary case? On the contrary, it is the law of Parliament as interpreted by Mr. Baldwin and his colleagues. "In determining the rent," said Mr. Baldwin, "we have not set up any standard of what the farming ought to be. We have taken the estate, tenants and all, as we have found them; we have carefully considered the capabilities of the land in the hands of the present tenants. To others the land may be more valuable if those tenants were removed; with any speculation on that point we have nothing to do." Take the following statement of the case of "Shanahar *v.* Denny," mentioned in the *Standard* of December 19:—"In this case the tenant holds 100 acres, principally pasture; he has not during 14 years drained a single acre. He has borrowed nearly £1000 from his friends; he has ten children, and is deeply involved; his rent, which was reduced from £75 to £55 when he took the farm, has been lowered by the commissioners to £44. In both these cases I made a private inspection of the holdings, and I can testify that Flanive's consists in the main of good, sweet pasture land; that much of Shanahan's is equally good; and nearly all would be extremely valuable if scored with a few simple stone drains. Facts like these invite comment"—indeed they do. A hundred Irish acres, equivalent to 150 statute acres, of good sweet pasture land, for £44 a year may indeed invite very curious comments from tenant farmers in less favoured districts of the United Kingdom.

I do not object to the argument "Force is no remedy." It may be true or it may not; but what I do object to, in common, I believe, with many others, is that those members of the Cabinet who have secured the ringing cheers of their countrymen for crying "Force is no remedy" should now, only a few months later, be soliciting the cheers of their countrymen for an exhibition of force that has no parallel in our history. A few years ago such an unblushing attempt to serve both God and Mammon, to keep office at any cost of consistency, would have been considered disgraceful. Now, alas! there is only one deadly sin in the political career, one act only that is

disgraceful, and that is breaking up the Party. Those Members of the Cabinet who find now that the cry "Force is no remedy" no longer pays would have their political dupes believe that the political problem has changed; but that is not so. The conditions of the problem are exactly the same as they were 12 months ago, the change is in the public mind; we must be thankful for small gifts; for the moment, at any rate, common sense has resumed its sway, and rebellion is met, as sooner or later it was evident to every man it must be met.

If the right of free contract is denied in one matter, how can it logically be maintained in any other? If the Government claims the right of fixing an arbitrary value of land for fifteen years, how can it refuse to fix an arbitrary value of the produce of the land from a similar period if urged to do so? Rack rents in Ireland, we were assured, were the exception, yet the Government made these exceptions the excuse for fixing the rents for all the land in the country. If the Government is to fix an arbitrary land rent, at which the idle, and poor, and improvident can "live and thrive," why not fix a house rent at which the poor and improvident can equally "live and thrive?" Why not fix a price for bread, and meat, and beer, and coals, and fish? If it is necessary and right that the Irish tenant shall be made independent of his landlord, why is it not necessary and right that the English operative shall be made independent of his grocer or his baker? Do we not know that the extent to which the food of the poorest classes is adulterated is frightful —that they never get the full advantage of the low cost of provisions, and do we not know that the poorer classes are compelled to submit to robbery and extortion that make their homes still more miserable, merely because they are in the hands of those from whom they are compelled to purchase the necessaries of life? Why should not they begin to cry aloud to be protected from their creditors; to be put in a position to "live and thrive" at their creditors' expense? It was argued that it was necessary to fix rents of land in Ireland because

competition had created an exaggerated value; and does not this apply to other commodities besides land? What is it that maintains the rack rents, the atrocious rack rents, of the dens and pig-styes in the slums of our great cities, but competition? If the land rents in Ireland are to be fixed because there is over competition for the farms, why should not the rents of the miserable lodgings in St. Giles' be fixed for a like reason? The wretched beings who pay the exorbitant rent of from 2s. to 3s. a week (a rent that would give them ten acres of land and a cottage in Ireland) for human styes, without even the most necessary provisions for decency and health, are evicted at a moment's notice, turned out into the streets, everything they possessed seized if they do not pay their rent to the moment. Are not they quite as deserving of pity and protection from rack-renting landlords as the Irish tenants who owe two or three years' rent, and, perhaps, do not always pay when they can? Ireland is not the only country where free contract stands in the way of the new "live-and-thrive" gospel, but it is known that to interfere with it generally would be to throw society into chaos.

Ministers and their organs are very angry with the Irish people because they are not enthusiastic in support of the Land Act. "We have piped to you, and you have not danced;" but why should they dance? The fact is, nearly four-fifths of the Irish people detect most serious dangers in the Land Act. It is not an Act to benefit the Irish nation. It is an Act to benefit a class, and that class by no means always the most deserving class in the country; but in benefiting this class it injures severely other classes on whom the prosperity of the country depends considerably more. The landowning class is fatally injured, but there is no mercy for them; but the large class of domestic servants, the class of labourers, of shopkeepers, and tradesmen also suffer seriously. The tenant class in Ireland probably number about 1,500,000 all told. They benefit by the Land Act; but the other 3,500,000 don't benefit at all; in fact, many suffer considerably. The Land Act interferes with

the natural laws of supply and demand in agricultural tenancies. It directly prevents the introduction of an improving class of tenants, and perpetuates the present do-nothing class in their holdings. This is a most serious matter. The best tenant farmers in England and Scotland are men who have made a little money in trade, or in carrying, or in shop-keeping, or in cattle dealing, or in some other way, and then take to farming; these are the men who would make the best tenant farmers in Ireland, but now they have less chance than ever of getting farms; the exorbitant tenant-rights, consequent on the diminution of rent, would ruin them before they began.

The great and evident object of reducing the rent of land is that it should be reduced to the whole nation, not to a particular class. The Land Act has created a privileged class of tenants at the expense of the rest of the community. The old tenant-right, that represented the property of the tenant in the improvements he had made, was a perfectly reasonable arrangement; the new tenant-right, consequent on the compulsory reduction of rent, is an abuse—an abuse of such magnitude as to threaten absolutely the transfer of land. It is a fact that in numberless cases the compulsory reduction of 30 or 50 per cent. has enabled tenants to demand, as tenant-rights, more than the fee-simple of their farms. The rent of the land is lowered from 25 to 50 per cent. to the present tenants, but to them only; any succeeding tenant will actually have to pay more for his land than the present tenants paid before the recent reduction. He will pay a lower rent to the landlord certainly, but he will pay such an additional sum for tenant-right that the total will be higher then ever. A, a present tenant, whose rent has been reduced from £30 to £20, will pay £10 a year less rent to his landlord, B; but if he parts with his tenant-right to C he will demand of him a capital sum, the interest of which will probably double the reduction of £10 rent to A. It is a fact, that, although rents have been lowered from 25 to 50 per cent. all round, the land will, to any new tenant, be dearer than ever.

It is the necessary condition of all progressive communities that the strong and the weak should be constantly changing places. When Æsop was asked by one of the wise men of Greece how Jupiter employed himself, he answered, "He abases the high and exalts the low"—in other words, he plays the game of see-saw with us poor mortals here below, forcing up one man and pulling down another, making the labourer a farmer here, the farmer a labourer there, and so on. But he cannot play this little game any more with Irish tenants. No more pulling down and raising up there! The idle apprentice will no longer make way for the industrious one. On the contrary, arrangements will be made, regardless of cost, to enable the idle apprentice to "live and thrive" on less work than ever. Henceforward, in Ireland, the natural selection of the fittest will give way to the compulsory preservation of the least worthy. The Irish farmer as a rule has neither capital, nor energy, nor ambition; he is content to live from hand to mouth. The minimum of steady work is his object; he is as complete a fatalist as the Turk; unless some God comes to his help he will let his wheel remain in the rut till it grows there. When he has a good season he sees in it an excuse for doing little work; when he has a bad season he makes it an excuse for doing no work at all. Is a minimum of steady work the condition on which the working classes of England, Scotland, America, France, Belgium, Germany, Holland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand live and thrive? What wisdom, statesmanship, common sense is there therefore in recognising it as the condition on which the working classes are to live and thrive in Ireland?

The history of the Land Act has proved one thing, that "the key of revolution is personal government." The very props of social order as we have hitherto understood the words, viz., the rights of property and freedom of contract, that no Constitutional Government could have abolished, have fallen like the walls of Jericho before the trumpet of an individual statesman. The dictation of Mr. Gladstone has done in six months in Ireland what no constitutional agitation could have

by English Radicals in favour of Irish interests meant a dozen words in favour of their own.

The English Radicals compelled the Irish landowners to give to the Irish tenants, but they gave nothing themselves. It was merely a display of that cheap Liberalism that consists in A compelling B to give something to C.

Now that the Act is law the Radicals have much the best of it. It has done, and will do, no good to the Irish people, but every clause of it is a weapon ready to the Radical hand for an onslaught on the class they detest.

We hear it said that the Cabinet will pause in face of the general ruin that is rapidly involving the landowning class in Ireland. Pause! Why should they pause? Why should Mr. Bright pause? Is he a man likely to pause when he sees the dream of his early life, the ambition of his maturer years, on the point of being realised? Not he. He has a chance of success now that he could never have foreseen, and which may never return. Mr. Gladstone's desertion of the broad road of national Liberalism for the narrow path of party Radicalism has given Mr. Bright an authority in his crusade he could never have got without it. He and his friends now feel that the fulness of time is come. They have only to use with energy the weapons put into their hands by their new ally, and the destruction of their enemy is only a matter of time.

I am one of those who think that the greatest danger to the future of the United Kingdom is the very limited number of landowners. Any tinkering of the land laws, therefore, that perpetuates and intensifies this danger is an act of legislative madness. But this is exactly what the Land Act does in Ireland. It makes the further subdivision of land almost impossible.

Ireland requires three distinct remedies, and of these the first is by far the most important. 1. A larger number of landowners. 2. An improved class of tenants. 3. Emigration from starvation districts. The introduction of the Land Act offered the opportunity of introducing all three;

the operation of the Land Act has unfortunately made all three impossible. It has closed the doors, absolutely, to the only remedies that can, in my opinion, save the country from impending ruin. Before Mr. Gladstone introduced his fatal Bill the landlords of Ireland were willing and anxious to sell at a fair price, and the tenants and general public were willing and anxious to purchase at a fair price. Wisdom would have assisted this movement, folly and vanity have completely stopped it. The landowners are as willing and as anxious to sell as ever—more so; but what tenant will buy? A year ago a transfer of property might have been made on a scale that would have changed the face of the country. Now that is impossible. What tenant will now buy his farm when already he has a lease of it at a rent that enables him to sell his tenant-right almost for the fee simple of the land? What outsider will buy the land now, when he has to take it without the rights of property, when, indeed, whatever rights remain are strictly settled on the tenant? When he sees before him the utter ruin that has come on those who, trusting to the assurance of the Government, purchased land under the Encumbered Estates Act? How can a new and improving class of tenants ever hope to get land whilst they have to pay the present monstrous exaggeration of tenant-right? What prospect is there of persuading the miserable population of the "starvation" districts of Ireland to seek more fruitful soils, now that their childish "land hunger" is gratified by a perpetual tenancy of their "pauper warrens?" The Irish Land Act in its present form is the most hasty, ill-considered, least statesman-like Act of legislation that has ever passed through Parliament; and it must fail, absolutely and completely. It must fail, because it deliberately cancels all the conditions that civilisation recognises as indispensable in the relations between man and man. Because it does for Ireland those things it ought not to do, and leaves undone those things it ought to do. Because it stops the sale of land and perpetuates pauper and embarrassed landowners. Because it bars the way

to new and improving tenants and perpetuates bad and indifferent ones. Because it stops emigration where emigration is the only remedy. Because it perpetuates a privileged class of tenants at the expense of the rest of the nation. Because it legislates for the people of Ireland as if they were children unable to take care of themselves, and imposes on them conditions of national life that are insulting and intolerable. Because the Irish nation see through the insincerity of the Radical vote. Because they know that the destruction of the class of landowners in England and Scotland was a much stronger inducement to them to vote the Bill than the good of Ireland. Because it poisons the national life, for no national life can be healthy in which the exercise of the right of property and of freedom of contract are forbidden. Because for a term of fifteen years it throws the whole land of Ireland into Chancery, during which time it will belong absolutely to no one, neither to landlord nor tenant, but rather more to the latter than the former.

I say deliberately that this Land Act of Mr. Gladstone, instead of strengthening the union between England and Ireland, supplies by far the strongest argument yet adduced for repealing it, because it proclaims openly that Ireland cannot exist in union with England under the conditions that are universally recognised as necessary to the progress and prosperity of civilised mankind. The Emperor Akbar used to say, "He never knew a man lose himself in a straight road." I ask any one who has watched the hesitating, vacillating, absolutely contradictory policy of those who have pretended to rule Ireland during the last two years, and who are still feeling their way like a blind man with a stick, whether it does not appear that we have left the straight road of common sense and national duty, and are fast losing ourselves in a labyrinth of experiments, expediency, and class legislation?

December 26, 1881.

London: Ranken and Co., Printers, Drury Court, St. Mary-le-Strand, W.C.

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USEFUL PREFACE

TO

THE IRISH LAND BILL.

REPRINTS FROM "THE ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE."

LONDON:
HARRISON AND SONS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

1881.

PREFACE TO THE IRISH LAND BILL.

JUDGMENTS FORGOTTEN.

SIR,—Cabinet Councils appear to be over for a time; and the members of the Government have retired to their several homes to indulge in Christmas cheer, content to know that the law of the land which they are appointed to administer and enforce is in complete abeyance in Ireland, while the law of the Irish Land League is in full, unquestioned, and unresisted force. Meantime they are supposed to be elaborating, not a measure for the vindication of law and order and the protection of life and property in Ireland, but some further measure of landlord spoliation, consequent upon the failure of the Act of 1870 to satisfy the Irish land-hunger. What form this further attempt at what is called remedial legislation will take outsiders have no means of knowing; but common rumour says a new Land Bill is being framed on the lines of the extension of the Ulster Custom to the whole of Ireland—fixity of tenure at fair, State-valued rents, and money advances to the tenants for the purchase of their holdings. It may, then, I think, be a help to the formation of sound public opinion upon these matters, and possibly useful to Ministers themselves, to recall the sayings of distinguished Liberal statesmen on Irish land legislation, and notably of the present Prime Minister in 1870, when carrying his Land Bill through the House of Commons.

I find, then, that in 1860 Lord Cardwell, when Irish Secretary in Lord Palmerston's Administration, thus expressed

himself when bringing in an Irish Land Bill: "If we cannot violate the law of property—if we cannot give what is called fixity of tenure, by which I understand the transferring the property from the landlord to the tenant—is there nothing we can do?" The measure to which these words were the prelude, and which subsequently became law, gave compensation for prospective improvements assented to by the landlords. In 1863 Lord Palmerston, when referring to this Act, said:—

How could a Government increase the prosperity of a country? By removing obstructions and securing life and property; the Government had done all that could be done to effect these objects. He protested against communistic views disguised under the term tenant-right. In his opinion owners and tenants ought to settle their own affairs themselves; and they were now at full liberty to do so. In the Act of 1860 the Government had gone as far as it was proper to go consistently with the principles of justice. They refuse to adopt that tenant-right which would transfer property from the owner to the occupier as a joint, or in some cases as a sole, owner.

In 1864, Lord Palmerston said, when speaking against a motion of Mr. Pope Hennessy's, which invited an expression of opinion on the part of the House of Commons against emigration:—

We are told that tenant-right would remedy the evils complained of, and that if we were to adopt a change in the law regarding landlord and tenant, instead of leaving that relation to be dealt with by bargains between man and man according to the plain and simple doctrine that should regulate transactions of that sort; if we would only pass some law which would impose an obligation on the landlord that, as I apprehend, would transfer a part of his property eventually to the tenant: that would form such an inducement as would prevent the Irish people from going to America. Now, all these remedies appear to me wide of the mark. It is a simple question of the law of level.

His last words on the Irish land question were spoken in 1865, and were as follows :—

I am sure that on reflection the Irish nation would not wish that to be done which would be pregnant with injustice. Now, if there be one thing more than another which a nation, in my opinion, is bound to respect and regard, it is the rights of property ; because upon those rights every man, however rich or however poor, must find it his interest to rest and to depend. And if laws are passed which infringe the rights of property, depend upon it that in the main those laws would be injurious to the nation in which they are passed, however tempting and apparent may be the advantage which for a time may be expected to arise from their operation. The honourable member (Mr. Maguire) said, as I understood him, that some tribunal should be created to determine as between landlord and tenant what changes—for I will not adopt the word improvements, for they may not be improvements—but what changes the tenant should make upon the landlord's property, and what should be the conditions of rent and period of occupation which the tenant should be liable to and have a right to with regard to the landlord. Now, it seems to me that an arrangement of that kind would violate the fundamental principles of justice.

Mr. Lowe, in 1864, when speaking in favour of emigration, said, *inter alia :* "There is nothing more fatal to the progress of agriculture and civilization generally than a compulsory partnership between two persons on the same land, such as we have here experience of in copyhold and tenures of that kind." He attributed the state of Ireland to "disorder, small tenancies, want of capital, climate."

Upon the subject of State advances to tenants for the purchase of their holdings, he thus expressed himself in 1868 :—

The State must of necessity be a harsh, unyielding landlord, acting on fixed principles. When you have a property and a tenant who will not pay rent you must evict : it is quite clear that the burning desire of these tenants of the Government

would be to get rid of the landlord. Having first withdrawn all the conservative influences in the country, you would in the next place give the strongest possible impulse to the desire for separation; because the tenant would think that by getting rid of his landlord—that is, the Imperial Government—he would be enabled to live like a gentleman for the remainder of his life.

There is much more, pregnant with wisdom, that might be quoted from Mr. Lowe's speeches on Ireland—more especially what he says about the sound principles of political economy being the oasis in Irish politics on which alone statesmen can safely take their stand; but I pass on to what (circumstanced as we now are, under the rule of the present Prime Minister) is of more moment—namely, the sayings of Mr. Gladstone in 1870 on fixity of tenure, State-valued rents, non-payment of rent, security for rent, the extension of the Ulster Custom, etc. The only difficulty I find in making a selection from his sayings is superabundant matter. On the second reading of the Land Bill, 1870, Mr. Gladstone said:—

I ask the House whether, during the four nights in this great arena of reason and discussion, any argument has been made by any English, Scotch, or Irish representative to show that fixity of tenure, to be applied as a means of securing justice and peace in Ireland, can for a moment abide its trial at the bar of reason. I wish to record the great fact that fixity of tenure has remained during four long nights' debate on the second reading of a Bill on land tenure in Ireland wholly unsustained by the slightest attempt at reasoning. Perpetuity of tenure is a phrase that I flatter myself is a little going out of fashion. If I have contributed anything towards disparaging it, I am not sorry.

He then described "fair rents" and "valuation rents" as "an old friend with a new face," and proceeded as follows:—

I am not prepared to admit that the tenant's just protection affords either an apology or a reason for endowing him with a joint property in the soil. I own I have not heard, and I

cannot conceive, what is to be said for the prospective power to reduce rents. Shall I really be told that it is for the interest of the Irish tenant bidding for a farm that the law should say to him: "Cast aside all prudence and foresight; go into the market and bid what you like; drive out of the field the provident man who will fulfil his engagements; bid right above him and induce the landlord to give you the farm; and the moment you have got it come forward, go to the public authority show that the rent is excessive, that you cannot pay it, and get it reduced?"

Mr. Gladstone then went on to say that "he could conceive nothing more calculated—first, to throw into confusion the whole economical arrangements of the country; secondly, to drive out all honest and solvent men; thirdly, to carry widespread demoralization through the whole of the Irish people—than that there should be an authority always existing ready to relieve them from the contracts they have deliberately entered into." "If," he added, "you undertake to fix the valuation of rents by public authority, you must likewise undertake to fix the whole conditions of every agricultural holding. There is no escape from that conclusion."

At another time, when speaking of perpetuity of tenure, Mr. Gladstone said:—

If perpetuity of tenure were good for Ireland it could not be very bad for England or Scotland. There are, indeed, peculiar features in the condition of Ireland that, in my judgment, justify and demand peculiar legislation; but I am aware of none of those features that could by any man be held to recommed perpetuity of tenure in Ireland that would not also be applicable to England and Scotland. If perpetuity of right is to be transferred from one class to another, that would not be a bit more or less expedient on this side of the water than on the other; and accordingly, in that view of the matter, this with which we have now to deal is not an Irish land question, but an United Kingdom land question. The Government sought stability, not perpetuity, of tenure.

In certain respects an even more remarkable protest against revolutionary expedients for settling the land system of Ireland was made by the great Lord Selborne, on the motion for the second reading of that measure. Sir Roundell Palmer was then, it will be remembered, an independent supporter of the Government, untrammelled by the restraints and uninfluenced by the necessities of office. His words therefore may be accepted as the conscientious and unbiassed utterances of an eminent Liberal lawyer and statesman on a subject to which he had voluntarily applied his mind.

After stating that he should endeavour to confine himself "as strictly as possible to questions of principle" in the observations which he was about to make, Sir Roundell Palmer said that "if the Government had yielded [in framing their Land Act] to the wild demands which were made with loud voices, but, he trusted, not really by the majority of the people in Ireland, they would have taken the most fatal course any Government could possibly have taken in a country like our own; a course of which no man could foretell what might have been the ultimate consequences." Of such "wild demands" Sir Roundell Palmer then spoke more in detail. He said:—

The only questions I am disposed to ask myself on the second reading are—first, whether this Bill preserves the rights of property substantially; and, next, whether you are likely to do any good by it? With regard to the first of these questions, I confess I could not myself have been induced to agree to any measure which seemed to me, upon the whole, to involve any serious and substantial departure from those great and necessary principles on which, as it appears to me, the rights of property rest. Some of the schemes which have been proposed with regard to Ireland do seem to me, I confess, to entirely ignore these principles. I shall not go into the argument on that subject, because that point was exhausted by the head of the Government when he spoke of fixity of tenure, which, in plain English, means taking away the property of one man and giving it to another. My right honourable friend said that, according to the principles of justice, if we transferred property in that

way, we must pay for it. No doubt we may take a man's property, but in that case we must compensate him for it. I prefer the doctrine of my Right Honourable friend the First Lord of the Treasury to the extreme proposition stated by the Secretary for Ireland, as held by Judge Longfield. It seems to me that the language quoted as that of Judge Longfield is somewhat dangerous in its extent. That learned judge appears to have said that those who bought the parliamentary titles granted under the Encumbered Estates Act could not complain of any subsequent legislation which dealt with landlords as a class, and not as private individuals. But that entirely depends on the nature of the legislation. An Act of general confiscation would, indeed, violate fundamental principles in all cases, and not only in the cases of persons having titles guaranteed by Parliament. But still I think it cannot be denied that it would be contrary to the special guarantee, as well as to general principles, if you destroyed in one session titles on the faith of which you had induced purchasers to invest their money in another. There is no doubt that there may be a kind of legislation which would be the grossest possible breach of faith; but it does not appear to me that there is anything in this Bill at variance with the universal principles of equity, except, perhaps, the third clause, which deals with estates not held under custom.

On the proposed extension of the Ulster Custom, Sir Roundell Palmer observed :—

With regard to legalizing the Ulster Custom, no one has suggested that there is any serious difficulty on that point; but when the Right Honourable Member for Liskeard (Mr. Horsman) said that the extension of the Ulster Custom to the rest of Ireland was open for our consideration, I must say that that does appear a manifest violation of the principles of justice, and to be impossible, if we mean to respect those principles. It is unquestionable that where the custom obtains and landlords and tenants act on it in their dealings with one another, in such a case it is a matter of honesty for the landlord to allow the tenant to have the benefit of the custom. But when you talk of extending that custom to other parts of Ireland, you speak of a change which would alter the terms which in those other parts

of Ireland have already been agreed on between landlord and tenant; and therefore, if you gave in such a case to the tenant the value of the custom existing elsewhere, you would be just taking so much from the landlord and giving it to the tenant.

With respect to two others of the three F's he went on to say :—

Another matter mentioned either by the mover or the seconder of the amendment was the scheme of giving what in substance would be fixity of tenure, with a periodical valuation of the land for the purpose of determining the rent. A scheme more full of objection, both as respects landlord and tenant, I cannot conceive. On the part of the landlord it is objectionable because you would take away from him his land; and on the part of the tenant it is likewise disadvantageous because his rent would be just as variable and uncertain as under the present tenure, and would be sure to be periodically raised in many cases in which a liberal landlord might otherwise allow it to continue unchanged. Under such a scheme you would have constantly brought in a judge or the State—and what could be worse than the interference of the State in a matter of that kind—to settle the terms of the holding, to value all the lands whenever the time of valuation came round—and there would be a continual conflict between landlord and tenant. The working of a somewhat similar system in India has been referred to; but I see in a pamphlet by Mr. George Campbell that he was against its introduction into Ireland because he foresaw that even in India it would not long work as a tolerable system.

On another point, now made a great deal of, Sir Roundell Palmer spoke as follows :—

I do not think we need trouble ourselves very much about the clauses for enabling people to acquire land. It seems to me that they are very unimportant; but I am quite willing that a little money should be so spent, and that the experiment should be tried upon the responsibility of the Government.

Of the general effect of Mr. Gladstone's Bill and the measures which he thought should accompany it, Sir Roundell Palmer said :—

I will say but a few words on the effect to be expected from the Bill. No man can expect that standing alone it will accomplish its object. No wise man who knows the history and character of the outrages that have disgraced the Ireland of the present day, can believe that those who are guilty of those outrages draw any just or equitable distinctions. Whether the evictions be for non-payment of rent or for any other cause, the evidence before the Devon Commission, and much later information which has reached me, and which I am sure I can trust, proves that those who have no regard for other men's lives are just as likely to use the violent methods to which they are accustomed where a landlord has done no wrong, and where an eviction has taken place for the most justifiable cause, as where it has been for the most arbitrary cause. That evidence proves that such ruffians not only draw no distinction between eviction for non-payment of rent and eviction for any other cause, but it proves that old claims, aye, and claims that have actually been amply compensated, are sometimes after the lapse of many years raked up, and raked up for purposes of the most horrible description. No wise man, therefore, will expect that this measure, standing alone, and recognizing, as it does recognize, the rights of both landlords and tenants, will of itself put an end to these outrages, or produce that peace and harmony which we all so much desire to see established in Ireland. . . . . It would be a mockery to talk of justice; it would be a mockery to talk of redressing wrongs, if you allowed the greatest wrongs to pass unredressed, if you allowed the rights which in this Bill are solemnly asserted to remain at the mercy of the secret assassin and of the bands of conspirators who can invoke him when they please. It would be an absolute mockery. Your Bill will not be worth the paper it is written on, if it is not followed up by measures sufficient to establish the authority of the law.

The Duke of Argyll.

And now to the recorded judgments of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Selborne we proceed to add the opinions of the Duke of

Argyll. It will be seen that, like his great colleagues, the Duke is (or was) entirely opposed to the Three F's. And his judgment was given—seven years after the Land Act of 1870—in "An Essay on the Commercial Principles applicable to Contracts for the Hire of Land." This is one of the Cobden Club Essays. On page 65 the Duke says :—

The demand for what is called "fair rents" is a demand that prices shall be cheapened by Act of Parliament in favour of the particular individuals who now hold farms in Ireland. The demand for "fixity of tenure" is a demand that all other Irishmen shall be prohibited from dealing with owners for these coveted possessions. The demand for the rights of "free sale" by the present holders is a demand that no part of these parliamentary privileges shall be passed on to any farmers coming after them.

Prophetically, on page 63, the Duke of Argyll tells us of—

Those Irish Home Rulers who . . . demand that all existing occupiers should be converted into copyholders; that is to say, that they should have "fixity of tenure," or, in other words, permanent possession against all competitors, and at rents which, as against themselves at least, are *not* to be determined by any reference to the market rate. But those who . . . condemn as monstrous the doctrine of the owner's rent being determined by market rates are the same persons who condemn quite as loudly any limit short of market rates being placed upon the occupier in realizing the very highest sum that can be obtained by competition for his "goodwill;" . . . in short, the demand is that Parliament shall prohibit the owner from getting the full price for his interest in the land, and shall at the same time specially license the tenant to realize for his own interest the fullest benefit of competition.

But even this legislation would do the Irish people no good, he says :—

Every new right given to the existing tenants will simply be sold by them when convenient to the very highest bidder. The whole benefit will be discounted in the market . . . .

In short, such an act of attainder against the present owners would only substitute in their stead a new set of owners far more exacting, because far more necessitous.

On page 65, again, the Duke of Argyll is thinking of Mr. Cobden, no doubt: for he says :—

Probably these fallacies (of protection) have never been exposed more nakedly than in the demands . . . . which are advanced by some Irish politicians. Prices are to be artificially cheapened to the present holders only in order that they may be artificially aggravated to all holders coming after them. Freedom of trade in the hire of farms is to be jealously guarded where it tells in favour of those now in possession, and to be jealously excluded where it tells against them. It is assumed that the general interests of the community are bound up in their holding on the lowest terms possible, and on everybody else, not *now* belonging to the fraternity, paying as high a premium as possible for the privilege of entering it.

It remains to be seen whether the Duke, and the Lord Chancellor, and the Prime Minister, either or all of them, will still maintain their opinions, or declare them erroneous—to their own great stultification. For men at their time of life, and with their pretensions, it must of course be a serious matter to admit that only a few years ago their judgment was all wrong on a question of economy.

FOREIGN LAND TENURES.

SIR,—In the early part of December last you kindly published a letter of mine, showing, I hope conclusively, by quotations from their speeches as recorded in Hansard, that the statesmen who undertook the reform of the Irish land laws—commencing with Lords Palmerston and Cardwell in 1860, and ending with Mr. Gladstone in 1870—had repudiated in the strongest language demands such as are now being made on behalf of the Irish tenant, and such as, strange to say, are endorsed by Lord

RIGHT OF OCCUPATION.—Ceases on expiration of written lease. No right to remain in occupation by continued payment of stipulated rent, or rent determined from time to time by legal tribunal or by agreement subject to arbitration. If left in undisturbed possession by landlord, tenant acquires *ipso facto* rights of tenant-holding, without written agreement, as above stated.

RENT.—Chiefly in money, though some leases stipulate additional payments in kind.

VALUATION.—Properties valued by Government land surveyors. Rent depends generally upon estimated value and productiveness. Lands belonging to charitable institutions habitually let to highest bidder. In densely peopled districts, where much competition, rents rise in proportion Custom exists similar to hanging gale in Ireland.

TERMINATION OF TENANCY.—If rent not paid, landlord in some cases can terminate lease, which gives power of raising rent if he thinks proper.

LANDLORD'S PREFERENCE OVER OTHER CREDITORS CONFERRED BY LAW.—In preference to any other creditor may seize crops of the year, as well as furniture and farming utensils of tenant to extent of three years' back rent, and even on account of rent not yet due. In last case, other creditors have right of reletting house or farm for remainder of lease, and make profit out of leases or rents, on condition of paying to proprietor balance due. Proprietor can seize furniture of house or farm if removed without his consent; may arrest proceeds of crop or farming implements to cover advances made for seeds on account of crop or for purchase of utensils.

EVICTIONS.—For non-payment of rent or other cause depends upon nature of lease. If *bail authentique* executed before notary, process summary; if tenant refuses to go, may be forcibly ejected. If lease privately signed, judgment by a competent tribunal must precede eviction; tenant may appeal, and have certain time to redeem. Where no lease, six months' notice required, and eviction must be preceded by judgment. Evictions, generally for non-payment of rent, by no means infrequent.

IMPROVEMENTS.—As regards buildings connected with farms, generally but not always executed by landlords. When im-

provements executed without consent of landlord (*e.g.*, new buildings or plantations), landlord can either purchase or compel restoration to original condition at tenant's expense without compensation, and exact damages for injury to property by reason thereof. When retained, tenant entitled to indemnity to extent of cost—not of actual value. If consent of landlord previously obtained, tenant may claim to be reimbursed cost; indemnities based on cost of construction and state of buildings at termination of lease. According to custom, which varies in each province, tenants giving up farms entitled to certain proportions of farms already sown and other advantages from incoming farmer. In some localities farmers have no right to any indemnity for improvements; in others, entitled to receive value of manures, seeds, and price of tillage; subsoil draining done by landlord, tenant paying 5 or 6 per cent. A general bank exists at Brussels for promotion of agriculture and public works, but does not make advances to tenants for improvements of their holdings. The creation of freeholds or tenancies by proprietors and the granting of leases have never been enforced by the Belgian Legislature. No person liable to be dispossessed of his property except on ground of public utility; tenants can only become proprietors as opportunities of purchase arise.

REPORT 1856.—"Too easy access to property not favourable to production—too large a proportion of profits of farmers being given to acquisition of land, farmers are prevented applying them to the improvement of the soil they already cultivate." 'There is no doubt that this tendency is one of the greatest obstacles to improvement in certain parts of our country, and that those of our provinces where all else being equal the appropriation of land on the part of the cultivator is of the slowest growth are also those in which the cultivation of the soil has attained the highest degree of development and perfection."

FRANCE.

LEASES.—Vary from one to thirty years, according to quantity of land, mode of cultivation, and custom of department. Either in writing or verbal. If no written contract, duration depends on custom. If dispute as to rent, arbitration and tribunals decide. If lease not registered, tribunals do not take cognizance

until it is. So long as tenant pays rent and fulfils conditions landlord cannot interfere with him. No law or custom can alter the contract. In case of "dommages par cas fortuits ou force majeure" he has right to demand reduction of rent. Tenant has right to sell interest in his farm unless lease forbids him so doing. Almost every lease stipulates that he shall neither sublet farm or sell interest without consent of landlord. Fixed rents or services which by custom might render tenant irremoveable are unknown.

RENT.—Generally a fixed amount in money. In some departments in kind—this gradually disappearing—payment in share of produce. "Métaire" system. The métayer in the Code Civil is called "colon partiaire." Generally gives one-half produce. Proprietor gives land; the métayer labour and cultivation; if either fail him, no compensation. System becoming less resorted to. Only exists in a few departments. Amount of rent entirely matter of arrangement between landlords and tenants. Farm may be put up to competition. As regards rent and sale of produce, no law, custom, or valuation regulates such transactions. Periods of payment vary according to locality; generally agreed upon in lease. Landlord cannot break a lease or alter rent while in force. Tribunals only can evict or annul. No special law regulates respective rights of landlords and tenants. They depend upon the "droit commun." If tenant does not pay rent, landlord can seize effects, and tribunal annul lease. Landlord has privilege over all property of tenant in such case.

EVICTIONS.—No special procedure—"droit commun" regulates. When tenant does not pay rent, summoned by proper authority within twenty-four hours. If upon this payment not made, if lease verbal, judge gives proper orders for seizure of all effects of tenant on or off the farm. If lease written, he can do this by virtue of it alone. Article 1244 empowers judge to use indulgences to tenants whom he may think hardly dealt with, and to grant them time of payment of rent. Evictions rare.

IMPROVEMENTS.—Proprietor generally constructs all buildings, and must maintain the farm "clos et ouvert." If tenant builds, does so at his own risk and peril. Can remove buildings at end of lease; only obliged to leave on farm what he found. Proprietor no right to buildings and improvements; tenant

bound to deliver farm in same condition he found it. Generally in practice an understanding between them respecting improvements. There is scarcely a question of enforcing or defining rights on either side. Reason for happy state—two-thirds of land cultivated by proprietors, and not by tenants; no creation of freeholds except by purchasing property; the creation of tenancies the result of mutual understanding; no law or legislative enactment to enforce the granting of leases; no limitation to proprietary rights, and consequently no compensation required. Tenants receive no assistance by law in their endeavours to become proprietors.

PRUSSIA.

Law of Landlord and Tenant.—Prussian law of contract developed from German common law under influence of civil law. Law of demises differs chiefly in presumption, according to object demised, whether house or land. A parol agreement is for one year at longest. Obligation under written contract varies according to rent. A demise of land for more than a year, if rent even below £7 10*s.*, must be in writing; if £30 or more, and if a whole estate, and not merely isolated fields, must be executed before a competent tribunal or public notary. As regards interpretation, presumption against lessor and in favour of lessee. Rent in money or kind. Lessor, apart from express covenants to contrary, responsible for all charges upon demised land; and, similarly, lessee has to pay the taxes. No leseee can sub-let without special permission of lessor, except where demise comprises several distinct kinds of agricultural industry, or several outlying fields. Compensation can only be claimed for improvements specially sanctioned by lessor, and lessee can in no case compel the acquiescence of lessor; but lessee entitled to compensation for improvements ordered by the Executive of the Crown. Also, if rights of lessor become extinguished and involve determination of lease, lessee entitled to full compensation for improvements and for unlapsed portion of lease—compensation found by distributing costs of improvements equally over whole term, and charging quota of each unexpired year. Cost of protecting demised property from damage can be claimed from lessor by lessee. Rent, apart from express

covenant to contrary, quarterly; arrears of two quarters give lessor right to give notice to determine lease. On other hand, if lessee, by circumstances beyond control, and not merely by personal disability, prevented for three months or more from benefiting by usufructuary right, can claim proportionate reduction of rent. If thus prevented for a year or more, no rent can be granted for that time. For arrears of rent or other demands, lessor has right of distress upon good and chattels of lessee found after determination of lease upon demised land. These rights extend to things of which lessee had, after alienation, only retained use during period of lease—to standing crops, as well as crops gathered in, and to live and dead stock; but these things must have belonged to lessee. Right of distress attaches to all goods and chattels from day of arrival on demised property. On other hand, lessee may withhold rent to satisfy claims for compensation. Contracts of demise can be tacitly prolonged from year to year. Where rotation of crops, such tacit prolongation only terminates at end of such period of rotation, according to local custom. In no case can notice be given except six months before end of agricultural year. Lessee must suffer determination of his lease whenever forced sale by law of the property takes place; can claim compensation from lessor's estates, with status of preference creditor of third class. Heirs of lessors only obliged to recognize leases for one full year or for customary agricultural period. For abuse and misuse, lessee subject to determination at any time. If lessor only tenant for life or term of years, successors not bound to recognize leases beyond one year, as above. In such case lessee, if fact of smaller estate of the lessor concealed from him, can claim compensation. For breach of covenant a contract of demise can be annulled. Lessee bound to maintain demised lands in good condition, and demised buildings in good repair. Repairs not rendered necessary by carelessness or want of foresight of himself or his agents, or requiring materials not found on the property, to be made by the lessor. Lessee cannot sell straw and other materials used in manure, and cannot diminish the cattle received with the land; but lessor must replace cattle killed by plague or other unusual misfortunes. With regard to sheep, lessee bears loss of first and third quarters, lessor of second and fourth. If cost of replacing cattle more than

estimated price in lease, lessor bound to pay difference. For breach of covenant or deterioration lease can be set aside by help of tribunal. Partial remission of rent can be claimed for failure of crop from external causes—such as frost, drought, hailstones, destruction by mice, locusts, flooding, and the like; also in cases of damages by fire and water.

EVICTION.—Even in cases of deterioration requires judicial sanction. Usual to give security of from one to two years' rent. The term of the lease usually eighteen or twenty-four years. Law favours rents part in money, part in kind. Tendency of law to protect tenant during the period of his course of agriculture; gives no right of compensation for unsanctioned improvements; and, finally, process of eviction rendered difficult of execution. Law entirely silent as to the erection of buildings.

UNITED STATES.

TENURE.—Tenancy created both by parol and written agreement—generally by the latter. Long terms not usual in leasing farm lands. Where no agreement, law declares tenant shall quit by notice; should he refuse, matter goes before competent tribunal. If rent payable half-yearly, three months' notice; if annually, six months' notice. Where no agreement as to time, presumption of law a lease for one year. Tenant no right to stay continuously in holding without landlord's consent. If tenant permitted to possess land without molestation for a month after expiration of lease, law presumes renewal of lease for one year, but no longer. Where lessee has qualified, temporary interest, assignable at will in absence of contrary agreement. Transferee takes land under previous conditions of transferor.

RENT.—Fixed by agreement. Money, shares, or produce. One-fourth or one-fifth crop as contracted generally. Amount usually regulated by competition. Money rents generally payable quarterly or half-yearly. No legal restriction on amount of rent fixed by agreement. Contract usually written. If both agree, continued year by year; if not, three to six months' notice. Condition inserted in contract. Terms of contract once made cannot be arbitrarily altered. If tenant remains on the land after expiration of lease, only liable for

amount of rent named in lease. Recovery of rent by common law process of distress by landlord—replevin by tenant. In Maryland property can be pursued for thirty days, and rent recovered by its sale, even if passed into other occupancy.

EVICTIONS.—Evictions, when leases forfeited by their own terms and conditions for non-payment of rent or other stipulated cause, by summary process before justice of peace, with right of jury, if over 20 dollars (£3). No special statutes enabling tenants to redeem.

REPAIRS.—Permanent, by landlord generally. Law recognizes no right in tenant to improvements except under covenant in his lease.

IMPROVEMENTS.—When buildings become part of real estate and property of landlord, improvement and fixtures made by tenant for purpose of trade and commerce removeable by him. Tenants no means of raising loans for improvement of farms from Government or by special law; must raise on personal credit, or that of friends, from neighbours or banks. Tenants receive no assistance by law, public credit, or otherwise, to become owners of their holdings. They are wholly dependent on their own exertions and personal credit in the matter of buying property. A very large portion of the farm lands owned by men who have in early life been tenants.

GREECE.

Law passed in 1836, conferring on each family of Hellenes right to purchase from the State, at public auction, thirty acres of land. For this purpose Government authorised to grant to head of each family credit on Treasury to amount of £71 8*s.* 7*d.*; this sum to be reimbursed in thirty-six years at 6 per cent. interest and sinking fund. All sums above this to be repaid in ten years, and interest at 8 per cent., if they exceeded £214 5*s.* 9*d.* In a financial point of view a complete failure. Purchasers unwilling or unable to meet engagements. On subject being again brought under discussion in 1855, new law passed remitting all arrears due up to that date. The measure proved as great a failure as the first; highly problematic whether State will ever recover large sums due. The original law, "Law of Dotation," long since in disuse. Bill submitted to Legislature

1864, to leave peasants in possession of present holdings, on condition of reimbursing to State price of land at moderate valuation. Nothing done down to 1870.

AN IRISH TENANT'S PRIVILEGES.

A tenant who voluntarily surrenders his farm receives full compensation for improvements executed by himself or his predecessors.

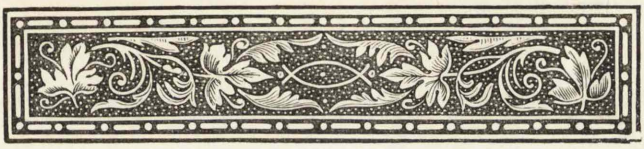
A tenant disturbed by act of landlord for causes other than non-payment of rent must be paid by landlord full compensation for all improvements, and also, as compensation for disturbance, a sum of money varying from one to seven years of his rent. N.B.—A notice to quit is deemed a disturbance.

A tenant, even when evicted for non-payment of rent, must be paid by landlord—(*a*) full compensation for improvements. When rent does not exceed £15 he must be paid in addition (*b*) a sum of money, varying from one to seven years of his rent, if court decides the rent exorbitant. A tenant cannot be evicted for non-payment of rent until one year's rent is in arrear; even when evicted he can, within six months, get back possession and defeat landlord's action by paying amount due, less amount of any profit landlord may have made out of holding while tenant out of possession. A tenant, where he or his predecessor paid money with landlord's consent on coming into holding, and not been paid compensation in respect of any other claim, and not permitted to dispose of interest to incoming tenant, must be paid by landlord, not only such compensation as awarded in respect of money so paid, but also full compensation for all improvements made by himself or his predecessor since such payment. The court, in assessing the amount of compensation referred to, bound to take into consideration any unreasonable conduct on part of landlord, and must give judgment having regard to such conduct. A tenant can, immediately after notice to quit, bring claim for compensation, and cannot then be ejected from holding until landlord has paid amount awarded him. Almost all improvements presumed to be made by tenant or his predecessor. A tenant may register a schedule of improvements made by himself or his predecessor, and such schedule is *primâ facie* evidence that improvements

were made as therein mentioned. Further, no tenant whose holding is at or under £50 can by contract deprive himself of compensation to which he is by law entitled.

On Purchase.—When property sold in Landed Estates Court, court must give special facilities to tenants to purchase holdings. Board of Works empowered to advance to tenants any sum not exceeding two-thirds of money required for purchasing holdings, and whole loan, with interest, discharged by instalments of £5 per cent. per annum for thirty-five years on money borrowed.

HARRISON AND SONS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.



Days of the Land League.

By R. J. M.

London:
HARRISON & SONS, 59, PALL MALL.

1882.

Upas tree

White Robe

Innocency

Legal Opinio

£ 34,400

3 months

14,00

21 Cambric

"IRISH COWARDS!"

CURSED and hunted and outraged, but true to the English throne,
The deserted Irish landlords are trying to hold their own;
Loyal and true, but forsaken; insulted and robbed and spurned,
At the hands of the English Premier the name of cowards they've earned.

"Cowards"! of course they're cowards, trying their rights to save,
Looking in vain for assistance from the hands of the English brave;
With the Government hopeless and helpless, these cowards they took their stand,
Declaring the law of the Land League should not be the law of the land.

"Cowards" a Society forming in defence of their lives and lands,
Trying in vain to strengthen the Government's trembling hands;
Upholding the law of England in the midst of a desperate game,
That's how the Irish landlords have come by the coward's name.

The deeds of Maxwell and Goddard and others, we know them here,
In defence of the laws of England they were cowards who knew no fear,
Holding their lives as nothing in such terrible days as these,
While the Government *bravely* follows with protests and trembling knees.

See how the thieves' agitation with the Government ably copes,
Rewarded at last with a plunder exceeding their wildest hopes;
And they buy off the traitors with money which they steal from the loyal few,
And say to the landlords, "Be thankful for the little that's left to you."

Well, times they of course are changing, and the old way is not the new,
For rebels are now rewarded and punished the staunch and true;
We must see that the man who's plundered is punished for suffering loss,
And give the successful garotter a star or Victoria Cross.

It was one of those Irish "cowards" who in Afghan won the day,
It was one of those loyal Irish who showed the British the way;
It was Gladstone gave back the position won by many a glorious feat,
It was Roberts won the battle; it was Gladstone who said, "Retreat."

'Twas the Irish coward, Wolseley, who to England the Transvaal gave,
Surrendered and lost to Britain by Gladstone who's called the brave;
'Twas our noble and plucky Premier who said that the war should cease,
Thus slaying old England's honour, the honour whose end was peace.

The fight it may be too heavy, the odds of ten thousand to one
May beat down those Irish cowards,— it may be their day is done;
If so, in the day of rebellion Old England may count the cost,
And sigh for the loyal "cowards" her Premier has ruined and lost.

THE IRISH TENANT.*

THEY say that the Masther is in it, and we're not to care one rap ;
We must give him no word of welcome, sorra hand must go nigh a cap,
We used to be glad to see him, and plased to meet him you know,
But a different chat has come in it, from the talk that was long ago.

When the winther was hard and cruel, in the frosts and the could and snow,
If we wanted a hand to help us, to the masther we'd always go ;
And he stood to us well avicko, from the time the disthress began,
There's min would'nt now be livin', if it was'nt for that ould man.

But now sure they say he's a tyrant, and that death is his only due,
We must hould to the crops we've planted, and the money we owe him too ;
And as Father Mick was remarkin', and he rasoned it well you see,
All the money he gave to my childhers, was the cash that he stole from me.

When a gossoon of mine was dyin', through the rason he'd got decline,
The misthress she took and she fed him, with broth and with crames and wine,
And sure I had nature for her, when she stood there by Pat's bedside ;
And the tears rowled down her features, for the sake of the boy that died.

But as Father Mick was explainin, as I think I remarked before,
While the misthress had silks and satins, it was rags that my childhers wore ;
And in Dublin she'd go gallivantin, and lashins of money she spint
In a gownd, and a jacket, and bonnet, that would cost perhaps a whole year's rint.

---

* Appeared in *Pan*.

That's the way that she robbed and crushed us, and the Masther's a great
dale worse.
They were sayin' above at the meetin, he desarves all the people's curse,
And as one Miss Parnell was statin, that the landlords should all lie flat
Through makin' manure of our fathers, and talk that's the likes of that.

How the tinants should be the landlords, of this faith, the divil a doubt,
But who were to be the tinants I could'nt myself make out;
And as they were sayin and talkin that tyranny seldom it thrives,
And the man we'd have died for the want of was the curse of his tinant's
lives.

What's that! its a shot, it's a struggle, it's a cry, it's a fallin' sound;
Oh God! it's the poor ould masther that's lying upon the ground.
Who's that? is it you Ned Moran? not a pagan or haythen Turk
For all that you ever could give him would have joined in this desperate
work.

Give me some drink, more, slantha! sorry? I cannot tell,
This new way that leads to heaven, seems the ould way that led to hell,
Come give me some more whiskey, "sorry?" how can it be,
How on earth can I ever be sorry for the man that was good to me?

So I'll give you just one night's shelther, and you've brought to a bloody ind,
The man you and I Ned Moran, were proud once to call a frind;
You've killed a desperate oppressor? well may be you've said what's right,
And the man who murthered his masther, shall sleep in my house to-night.

LADY M———.

OLD ERIN, she may remember, with pride perhaps, the days of old
When Malachi smote the invader, and wore the collar of gold ;
But each Connemara hilltop should shine with a bonfire's light,
For the patriot men of Connaught have won a most glorious fight.

In the olden days, Old Erin won glory and bright renown,
While her sons stood shoulder to shoulder, and beat the stranger down—
It was *men* whom they met and conquered in the days of the long ago—
But the men of Connaught have routed a different kind of foe.

There's a lone and stricken woman whose happiness all has fled.
It's scarce a month since her husband was found on the roadside dead,*
Cruelly, foully, murdered, but patriots all allege
'Twas the noble deed of heroes, who fired from behind a hedge.

These noble fellows considered this was not enough renown :
The fatherless children and widow, they cried, "Let us hunt them down !
No man ere this has done it, but we have no sense of shame,
Hunting a wretched woman, oh, faith, it's a glorious game !"

But pity will find an entrance to the hearts of the high and low,
So the greatest lady in England was touched with the tale of woe,
She stretched out her hand to help her, she rescued the poor oppressed,
And she gave to the hunted shelter, and she gave to the weary, rest.

'Twas a cruel outrage on Connaught, that the head of the English Court
Should rob it of all its pastime, should come down and spoil the sport ;
But men will talk of the lady who took the poor widow's part,
And murmur, that God may bless her, for her kind and noble heart.

The patriots' best consolation in the midst of their trials sore
Is surely to think they have acted as men never did before :
For villainy's various phases in every country are known,
But the glory of hunting a woman belongs to Connaught alone.

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* Written a year ago.

two robberers dupton of a h

ONE WHO KNEW BETTER DAYS.

A HANDFUL of coals in the fire place,
Were giving a sickly blaze,
And crouched by the flickering embers
Was one who'd known better days.

Two children were crying beside her,
And clutching their mother's gown,
Crying for help from the famine
That was coldly beating them down.

"Give us some food, dear mother!
Can't you a little spare!"
There comes on the face of the woman
The terror of wild despair.

"Is there no one to defend us
From famine so stern and rude?
Is there no hand to help me?—
My children are wanting food!

Women and children are dying,
Is there no man to feel ashamed?
Where is the law and the justice
For which Old England's famed?

Why should they keep my money?
Not one of that robber band
But to whom I have given assistance,
Or stretched out a helping hand.

Kept them from want and privation,
Why should it be that I
Here now should helpless listen
When my children from hunger cry?"

Then she stopped and she grasped at nothing
  And fell back helplessly,
And there came like a dying whisper,
  "The fight is too big for me."

And she muttered of "home" and "husband,"
  And "father," and "dear old place,"
Till at last the moon shone coldly
  On the widow's pale dead face.

So they found her there in the morning,
  And the children they still there cried
For food and for warmth and comfort,
  By their cold dead mother's side.

And strangers a burial gave her,
  And she lies in a pauper's rest;
She was called to her home when weary
  By One who does all things best.

Lords and ladies of England,
  This is no lying tale;
Women and children are starving,
  Shall their cries be of no avail?

Fathers and husbands and brothers,
  Daughters and mothers and wives,
Will you give us here no assistance
  In saving our sisters' lives.

Lords and Commons of England,
  For the sake of your bright renown,
Ward off those Land League ruffians
  Who are striking those sisters down.

You will never do nobler action,
  You will never earn juster praise,
Than by giving some help and comfort
  To those who've known better days.

(A FACT.)

THURLES, JULY, 1881.

FAITH, I'll own I am sore and sorry, in my head is many a hole,
Sticking plaister, like ornamentation, is smothering up my poll,
And if you would ask the rason, why here it is plain you see,
It was thro' their not clouting Goddard, that the boy got a-clouting me.

'Twas agreed, you'll perceive, at a meeting, when the agent for rint would call,
Some would be paying Griffith's, and some paying nothing at all;
The last we should pay was the landlord, what on the earth did the man disarve,
Give the Gombeen man all our money, and let the old masther starve.

That's the way, so the Land League tells us, and we daren't of course refuse,
So the shopkeepers got all their money, and the priest faith! got double dues;
Well, troth! if *my* way they granted, the masther shold have his share
Before those who make us rob him, but that's neither here nor there.

Well, be that as it may, to our offers the agint would not consint
To take from tenants "Griffith's" or less than a half-yar's rint;
But we stuck to the Land League's taching, and we suck to our rints as well,
So he sint for that divil Goddard to come down our fams to sell.

When we heard that Goddard was coming, faith, the news all the boys did vex,
And we swore if we didn't kill Goddard the divil might reak our necks!
So we all of us went to meet him when he came by the early train,
And many's the stout boy swore it, he'd never go back gain.

As the divil's good luck would have it we hadn't there long to wait,
For the thrain was a thrifle early and the peelers a thrifle late ;
Five hundred was in it to kill him, and sorra one sowl need care,
For no one could ever be taken with divil a peeler there.

Five hundred shillelaghs were ready and only one skull to crack,
When out walked that divil Goddard, pon me conscience, the boys moved back,
Out he comes with his hand in his pocket, 'twas a pistol I think he clutched,
But be that as it may, be jabers, not a hair of his head was touched.

Pat Dolan says, faith he'd have struck him but the boys all around did crush ;
Tim Maguire, well, I think got frightened, for I noticed he lost his blush ;
And meself thought the divil was in it and was making the sign of the cross,
But however on earth it happened we let Goddard go to loss.

And so he got safe to the Court house, and the sorra much time was spint
Till he made us pay out to the Sheriff the costs and a whole month's rint ;
When I seen how he done his business without blather, or talk, or fuss,
Thinks I, you know more about it than the chaps that is taching us.

Says Dan Moran to me, "you're a coward," says I "you're a liar, Dan,"
"Why did'nt yerself hit Goddard?" that's the way that the row began.
And every boy that was in it before you could sneeze or cough,
Was leatherin' away like blazes because we let Goddard off.

There was tarin, and swarin', and fightin', and leatherin' round the town,
There wasn't a boy that was in it that hadn't a batthered crown ;
So we paid our rints and got murthered, and stuck to the Land League still,
And every man there got hurted but the man we went out to kill.

R. J. M.

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS,
59, PALL MALL, LONDON

"STAMP ON IT, BILL!"

OR

A Story of a Spark;

BEING

A Short Review of some Apologies for the Present Crisis in Ireland,

BY THE

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE,

LORD HARTINGTON,
SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT,
LORD R. GROSVENOR,
LORD COWPER,
LORD SPENCER,
LORD CARLINGFORD,

MR. SHAW LE FEVRE,
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
MR. GOSCHEN,
MR. FORSTER,
MR. BRIGHT,
MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

Qui s'excuse s'accuse.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

LONDON, 1882.
WADE & CO., 11, LUDGATE ARCADE.

To the Liberals and Conservatives of Great Britain, who have any stake or interest in their country or regard for the welfare of all classes of its people, menaced by the extreme doctrines of Radicalism, which, under the cloak of patriotism and progress, mean the dissolution of society, these pages are inscribed by

THE AUTHOR.

"STAMP ON IT, BILL!"

It is proposed in the following pages to lay before the reader as concisely as possible the shifts to which some of the members of the Government and its supporters have been driven in endeavouring to wriggle out of the heavy responsibility which rests upon them in the present crisis in Ireland, for which they will be required to give an account.

We perceive there a condition of things more difficult and harassing than that of '98, because we knew better then what we had to encounter, face to face, and the work we had to do was over in a few days—a fair stand-up fight. Whereas now, owing to the difficulties in the way of the Insurgents rising *en masse* to be put down *en masse*, in consequence of the facilities afforded by our network of railways for rapidly concentrating a military force on any particular spot, direct resistance is rendered impossible, a sort of guerilla warfare is set up, and we have to deal with a secret foe which, from the various hesitations, fears, or intentional delays on the part of the Government, together with a coercion of a *velvety* character, and a *policy of kicks and kisses*—as the Duke of Marlborough describes it—has been allowed to strengthen its hands and steal a march upon us with ample time to develop its resources and organise its motley army of recruits and retainers.

The writer will, perhaps, be more readily listened to when he entreats the reader to believe that he is not a party man, and is, in some respects, more of a Liberal than a Conservative, especially in regard to our foreign policy; that he has in consequence set down nought in malice, and profoundly regrets the risk the Government runs of being upset from the heroic legislation of Mr. Gladstone.

It is in the curse of Party Government, and in the political rivalries and animosities of great party leaders, and, as it has been

called, an *untimely democracy*, that are to be traced the causes which have been secretly at work to bring about the present crisis in Ireland, to which may be added the weakness of human nature to withstand the temptations of personal ambition or vanity which the imaginary exigencies of State policy offer to all persons not gifted with the highest order of mind, and capable, therefore, of rising above the temptations of office. Political life, indeed, has been described by some pessimists as one necessarily associated with an atmosphere of lies and imposture. At any rate we find politicians saying and doing things which they would not think of saying and doing in any other than a parliamentary sense; just as we find sometimes people well educated, and otherwise high-minded and well-principled, are tempted to say and do things under the pressure of pecuniary difficulties which they could not believe themselves capable of at other times, or under ordinary conditions. Hence, as in the character of Mr. Bright, we see a man of peace by profession sunk in the politician into a man "swift to shed blood."

Someone has called the present Government a Government of the three A's—Apology, Atheism, and Anarchy. However that may be, it is certainly a Government which lays claim to the first of these titles of distinction, and it is with that we are for the moment chiefly concerned.

The Government finds its difficulties increasing in an inverse ratio with its hesitation and procrastination. For political considerations it has been coquetting with a formidable conspiracy from the very first, and then owing to certain differences (if not a split) in the Cabinet—the result of "ambiguities, hesitations, and helpless quailing before legal and constitutional quibbles, and vain hopes and subterfuges"—it finds itself brought to bay between two forces; on the one hand the Conservative Opposition, on the other its former "companion, guide, and own familiar friend" and partner in "public plunder" (to use a phrase of Mr. GLADSTONE'S), viz: the Land League wolves, to whom the Prime Minister has thrown a sop in the form of a Land Bill they are too hungry to look at. It is no matter at all between the Government and its predecessors, as most of its apologists in their recent "extra parliamentary utterances" pretend,—as I proceed to show.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT apologises for the Government tactics after this fashion. He attributes the responsibility for the earlier growth of the Land League to the late Government. Why then did his party when they came into power say that the country "was in a condition which did not require exceptional legislation?" and what could have led Mr. Gladstone to remark that he "found Ireland in a state of unwonted peace and prosperity?" Facts are stubborn things, and a question like this cannot be shirked, but must be clearly answered if the Government wishes to stand well with the English people.

Sir William offers as a further apology the fact that the Government was unwilling to apply coercion without remedial measures in deference to Liberal principles, and that agitation could not be suppressed until grievance had been redressed; that "repression," in short, "would have been ineffectual during the discussion of the Bill," and moreover that "Government were not satisfied that all the reasonable objects of constitutional agitation had been allowed," although, at that very time he was speaking, murder, mutilation, and pillage were the outcome of that agitation, crying aloud piteously for the intervention of the Executive. The Judges, the Magistrates, the Landlords, and the Press all told the same tale teeming with evidence of utter lawlessness throughout the country, proving that the agitation was neither reasonable nor constitutional, and therefore ought not *then* to have been tolerated. It was all of no use. The Government held on their cruel imperturbable way, and let the mangling process of man and beast, and the bloodshed and the tormentors go theirs, and did nothing but call Parliament together a month before the usual time, and *ever since* the dreadful tragedy has been playing out, notwithstanding MR. GLADSTONE'S assurance in his speech in the Mansion House a year ago to the "community" (whose moral support he was so anxious to obtain) that "influences pressed on his view which could not for a moment pretend to be legitimate, and which are incompatible with the first conditions of a well-constituted society, which depend on the maintenance of public order. It was not England which was being punished, but it was Ireland itself, in which not only landlords, but occupiers of the soil who desire to

fulfil their duties and perform their contracts, those who would wish to be occupiers by taking farms which have become vacant, find themselves obstructed by menace, by intimidation, and by crimes which are a disgrace to any country. The obligation incumbent upon us to protect every citizen in the enjoyment of his life and property may compel us under certain circumstances to ask for an increase of power." (Loud cheers.) We know now how this word of promise to the "community" was kept, and why those "certain circumstances" never turned up. We all know, too, how easy it is in a public speech to say something which will win a cheer, yet which every thinking person in the room, excepting the great unthinking majority of the audience, knows to be absolutely contrary to fact. All that is wanted is a flourish, a becoming emphasis, and a bold assertion at the end of a neatly turned sentence, and the effect is certain. When SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT says the Government "was unwilling to apply coercion without remedial measures," it is not easy to see what connection there is between the two things. Does he mean that the murders, mutilations, and plunder should be allowed to go on until the discussion of the Bill was concluded and the Act came into force? Do these crimes weigh so light in Sir William's scale of justice against the importance to be attached to a Bill for ameliorating the actual or supposed grievances of the people that the former may be laid aside with indifference for a while? Then, supposing the Conservatives were to blame (and I confess I think they were exceedingly to blame) for letting the ticket-of-leave man Davitt and the other Fenian prisoners out of prison to "stump the country," does that excuse the Government for their laxity on succeeding their predecessors in office? Does another man's offence justify mine? Then how could "the" Conservatives before they went out of office have "nipped the Land League in the bud," seeing that the bud had not then been formed? Indeed, as Lord HARTINGTON said, the Land League agitation was at that time quite legitimate Why then should it have been put down? It began, as his Lordship says, as a "charitable institution for relieving distressed tenants" during the so-called "famine" (about which there was a good deal of exaggerated talk and noise made); it was as innocent then as the child whose cradled life Sir William so picturesquely

describes as having been tended by Mr. Lowther. Mr. Parnell had then, as Lord Hartington tells us, no more than six followers. It was only after the Liberals came into office that the child became wilful, and under their tuition or the fostering care of Sir William Harcourt and his friends, turned out a rogue and a vagabond ; and "afterwards," as LORD HARTINGTON says, "became a power," as the Government now knows to its cost. They have been nursing a viper, and it has turned and ungratefully bitten them. Here then we have another instance of divided opinion in the Cabinet ; Sir William on the one side says the Conservatives ought to have put down the Land League in its inception ; Lord Hartington on the other side says they ought to have done nothing of the kind.

Now if we follow the career of this young scapegrace or mismanaged *protegé* of Sir William Harcourt and find him at the head of a "remorseless code of a criminal confederacy" which was "allowed to grow with the growth and strengthen with the strength of the Land League," as Mr. GIBSON said, of what value is Sir William's assertion that the accusation against him falls to the ground, that it was "under the influence and connivance of his party that the Land League grew up?" It was after the Conservatives went out of office that the spark which Mr. Gladstone failed to put his foot on broke into a flame, or the ball was set a rolling with the murder of Lord Mountmorres in September, 1880.

Sir William seems actually to imply that the Government has been backed all the more heartily by the "conscience of the people" from its not having put down bloodshed and anarchy before ! It is a horrible and absurd suggestion, but one to which Sir William's argument seems to lead us.

"Coercive measures," says LORD HARTINGTON, "are of no use unless put in force vigorously," and *that* is not to be done it seems without the permission of a "great majority of united opinion in Ireland." What is that but *vox populi vox Dei*? Wilkes or Jack Cade over again ! "Reluctance," says his Lordship, "would have been shown to repressive measures before." No doubt of it ; but he would have had to wait long, I suspect, before the divine voice of the great majority of the people would have given the signal for "repressive measures !" Is LORD HARTINGTON really not aware

that this "conscience of the people" is more demoralised with a fierce defiant attitude than it ever was before ?

But was it a time to wait, on *any pretence whatever*, while murder and rapine were stalking through the country until that "reluctance" should be overcome ?

Mercy is not itself that oft looks so ;
Pardon is still the nurse of second woe.

LORD HARTINGTON said in Lancashire the other day that the Government "is not and cannot be an organisation for the enforcement of the rights of property." If it be not this, what is it? I had always thought this was one of the elementary duties of a Government. Besides what does the imposition of taxes imply ? Government has no right to levy taxes and give us no equivalent for our allegiance. It renders itself liable to impeachment for thus abdicating its functions. A mutual contract implies mutual obligations—my allegiance, your protection. To deny to either side the rights of contract is an immoral transaction, an aphorism we shall find a little further on, which Mr. Gladstone can at one time ratify, at another ignore.

. . . . . Quid leges sine moribus
vanæ proficiunt ?

LORD HARTINGTON sneers at the "Property Defence Association" as "an association which has been formed in Ireland for the purpose of assisting the landlords, who, from poverty, weakness, *or any other cause*, are not themselves in a position to assert their own rights." That *other cause* we have not far to look for ; it is the very palpable one of which the Government ought to be the most ashamed, viz., its having abdicated its functions—its failing in one of its elementary and sacred duties, viz., the protection of liberty, life, and property, which Lord Hartington says is not its duty.

Then LORD HARTINGTON has the assurance to repeat the falsehood so often exposed that the "Government cannot be held responsible for the condition of things which now prevails in Ireland, a condition they have not created, but which they found in existence," although Mr. Gladstone said, so far from finding such a condition prevailing, he found the country in a hopeful and promising state, as we have before remarked.

LORD HARTINGTON has the boldness further to affirm that the power of the Land League has been broken and that as an organisation it no longer exists; the truth being that the monster has two heads, or better still, as Horace says it is a hydra with as many vices as heads, "Bellua multorum es capitum;" the snake is "scotched, not killed;" having a double existence it is still doing as brisk a business as ever in the Ribbon Society—its faithful ally all along—and also in the Women's Land League at the old quarters in Sackville Street, a striking proof certainly of the Government "taking all steps necessary for the maintenance of law and order," as Lord Spencer says!

To return to SIR WILLIAM, "What course," says he, "would our political opponents have taken under these circumstances? Were they prepared to invite the co-operation of Parliament to compel the payment of an unfair rent by force?" By no means, but a fair rent, yes! Now I ask Sir William what sort of a fair rent is the Government at the present moment compelling the payment of *by force without the co-operation of Parliament?* I say this advisedly, because the commissioners were not appointed by Parliament. If this is to be the "*crucial test* between the Liberals and Tories in the government of Ireland," as Sir William calls it, the people in this and other countries will not be long in furnishing him with a reply not very acceptable to him, but founded on the eternal principles of fidelity to engagements, honour, and justice, which have made England what she is in the eyes of the world, not what Mr. Gladstone would apparently have her appear.

Then what right had Sir William to say "things would have gone worse than they have if the Land Act had not been passed?" "If he can prove *that*," he says, "the reckless charges made against the Government crumble into dust." But, supposing he cannot prove *that*, and that we are able to turn the tables upon him, and appealing to facts ask him to contrast the present state of the country since the passing of the Land Act (that "message of peace") with its actual condition on this 24th day of December, 1881, and find that so far from its not having "gone worse" it is in a considerably worse condition, notwithstanding the Government has "taken all steps necessary for the maintenance of law and order,"

what becomes of Sir William's expression "reckless?" Does not the charge *remain*, inexorable, like the fatal writing on the wall, against the Government—"Thou art weighed in the balance and art found wanting?" The "Government," he says, "could do no more than introduce a measure to redress a grievance, and use all the powers of the Executive to suppress agitation—having redressed the grievances he would proceed to carry out the law." Disobedience to law, therefore, in Sir William's estimation, is a trifle compared with delay in the redress of a grievance; that is putting the cart before the horse, or the saddle on the wrong horse, but what evidence is there to support these magnanimous resolves? "Actions speak louder than words, and words are cheap," says the proverb. Is it "using all the powers of the Executive" to treat tenderly "suspects" or village bullies, some of whom have been caught red handed with the damning evidence in their pockets of direct communication with the Ribbon Society, with proposals for the *taking off* of certain individuals at a particular time and place? or others, like Mr. Sexton, who have made use of such atrocious language as that to kill an Orange "Emergency man" is a commendable act of patriotism, and something less than justifiable homicide? or one like Mr. Parnell, who told the people at New Ross to go up to Dublin and break open the Constabulary Barrack to release two young witnesses in the dreadful case of the murder of Mr. Boyd;* he who was arraigned by Mr. GLADSTONE himself the other day at Knowsley, as being guilty of the highest crime known to the law, viz.:—of the "adoption of formidable machinery to compel everybody to acquiesce in the corrupt and demoralising doctrine of rapine, and *through rapine* to march to the disintegration and dismemberment of the Empire, and even to the placing of different parts of the Empire in direct hostility one with another." Surely this would have been a hanging matter not long ago? So far from "using all the powers of the Executive," Mr. FORSTER seems to have done his very best to bring the Executive into

* This advice to the people, though it was given so many months before the issue of the "no rent" manifesto, was not, according to Mr. Chamberlain (as we shall see further on), an example of "complicity in a leader of the Land League with an illegal object or method!"

contempt by telling these village scoundrels their imprisonment was not intended as a punishment, by allowing the Boards of Guardians to grant their families £1 a week, whether they wanted it or not; a regular premium on rascality! or by letting suspects out of prison unconditionally, on pretence, perhaps, of being "delicate," at the instance of a doctor, a brother suspect (as though a man's physical stamina had any connection with his crime or the punishment due to it); or by permitting the "Ladies' League" to continue the old business in the old quarters (as though women could not be as mischievous as men, and some people think a good deal more so); or by allowing the conspirators to be "interviewed" in gaol, and so enabled still to keep up a communication with the outer world;* or by ordering the military and constabulary not to show themselves for fear of "irritating" the roughs, which led to the destruction of so much valuable property in Sackville Street, Dublin; or by making targets of the constabulary and military for the stones of the infuriated populace, while they were themselves to fire at targets in the sky; or by pretending there is no law for putting down seditious newspapers but by way of making a show of activity, carting away a few hundred copies of an isolated impression of *United Ireland*, and arresting the managers and treasurers one after the other, only to be replaced by relays of others, instead of seizing at once the office, plant, standing orders and all, and so preventing the circulation of the fatal 300,000 copies of the "no rent" Manifesto which is threatening to oust the Land Act; or by passing an Arms Bill so hampered, as though on purpose, with conditions as to make it practically useless. The consequence is that bands of midnight robbers and assassins, well armed, are nightly making raids on the small farmers all over the country. In former times of disturbance, sudden and unsuspected visits of police to houses suspected were found effective. "It certainly seems singular," says a journal not very hostile to the Government, "that with a force of 40,000 troops now garrisoned in Ireland, with a powerful and vigilant constabulary, and with an Act of

* No wonder we should read in the *Times* Dublin report that "law and order are disregarded, and the elaborate code of regulations at Kilmainham are being treated with contempt."

Parliament specially passed for the purpose, the Government should have done so little as yet for the disarming of the people."

The fact is, Mr. FORSTER has an unfortunate habit of taking one step forward and two backward, and in consequence is always losing ground, or is *too late*, like "Ensign Tardigrade" in the play, who said he was convinced he was born too late. His numerous unfulfilled pledges and his fondness for a "bit-by-bit system" which enables ruffians to violate the law and laugh at the police prove this. He has spoken so many words in haste to be repented of at leisure (the outcome, as it is said, of a desultory habit of mind), that everything turns out contrary to his anticipations; he "supposes" one week it would "require an Act of Parliament to put down the Land League" or a seditious paper, only to find he can do both the next without one; he is puzzled about "reasonable grounds" for taking this step to-day, about "possible contingencies" for that to-morrow. Before we leave Mr. Forster and his curious apologies, we must not lose sight of the celebrated State prosecutions. Was it using all the powers of the Executive to resort to measures for suppressing an insurrection, the result of which the Government must have been told by its Attorney-General would prove abortive, a foregone conclusion? and yet for the mere sake I suppose of making a show of doing something, the Government entered on these State prosecutions, which, it is said, cost the taxpayers of England, for whom SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT professes so much concern, £10,000, which was transferred to the pockets of the lawyers. This little item, together with the vast military expense which is being daily incurred to maintain the *mere semblance* of order—but which has yet done next to nothing—will not bring much credit to the Government for its boasted economy in the eyes of the "English taxpayers." A military friend of the writer's told him that 10,000 troops properly handled would be sufficient to maintain order in Ireland, but in the eyes of the Government soldiers are like toys, merely meant to be looked at, or to frighten people at a distance like bogles—at all events when in service at home.

The Government would rather see a hundred innocent people murdered and tortured than put a stop to the butchery by shooting or hanging one of their remorseless assailants. "Mercy but murders, pardoning those who kill." Another friend of the writer told him a foreigner quite simply and seriously put the question to him "if we could afford to go to war now with any continental power, seeing we were not strong enough to re-conquer our own dominions at home!" He was not joking at all.

We must trouble SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT with one more question, which we had forgotten, viz: Why did he pick out two isolated cases of harshness—call it spoliation if he pleases—to establish a general indictment against a whole class of society which Mr. GLADSTONE declared has been upon its trial, and has been honourably acquitted? Did he never hear the saying that the "exception proves the rule?" He seems to think he did a very clever thing by asking "if it is not putting the saddle on the wrong horse to say the English taxpayer is expected to pay a rack-renting landlord (of which class Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said there are so few in Ireland) 10 per cent. on his purchase money?" On what horse did his chief, Mr. Gladstone, propose to put the saddle when he said on the 24th May that the "*landlords have the right to claim to have the loss they may be proved to be caused by the change in the law made good to them at the public expense?*" It could be only in this light that the Lord Chancellor backed up these memorable words of the Prime Minister, when he said the *landlords would find the value of their properties confirmed and increased, not diminished* by the Act. Who had to pay the £10,000 I have just alluded to as thrown away on the lawyers, or the expense of 40,000 troops? Sir William's friends, the English taxpayers. Then if it be injustice for landlords to rack-rent their tenants it must be equally injustice to pare down rents of landlords—with as little concern, as someone has said, as if you were peeling oranges, *i.e.* uniformly and systematically, without reference to the ever varying circumstances of soil, locality, and management?

Is it SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT'S idea of justice to make reductions where rent has been stationary for 50 years, notwith-

standing the landlord may have joined the tenant in making improvements?—or to direct each party to pay his own costs when the land has been found grossly neglected by the tenant?—or to spend one hour and a half in valuing a first-rate farm of 500 acres in the winter when there are no crops to inspect? Yet all these things, these gross acts of injustice, have been done and are being done by Commissioners under sanction of the Government, men inexperienced, many of them, and prejudiced, and some actually tenant farmers themselves, and therefore necessarily prejudiced.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN commences his apologies by remarking that "coercion* is a blot on our civilisation," and his friend Mr. BRIGHT says "force is no remedy for popular discontent." Who ever said it was? But it is the only remedy for lawlessness and brute force, with which *content* can never live. But the less the Radicals boast of their horror of coercion the better. They who live in glass houses should not throw stones. The Radicals are said to have resorted to force in Ireland 38 times during the 34 years they have been in power since 1830, the Conservatives only 11 times in the 15 years during which they have been in power in the same period.

Another *fix* out of which Mr. CHAMBERLAIN will have to wriggle as well as he can for his apology for procrastination in dealing with crime is his unfortunate remark that the Land League "changed its character" since the Land Bill passed, and that it then for the "first time challenged repression." Did murder, then, and mutilation and public plunder begin only after the Land Bill had passed? Did that joyful event usher in the reign of terror? In what respect had the "objects of the Land League changed for the worse?" What can be worse than daily murders, mutila-

* In January, 1861, a Bill was discussed in the Ohio State to provide for raising 6,000 militia, and in that debate Senator Garfield boldly declared the position which he always subsequently held. The supporters of the vote were stigmatised as Coercionists. If, said he, by Coercion it was meant that the Government should enforce the laws by whomsoever violated, should protect the property and flag of the Union, should punish traitors to the Constitution—whether they were ten men or twenty thousand—then he was a Coercionist. Every man was a Coercionist in this sense or a traitor. I recommend this observation of a great character to Mr. Gladstone's waning public spirit or patriotism.

tions, and public plunder? In what respect has crime called for repression more now than for the last eighteen months? Owing to the ill-disguised apathy of the Government, there has indeed been an increase in crime, but no change in its character whatever that I know of. In August, September, and October of this year, the atrocities are said to have been 1,244 against 740 in the corresponding months of last year. With 40,000 troops in the country not allowed to act, it certainly looks as if the Government had some secret reason for not restoring order too soon. Indeed, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN is candid enough almost to say as much in as many words. "To have suppressed the (illegal) agitation sooner," says he (although it is not suppressed yet or nearly suppressed), "would have been denying the wrongs of the people, and tempting them to secret violence." Is not this as much as to say the Government "depended on the continuance of disorder for their legislation?" To put a stop then to the successful results of agitation, viz.: murder, mutilation, and plunder, would be to deny the wrongs of a people! Once more, are such things to be passed by as trifles compared with certain supposed "wrongs of the people?" Mr. CHAMBERLAIN seems to reply in the affirmative, and to tell us that upon the whole it is better not to interfere with brutal outrages too soon lest you should prevent the people having some "organisation to fall back upon," no matter what that organisation may be doing in excess of the law! Yet O'Connell said that "no political change or improvement was worth one drop of human blood." Mr. CHAMBERLAIN evidently thinks they are worth many drops of such blood. "There are occasions," he said, "when it is a sacred duty to maintain order." "This," said the late Attorney-General for Ireland, "is terribly like saying that the support of law is only an occasional duty, that the assertion of the law may be occasionally subordinated to other matters!" With amazing self-deception, Mr. GLADSTONE seems to share in this opinion when he quoted these words in his speech at Knowsley, when he was arraigning Mr. PARNELL of High Treason, whom notwithstanding he had permitted for 15 months before to steep the country in bloodshed! Denying the wrongs of the people indeed! How many wrongs of poor murdered, mutilated, terrified people, women and children, has he not rather

"denied," as if he had never heard of them! Is that the way Mr. GLADSTONE would show his love of liberty in Bulgaria or Turkey?

As to tempting the people to acts of secret violence by suppressing an injurious agitation, is it possible that Mr. CHAMBERLAIN is as ignorant as LORD CARLINGFORD of the fact that such a society for carrying out such acts was ready to their hand to take the place of the Land League?

Then how came Mr. CHAMBERLAIN to "let the cat out of the bag," and betray his chief, when he said if the Land League had been suppressed at the beginning of the year (when it was open to all the charges which were brought against it when he spoke) the Land Act would not have been carried, while Mr. GLADSTONE said just the contrary, viz., that the Land Act had nothing to do with the Land League? "These are discrepancies," said the *Times* paper "which will puzzle future historians." It was indeed expressly stated, when the Government assumed office, that there was no present intention of legislating for Ireland; and it was "not until Ireland had been brought into a state of insurrection that the Land Act entered into Mr. Gladstone's head, and what the Land League clamoured for was resorted to by the Government."

Another of Mr. CHAMBERLAIN'S extraordinary apologies is "that if the Land League had been suppressed earlier it would have excited vast masses of sympathisers with the tenants, and would have caused an aggravation of local outrage." But I ask what can exceed the present sympathy with local outrage? Am I overstating the case when I assert it has never been equalled in the history of Ireland? Crime still goes on, and juries will not convict, and tenants pay no rent.

As for Mr. SHAW LE FEVRE, he apologises for the Government on the ground that the Land League could not be put down without first putting down its leaders; and that that was impossible, inasmuch as the services of Mr. Parnell and Mr. Sexton and others were of such importance to the interest of the tenants in framing the Land Bill that their presence could not be dispensed with in the House of Commons!

LORD R. GROSVENOR'S apology for the Government will not take up much of our time. His idea is that the "Government had no legal proof" of Mr. Parnell's "nefarious acts" before the "no rent manifesto" was issued, which contains about as much truth and reason as Mr. GLADSTONE'S manifesto on the 10th of June last that it had never been declared if the Land League was an illegal association, although he had his Law Officers of the Crown at his elbow to advise him to undertake the State prosecutions.

The Duke of Argyll, speaking as a member of the Government, has just declared that Mr. Chamberlain said what is absolutely untrue in writing to a Mr. Page Hopps that the objects of the Land League were approved by the Government, which had, indeed, "pledged itself to carry them out." How did it come to pass that the Government prosecuted the Land League in December, if it considered its avowed objects were merely "the examination of a system or the reform of an unjust law?" Having detailed all the avowed objects of the Land League as illegal in December, 1880, how could Mr. Gladstone get up in his place in Parliament in June and deny his own act and deed, and say it had never been declared if the Land League was an illegal association? It was just as illegal, as the Duke says, to incite and solicit tenants to pay no rent above Griffiths' valuation as to incite or solicit them to pay no rent at all. Indeed, some of the counts, he adds, in the indictment drawn up by the officers of the Government made specific mention of the class of owners whose rents were above Griffiths' valuation as men who were unlawfully injured and impoverished by the objects and in the operations of the League.

"During the whole autumn and winter of 1880 we (the Government) publicly declared in the most formal manner that we held and knew these objects to be unlawful and unjust."

What legal proof is required for the well-established facts of murder, mutilation, and public plunder, which had been a daily topic of conversation for 15 months preceding? They had "ample power," said the late Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Gibson, "for putting down the Land League, ordinary and criminal,

months before, no criminal lawyer can deny it; and that under common law and not under exceptional Acts."

As for the ATTORNEY GENERAL, Mr. LAW, he offers much the same apology as Sir William Harcourt. "The Land League was founded in 1879; *then* was the time to have stopped it," though there was nothing particular then to stop, as we have seen when dissecting Sir William Harcourt's apologies. "But the Tories," continues the Attorney General, "did nothing but institute one criminal proceeding in a country police court, which was not proceeded with," while he boasts of the folly of the Liberals having uselessly "brought to trial the popular chiefs and leaders of the confederation, who were acquitted, *as they ever were!*"

The only reply the ATTORNEY GENERAL makes to Mr. GIBSON'S sensible remark, that "we ought not to proceed criminally unless we are certain of the result," is that "the state of Ireland precludes that result in political trials." Then why did he, as we have before remarked, resort to means which the state of Ireland was sure to render abortive? And then, without further amplification or argument, he adds: "Having heard the late Attorney General *say these things* (viz., that it was advisable not to proceed criminally unless we are certain of the result), he "leaves his right honourable friend and the Duke of Marlborough to settle the matter between themselves in any way they may think proper;" as much as to say "The late Attorney General has made, what I cannot deny, a very sensible remark. I find there is nothing to settle between them; the least said is the soonest mended, and it is time I shut up!"

To the question "why he did not suppress the seditious newspapers?" he replies by asking another, and a strange one too—"What is the legal power under which the Government could suppress any newspaper, however seditious its writing may be (cheers)!" So said the LORD LIEUTENANT and Mr. FORSTER when they received the deputation of landlords and magistrates on the outbreak of the Insurrection, and demanded their pity. They did not know what power the Government had. They were helpless; the "resources of the law were exhausted." "What ought they to do?" asked the Lord Lieutenant of the deputation.

They were very sorry, and so forth. But facts were too strong for them, and they very soon found out they could no longer conceal the pretence of this "all confessed inanity," and made the further discovery that to check, or at all events keep within certain bounds, the useful political machinery of insurrection, the ordinary law *was* sufficient, and that they needed not a "new Act of Parliament," as Mr. Forster "supposed," any more than the Attorney General did for putting down a seditious newspaper, when in his speech at Bristol he was cheered for saying there was no law for that purpose!

After another flourish about the "Conservatives instituting more prosecutions in regard to the Press with the same certain result" (which is not very intelligible, inasmuch as it is exactly what the late Attorney General expressly disclaimed), he "prefers to let his right honourable friend the Attorney General for Ireland under the late Government make the defence for his Government" —a convenient way again of getting out of a difficulty by avoiding an argument! It is in this way that the Government has been all along playing a game of hide and seek with the Land League, or like a cat with a mouse never letting it go quite out of reach of its paw.

As for Mr. GOSCHEN, his apology for the Government is that if it had taken action earlier the "Bill might have hung fire." This is an unfortunate apology, because he joins with Mr. Chamberlain in striking a blow at Mr. Gladstone, and connects the Land League with the Land Act. Like all his fellow apologists for the Government, Mr. Goschen has not a word of pity for the murdered, the mutilated, and the publicly plundered during the last 18 months, the victims of "might against right," and of a policy of "utilising sedition and outrage for parliamentary purposes!" Though Mr. Gladstone had plenty of sympathy for Turkish and Bulgarian terrorism he has none for Irish. He seems in short to be on the high road, as Lord Palmerston is reported to have said of him, to ruin his country before he loses his senses.

We come now to an apologist, LORD COWPER, who refuses to apologise for himself, his Government, or for anybody or anything, and albeit he is in theory at least "Lieutenant Governor and Governor General of Ireland," he governs nobody and nothing. He

"is not ashamed of anything the Government has done or has omitted to do"—not he—he is not ashamed of himself, although the DUKE OF SOMERSET said he ought to be for not having resigned his high office when the Government refused him the means for keeping the Queen's peace in Ireland, and for which duty he is paid £30,000 a year out of the pockets of the people, or, as Sir William Harcourt would say, of the "English taxpayer." This observation of the DUKE OF SOMERSET seems to have made a deep impression upon him notwithstanding, for in rather a forced manner he brings in the subject of the possibility of such an unfortunate loss to the country as his resignation, though he adds he "has no present intention of resigning," which looks as if he was uneasy in his shoes of office or has had a hint on the subject, or been "appalled" by "tyrant conscience."

Now it is for the public to judge how far a man should be ashamed of himself for laying his own responsibility upon another at a most critical period, when a deep sense of personal duty and responsibility * should be the primary spring of his action, or for saying he is "unconscious of anything having been done of which he seriously disapproved," and for being as much at his ease apparently (as Nero was when fiddling when Rome was in flames), while murder, mutilation, and rapine were all round him—for reversing a sentence of death on the murderer of a constable, although it was one of those rare cases of conviction it is possible to get in Ireland—for praising the landlords in that it was in "defence of law and order they did nothing," while Mr. Gladstone was blaming them that they did not do much more—for saying that it was not the Land League that was to be found fault with for the present disturbed state of the country, because Irish disturbance is an old story and a thing almost of course!—for saying that it is our "duty to reduce the country to the same happy, dumb, and sullen state" as it was before, and to "drive dissatisfaction again under the surface as it was before"—only to break out again on another occasion! For these interesting particulars, and to show that the

* What would the late Duke of Wellington have done under similar circumstances? I refer to his conduct when he was trammelled at home in regard to commissariat and troops during his Peninsular Campaigns.

writer has not set ought down in malice or exaggeration, he refers his readers to the details of the Vice-Regal progress to Limerick and Cork in the *Times* newspaper a few weeks ago.

We will now call upon LORD SPENCER for his contribution to the Government apologies. "Her Majesty's Government never lost an opportunity not only of examining what injustice was being perpetrated in Ireland, but also of taking all steps necessary for the maintenance of law and order." At the same time he admits that "dastardly outrages have prevailed for 15 months past over a large part of Ireland, law being paralysed juries would not do their duty, and a bold organisation spread its influence in various parts of the country, interfering in every station of life in the most dangerous manner, and this agitation culminated at last in anarchy, which was rapidly increasing until Her Majesty's Government "took measures," &c., which measures he might have, and *must* have added now, December 30th, 1881, have been wholly unsuccessful, inasmuch as Her Majesty's Government has lost nearly all its opportunities of "examining and taking all steps necessary," &c., &c., and the ugly fact remains condemnatory of the Government's persistent inaction that up to this time scarcely one crime has been detected, or its perpetrators brought to justice! His Lordship then repeats the fallacy, worn threadbare, of his brother apologists, viz., of throwing the blame on the Conservatives for not stamping on the spark of revolution and anarchy when the spark had not been kindled, viz., in 1879, and for doing nothing to vindicate the law when there was no particular occasion to vindicate it, and he concludes that when the Liberals came into power they had nothing to do with the murders and mutilations and pillage (which only *then* commenced), because they "did not agree with the principle of the prosecution which the Conservatives had abandoned!" Therefore, he must be understood to mean that Government considered it its duty to do nothing—to take no other "steps necessary for the maintenance of law and order;" which is about as absurd as to reject or find fault with water because there may be some better material for putting out a fire, though we do not intend to avail ourselves of it.

Lastly, but not least, we now call upon Mr. GLADSTONE himself for his apologies, contrasting briefly his former utterances with his

present attitude and views, which will show the extraordinary changes which must have passed through his mind since he was consciously or unconsciously (I will not take upon myself to say which) hoodwinking Parliament by flattering the landlords in order to pass his Bill. He could talk *then* brave words for the landlords such as the "enormous mischief done, and the enormous responsibility incurred by those who advise the tenants in Ireland who are able to pay their rents not to pay them." What does he do now to save the lives or properties of those to whom these rents are due, and who have the right to *demand* of Government protection for both life and property ?

Mr. GLADSTONE would apparently reverse the order of things which led to the Revolution of 1648, when the King and the Royalists put themselves in the wrong, and the Parliament and the people put themselves in the right. Does he now wish to bring about a revolution in this country in order to establish a Republic ? He seems, at all events, to be following the policy of King James the Second in making the law the oppressor of the loyal subjects of the Crown. "What is Government ?" asked Mr. GLADSTONE in the Guildhall in October, "a portion of the community selected by that community for the purpose of discharging certain duties, but dependent for their efficient discharge upon the support which the Government receives from the community itself. I ask the community for that support and I claim it of them. From the mere fact of our being charged with Executive responsibilities we are entitled to lodge that claim."

Yes, no doubt; but what if Government is divided in its counsels, and therefore is weak, fearful, and hesitating in the discharge of those Executive duties, are we, the community, to suffer in consequence ? Does not allegiance, under such circumstances, become a serious problematical question ? Cardinal Ganganelli, in contrasting the Government of Pope Sixtus the 5th, who made Rome habitable, with that of his irresolute predecessor, Gregory XIII., said, "A weak Government was the greatest of curses." It must be confessed that the very existence of the "Property Defence Association" *is*, unintentionally and unavoidably, a reflection on the Government for abdicating its functions of keeping law and

order in Ireland, while it is also a triumphant answer to Mr. Gladstone's unjust and heartless complaint that the owners of property had not given him the moral support he had a right to claim of them. I have before referred to the moral support of another kind which was conveyed to him in the cries of the distressed, and the persecuted and the tormented, and to which he turned a deaf ear as we all know by this time only too well by bitter experience.

In a pecuniary point of view alone the support the Property Defence Association has given the Government has been something very considerable, an expense which need never have occurred had the Government done its duty in keeping order in the country. A friend of mine had to pay upwards of £60 for fees to the Sheriff, £13 for Bailiffs, and £5 15s. for car hire, just to get a couple of hundred pounds of rent, an expense he would not have been put to but for the Government failing in its Executive duty.

Again, Mr. GLADSTONE said, "landlords were fairly concerned in the economical management of their estates, in making good arrangements, in bringing together scattered portions of holdings, and in many operations connected with the management of land as to which he was the only person to form a judgment, and be responsible for carrying them into effect." What would be the advice Mr. Gladstone would give landlords now I wonder in the discharge of these important duties? Is he not uprooting their duties along with their rights? Who is to be "responsible" now for "carrying out" these valuable suggestions under the tender mercies of his Land Commissioners? And who are to make "improvements" for the future? Where is the money to come from?

Mr. GLADSTONE then talks of the landlord's "legitimate power and duty in the main drainage operations as affecting a material improvement and advantage to the State." It remains to be seen how the *State* or the *Estate* can be benefited if you take away the power from the landlord He adds—"They were giving power to a tenant to alter the conditions of his tenancy in certain respects in order that he might provide accommodation for labourers, and by parity of reasoning they ought to give corresponding power to the landlord. A landlord is invested with certain rights and corresponding duties in the management of his estate." Where will

either be under the New Land Act as administered by commissioners who, in the words of tne chairman, Mr. Justice O'Hagan, have been compared to "navigators in unknown seas seeking, as the poet says, their way darkly beneath the night and through the shadow."

. . . . . Ibant obscura sola sub nocte per umbram !

The new commission, he says, "is not like other courts of long established jurisdiction and settled methods to decide on rights defined by law and guided by long lines of precedents, and all the wisdom of past experience !" Is then an important section of Her Majesty's loyal subjects to be henceforth made the sport of a Bill to be carried out by such a court as this ? Can absurdity surpass this ?

On the 27th of June, in reply to Mr. Leamy, Mr. GLADSTONE said "it was the duty of the Government to enable landlords to fulfil their duties." Is he not now putting every possible obstruction in the way of their doing so ? Is he not acting just contrary to O'Connell's advice—"We must not do anything that would make the landlord's situation cease to be a desirable one ?"—and with equal inconsistency as when in his speech at Knowsley he quoted his opinion that "no political change or improvement was worth one drop of human blood ?"

And, lastly, will he now ignore his own words above alluded to, and backed by the Lord Chancellor in his speech of the 24th of May: "*The Landlords will have the right to claim to have the loss they may be proved to be caused by the change in the law made good to them at the public expense ?*" At one time we find Mr. Gladstone joining Mr. Chamberlain in acknowledging that the landlords, as a body, are the best set of fellows in the world ; at another shouting out, "what should we compensate them for ?"

In 1870 Mr. GLADSTONE said, "we ought not to embody anything in the new Bill that can encourage any man to tamper with good faith or undervalue in any shape secularity and solidity of contract!"

Vide also "Hansard," cxcix., 350:—"It would be dishonourable," said Mr. Gladstone, in 1870, "to establish perpetuity of

tenure, subject to the mere re-adjustment of rent, without paying compensation to the landlord for the rights of which he would be deprived." "What then," says a writer from Lincoln's Inn, "does Mr. Gladstone now mean? Has this compensation clause dropped out in one of the twenty-two revisions which we are told this Bill of 1881 has gone through? I suppose it will be supplied in Committee. Is it probable that Mr. Gladstone has deliberately proposed a scheme which he has condemned as dishonourable? What compensation to the landlord is there to be if every tenant by applying to the Court can obtain fixity of tenure, and a 'fair' rent, subject to revaluation at intervals of fifteen years (sec. 7)?"

The conclusion of the matter seems to be this, and it lies in a nutshell. The Government has set its heart upon doing a certain thing, and they will carry it out at all risks by fair means or foul. Mr. BRIGHT said, on the 16th of November, at Rochdale, that a "great and permanent reduction of landlord's rents was the only chance, as far as he could see, for an embarrassed farmer." Although he was not alluding then to Ireland, no doubt this is the spirit of the Irish Land Act, whether tenants are embarrassed or not, although the circumstances of the two countries are so different at the present time.

It is a dangerous doctrine which lies at the root of extreme Radical theories or *heroic* legislation, as it is called; it is the doctrine of the Jesuits that the end justifies the means, and that Peter may fairly be robbed to pay Paul. But why should Mr. BRIGHT break the Eighth Commandment even for the sake of an "embarrassed farmer?" This is teaching which helps to fill our prisons, where there are plenty of embarrassed people who have helped to disembarrass themselves by embarrassing others.

No remedial measures or anything else can be of any use until law and order are restored in Ireland—nothing should have been *attempted* even until this had been done, for nothing but the "confusion worse confounded" which we now witness there could have been expected, and it is here where the Government has gone so grievously astray as to make some people suppose it is beneath the "destructive influences which slumber under the superficial

inanities of Socialism" that the restless and erratic mind of Mr. Gladstone has at last taken refuge.

> . . . . . O then beware,
> Those wounds heal ill that men do give themselves:
> Omission to do what is necessary
> Seals a commission to a blank of danger.

Better have no law for certain crimes than that it should not be carried out. There is a prevailing morbid sympathy with crime and criminals now-a-days, and a disposition not to make the law a terror to evil doers, but to allow the evil doers to be a terror to the law, which is a melancholy feature of the times. The idea of law which lay at the root of its first conceptions was its tendency to repress or deter from crime.

> . . . . . ponere leges,
> Ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter,
> . . . . . .
> Jura inventa metu injusti fateare necesse est,
> Tempora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi.

If the collective evidence now laid before the reader proves to him that the Government has allowed Ireland to drift into the state in which we now find it, has permitted the spark, which it might have put its foot upon at the beginning, to be kindled into the present conflagration, the object of the writer will have been achieved, painful as the task imposed upon him has been. If in conclusion, knowing its criminality and conscious "of their clear legal power to suppress the Land League, the Ministers yet deliberately refrained from vigorous interference with it and its leaders during the whole course of the debates on the Land Act until the day when the Land Commissioners' Court opened, then is their responsibility as grave as it is obvious, and they are answerable for the development of the Land League, and *responsible also for every outrage, which an earlier and a more vigorous administration might have prevented.*" "Perhaps Statesmen," says a well-known author, "at a particular period of existence are not much gratified at thinking over the most triumphant divisions, when a certain (albeit uncertain) morrow is in view about which all of us must some day be speculating."

NOTES.

NOTE I.

WHEN one has to meet an enemy it is as well to "take his measure," as it is called, that we may know how to deal with him. Who are the members of the Land League? I never heard a better description of them than the following:—They are "needy and hungry place-hunters and designing mischief-makers, whose only hope of doing well in this world depends on the chance they may have of fishing in troubled waters; men who have had some sort of education, who have mostly taken to no trade, find no opening in what are called the liberal professions, and who look to politics as the only business for which every man has an innate genius who is fit for nothing else, a business in which a man will not let well alone, because he pretends that he is striving after better things,"—when he is all the while only thinking of filling his own empty pockets.

SEXTON is the son of a butcher at Rathangan, County Kildare. DAVITT and DEVOY, who founded the Land League, are two old convicted Fenians ten years ago. DILLON had nothing to do with land, but medicine. BIGGAR was a provision merchant in Belfast. SULLIVAN was introduced as "Sullivan of the Nation." SEXTON was an assistant to Sullivan. EGAN kept a store of bread and flour in Great Britain Street, Dublin. BRENNAN was secretary to a milling company near Glasnevin. O'SULLIVAN was a National School teacher, and had nothing to do with land. BOYTON had no land, and was the son of a shopkeeper. SHERIDAN was a publichouse keeper. GORDON was a shoemaker in Claremorris. HARRIS was a builder and road contractor at Ballinasloe. WALSH was a commercial traveller, and NALLY was nothing.

The President of the Birmingham Liberal Association said the other day that Mr. Parnell's property was mortgaged to its full value, and that Healy could never command more than £120 a year until he became Secretary to the Land League, which has brought him £350 a year, and all found. "Was a nation safe in trusting its leadership to such men, who were really penniless adventurers," whose ruin will be the return of order and peace in the country?

There is a passage in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*, by a thoughtful writer, that applies so well to these individuals that I cannot resist quoting it. "To the people, when any of their more vehement champions address them, I would say 'Consider this man's character, his birth, his history, his motives. Use your own shrewdness to see if when he is preaching equality to you he is not secretly desirous of raising himself: and if your shrewdness leads you to suspect this then suspect every word he utters to you, every doctrine he formulates.'"

To the Radical leaders themselves I would say "Your wish to rise is no crime—it may be used so as to become a virtue; but in trying to gain power by exciting

the popular imagination you are playing with edged tools; and if you dare to excite it without most careful and dispassionate consideration of the means you employ, if you suffer your views to be distorted by vulgar envy of those above you, and disguise your own desire to be in a higher place than you are in the anarchic doctrine that there should no high places at all, then you merit every epithet of contempt, of hatred, and condemnation, both from the people whom you are trying to lead, and the rulers against whom you are trying to lead them." There are laws indeed which not even an omnipotent Parliament can break with impunity for long. The law-giver is Human Nature itself, and its laws are those by which all human civilisation is compelled to construct itself—the laws of proportion, of property, of inequality, and of obedience—laws as unassailable as the laws of gravitation. They may seem hard laws, but under some of her aspects is not Nature hard everywhere, and is she not more hard on us the more we disregard her? This social law of hers is a stone which, if it fall on us, will grind us all to powder. What you call progress is not so, but dissolution. Our civilisation is not the first or the greatest the world has known; nor is there reason to suppose it is exceptionally stable. If it has stronger forces to defend it, it has also stronger forces to menace it—forces which at present are quite manageable, but which the delusive teaching of Radicalism may in time rouse to fury, and, therefore, is mischievous.

History has forcibly told us that retrogression is as possible as advance.

"Facilis descensus Averni."

The surest retrogressions are attempts at impossible progress. St. Beauve has said—"La sauvagerie est toujours là a deux pas et des qu'on tâche elle recommence."

Note II.

Since these pages were ready for the press Mr. Gladstone has sent his son to follow in the wake of some evictions in the South-West of Ireland, to report progress of the returning signs of love, peace, and order. Immediately on his return he made a speech at the National Reform Union, Manchester, repeating with renewed assurance his father's oft refuted accusation against the Irish landlords of not having given him moral support. He is shocked at the idea of stopping crimes of brutal violence with the "help of the bayonet," calls in question the veracity of his father and Mr. Chamberlain in asserting that it was the rack-renting landlords in great measure who raised the agitation, while they both say, as a rule, they have done nothing of the kind; chaffs the landlords with not having "joined with the Government in taking strong measures," while the Government had expressly told them they had no strong measures to offer, indeed, that they did not know what to do themselves; thinks more coercion needless, as the prospects are "distinctly favourable" (though he told a gentleman in Ireland the day before the Government was at its wits' end to know what to do), thinks it "worse than useless to interfere with juries" who refuse to do their duty; and that it is "absurd" to talk of martial law for putting down rebellion; that the "no rent" cry is merely skin deep, and *only* kept up by *intimidation* (which *only* means boycotting, murder, and mutilation); and, lastly, he says that the Government had "acted for

the people, and would continue to do so," and (as he leaves the landlords out in the cold altogether he might have consistently added) "without any consideration for their landlords' rights."

NOTE III.

The reply of Mr. Chamberlain to the Duke of Argyll's testimony that it is untrue to say the Government ever approved of the objects of the Land League is highly unsatisfactory, as he must know perfectly well that the complicity of the leaders of the Land League with illegal objects and methods was publicly avowed months and months before the "no rent manifesto" was issued. Indeed nothing could have been more open and avowed than the talk and action of the Land League, offering herein a striking contrast to the remarkable hesitation and reticence of the Government. It was the boast indeed of the leaders that they could not be called conspirators on that very account, for were not the constabulary and the Government reporters present at all their meetings, and did they not publish their outrageous and illegal talk? We all know what dreadful work the agents of the Ribbon Society were doing for them at the same time behind the curtain.

The appointment of the Bessborough Commission was not itself any proof of the Government's approval of the objects of the Land League,* and the distinction Mr. Chamberlain draws between the secret and avowed objects of the Land League "won't hold water." The one was almost as guilty as the other as the speeches prove, and both would quickly have been put an end to by the Government of any other civilised country but that of England in 1882. Significant and unavailing therefore are the concluding words of Mr. Chamberlain's letter in reply to the Duke of Argyll's. "Had the League officially committed itself to unlawful purposes it *might* legally have been, and *probably* would have been suppressed before the issue of the no rent manifesto!" Once more, is it suppressed now? On the contrary, a letter signed E. D. B. in the *Times* of this morning, January 11, describes the state of the South-West of Ireland as bad as anything in Zululand, and cases of murder not even known in Ireland beyond the immediate locality owing to the dread of witnesses having to appear in evidence.

NOTE IV.

It would seem to be almost a work of supererogation to add to what has been already said so often in regard to what should be done in this "strange conflict between law and lawlessness" towards solving the problem of a cure for the mischief which the Government has calmly and with its eyes open allowed to be wrought in Ireland. The "beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water." It was some weeks since Lord Hartington said "the power of the Land League had been broken, and that as an organisation it no longer exists." Against this statement I need but refer my readers to the report of the Dublin correspondent

* An extract from the report of this commission, quoted by the Marquis of Waterford in the *Times* of this day (9th January), is by no means favourable to Mr. Chamberlain's argument that the Government was in any way concerned with the objects of the Land League, whether secret or avowed.

of the *Times* of the 9th inst. The power of the Land League is still "everywhere to be found, subtle and secret where mischief is to be done, and nowhere to be found where justice and authority pursue it." Nothing could be more delusive than the argument that terrorism is diminished because outrages are fewer. Outrages are only resorted to when it seems to require stimulants, and it is the more powerful when it is peaceful. It is thus master of the position and is the cause of the (apparent) peace, and *so* the list of crimes is shorter than last year. Many farmers and traders have joined the League, and so enjoy a respite from injury. The first necessity of the Government is to break up the machinery of evil, but the work it has been allowed to do will be as hard to undo as to pick a web asunder thread by thread. The mistake which the Government made in the first instance of allowing this machinery to be framed and fitted for its evil purpose in the *face of day*, and with the apparent sanction of constitutional authority, will bring its penalty of more laborious and anxious effort to correct it. The mistake would probably never have been committed if the action of the Government had not been paralysed and its judgment overruled by those whose farseeing comprehensive statesmanship consists in *surrendering everything to popular passion and even fanning its flame.* Had the measures, which were taken at a late period, been taken in time, the difficulties which now beset the Government would never have been allowed to collect." When will Government learn to unlearn Mr. Bright's *dictum* that "Force is no remedy," and to learn that which inculcates *bis dat qui cito dat?*" The Government has simply lost that "tide in the affairs of men, which taken at the flood leads on to fortune," and they find themselves in consequence floundering in those "shallows and miseries which," as the Poet says, "bind the voyage of their life," and Mr. Gladstone talks of the resources of civilisation not being exhausted!

> Rieu de plus prompt à baisser que la civilisation
> dans les crises comme celle-ci; on perd en trois
> semaines le résultat de pleusieurs siècles!

LIBERAL

MISRULE

IN

IRELAND.

"Vita est abidus quisquis non bult
Mundo secum pereunte mori!"

LONDON:
EDWARD STANFORD,
55, CHARING CROSS, S.W.

BEDFORD:
C. F. TIMÆUS, PRINTER.

INTRODUCTION.

As wave succeeds wave, lashing the resounding shore, so for the last two years has been the course of political events in Ireland.

Each fresh surging billow of insurrection and crime would seem to be the culminating one, and yet the tide of agitation and discontent recedes not, until, in the very sameness of its turbulence, we are threatened to be lulled into a state of fatal inactivity, or a dangerous incomprehension of its corroding and spreading influence; until, in the distraction and violence of some last roaring breaker, we are apt to become all-absorbed in the present, and unmindful of the past.

It was to those "who would strength out of weakness call," who would not be unmindful of the lessons and warnings of that past, and who ardently believe that we must profit by the present if we would not in the future see yet greater disaster in Ireland, and even in

England! that I addressed myself on the 7th of June, at Bedford;* and it is at the request of friends who have accorded me their generous and enthusiastic support, that my observations on that occasion are now re-published in this form.

J. H. DE RICCI.

3, Elm Court, Temple, E.C.,
13th June, 1882.

* Pages 35—38 inclusive and page 39 in part were omitted for want of time on the 7th inst.—J. H. de R.

LIBERAL MISRULE IN IRELAND.

"PRINCIPIIS OBSTA. SERO MEDICINA PARATUR
CUM MALA PER LONGAS CONVALUERE MORAS!"

"THE Empire never can be well while Ireland is ill." We have it on the authority of the Prime Minister himself; we also know, on the authority of another Cabinet Minister, that our sister country is afflicted with a "plague spot;" and therefore the question is a burning one, for not only does it concern Ireland, but the hateful disease may spread; indeed, unless vigorously arrested, it will surely spread, and it may affect us at any day, ay, at any moment here.

The course which events have taken in Ireland under the guidance of the present Government may be safely affirmed to be unparalleled in our modern history.

During the last two years, sop, if not incentive, has been authoritatively given to revolutionary violence and crime. It has been pointed out that in lawless agitation the end justifies the means, and an excitable and enthusiastic people have

been goaded to a pitch of disorganization and frenzy at which we now stand aghast.

Within the last few days these lamentable events have reached a climax, which has re-echoed throughout the land.

Even while our beloved Queen, in an adjoining county, was engaged, on a lovely afternoon in this season of sunshine and promise, in dedicating a Royal hunting ground, for all time to the health, to the recreation, to the liberty of her people, the deadly knife and dagger of the assassin were in Ireland laying bare a hideous reign of terror, under the baneful influence of which, nor health, nor recreation, nor liberty can exist!

These are no mere phrases of empty declamation that I am indulging in; the occasion is a far too solemn one; and I will accordingly ask your attention while we endeavour to follow the path of recent events leading up to this awful tragedy.

On the 8th March, 1880, Lord Beaconsfield, on the eve of an appeal to his fellow countrymen, in a letter which has now become historical, declared that—

"A danger in its ultimate result scarcely less disastrous than pestilence or famine"

was imminent in Ireland.

He said—

"A portion of the population is endeavouring to sever the constitutional tie which unites it to Great Britain."

Three days later, Mr. Gladstone, doubtless having in the interval fully pondered the value of the Irish vote, boldly closed eyes and ears to this clear and patriotic warning, and, taking comfort from the 10,000 Home Rule votes accorded in the previous February to Lord Ramsay, at Liverpool, besides being primed by two manifestoes which had meanwhile issued from Mr. Shaw and the "Home Rule Confederation" in London, published an address in which all warning is scattered to the winds, and the state of Ireland is thus disposed of:—

"In the electioneering address which the Prime Minister has issued, an attempt is made to work upon your fears *by dark allusions to the repeal of the Union.*"

The elections went on; the country was no doubt somewhat staggered at this apparent contradiction of views on the part of eminent statesmen, but only to receive further assurance from Mr. Gladstone that there was

"An absence of crime and outrage, with a general sense of comfort and satisfaction, such as is unknown in the previous history of the country." *

Alas! poor Ireland was once more doomed to become the victim of party strife; her most sacred rights were to be abandoned to conspiracy and faction; her most vital interests were to be

* Speech at Liberal Club, Edinburgh, March 31st, 1880.

trifled with, and sacrificed on the altar of place and office.

The Queen's speech soon disclosed the Irish policy. It said—

"The Peace Preservation Act for Ireland expires on the 1st June. You will not be asked to renew it. My desire to avoid the evils of exceptional legislation in abridgment of liberty would not induce me to forego in any degree the performance of the first duty of every Government in providing for the security of life and property. But, while determined to fulfil this sacred obligation, I am persuaded that the loyalty and good sense of my Irish subjects will justify me in relying on the provisions of the ordinary law, firmly administered, for the maintenance of peace and order."*

Let us, then, see how this "sacred duty of providing for the security of life and property" was fulfilled, and what steps were taken for the "maintenance of peace and order." In all this the Irish vote first had to be reckoned with. It had been purchased rather dearly, it is true, but payment became nevertheless inevitable and necessary. A first instalment was accordingly proposed in the "Compensation for Disturbance Bill." The secret history of the introduction of this Bill will probably never be publicly divulged; all we know for certain is that it was not foreshadowed, nor was any allusion whatsoever made touching such legislation in the Queen's speech; and the ministerial mind was so completely at

* May 21, 1880.

sea on the subject at the time of its introduction, that no less than three different proposals were made touching it, within one week, by the Government. Public opinion was dead against the Bill, which doubtless could only tend to encourage agitation, depreciate the value of land, and drive away capital from Ireland. It was, moreover, clearly a measure that invaded the rights of property, and its introduction was in direct opposition to the solemn declarations of Mr. Gladstone in 1870, that the Land Act then passed was to be a final and conclusive settlement of the agrarian question.

This was apparently the view entertained by many of the supporters of the Government, for the *third* reading in the Commons only passed by a majority of 66 votes; or, in other words, the Government working majority was reduced by *one-half;* and the House of Lords finally threw out the Bill by a majority of 231 votes.

In this majority there were not less than 60 Liberal Peers; Lord Lansdowne, moreover, resigned, and it was rumoured that other members of the Government had tendered their resignations.

Mr. Forster was furious, and even said foolish things of the House of Lords. But he was mistaken; he had reckoned without his host, and we have the proof of it in the fact that the Irish Nationalist press mocked his defeat and mortifica-

tion, while exulting over successful Parnellite obstruction.

The truth was that the Chief Secretary had completely missed his mark; his Bill satisfied no party—least of all, the Irish Party, and if I now dwell especially on this initiatory and most stupid blunder in Irish policy, it is because we sometimes hear of insinuations made, that all the misfortunes of the Government are to be traced to the firm and wise attitude of the Upper House on this occasion.

Prorogation came, and the Queen's Speech is made to dwell on the promise of a bountiful harvest, and with

> "Especial pleasure upon the probable improvement in the condition of the people in Ireland, who had so seriously suffered from previous failure of the crops."

It having been pointed out, however, with some force, that the actual state of Ireland did not appear altogether to warrant these pleasurable anticipations, assurance was obtained, that should the ordinary law prove insufficient to maintain public authority and quiet, Parliament would be asked for further powers.

Within a few weeks from this date Lord Mountmorris was brutally murdered in Galway.

The Autumn months rolled on, and with them, although crime and lawlessness increased to an alarming extent, *no demand* for fresh powers was

made on Parliament; *dissension* prevailed in the Cabinet, and Ireland was delivered up *to sedition.*

"*Force* is no remedy," said Mr. Bright, in Birmingham, on the 17th November, 1880, and, on the same occasion, Mr. Chamberlain, in commenting on the speeches made a short time previously, at the Mansion House, by the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor, observed:—

"The Lord Chancellor had said that liberty and law were the two great pillars of the State. Yes, but there were some men, apparently, who were anxious to destroy one of these pillars in order to be able to build up the foundation of the other. They would *destroy liberty in order to preserve law.* He did not believe that possible, and he did not believe it right."

Or, in other words, *obedience to law* was to make place for *liberty in crime!*

Again, he said:—

"*There was wide-spread disaffection in Ireland; there never was so much wide-spread disaffection in any country; but there was some just ground of grievance behind it.*"

Thus fresh fuel was added to the flame, and Mr. Bright talked glibly of handing over as much as ten millions sterling, if necessary, of hard-earned English money, to a cause dependent on the "dissolute village ruffian and midnight assassin."

These divisions in the Cabinet, and monstrous teachings in Birmingham, were not long without bearing fruit.

Captain Boycott was one of the first victims; he was hounded by the Land League, and the Government, having been fairly put to it by fifty loyal men of Ulster, were forced to send a flying column to protect, and save this unfortunate gentleman's life and his crops.

About this time also, young Mr. Wheeler was savagely murdered in Limerick.

This was in November; in the beginning of the following month Baron Dowse, at the opening of the Connaught Assizes, drew attention to the state of anarchy into which the country had been deliberately allowed to drift. He said—

* * * * * * *

"This, however, I will take the liberty of saying, for I think it is the time and the place to do so, that if this state of affairs is allowed to continue much longer immediate danger to Ireland will be the consequence, and ultimate disgrace to the empire of which she forms a part. No true friend of Ireland, no real lover of liberty as distinguished from licence, can dare approve of the state of things I lay before you. I speak not alone in the interests of the victims of this reign of terror, as it is properly called, but also the interests of the poor people themselves, who are too often the mere tools of men more crafty and designing than themselves. I speak, moreover, in the interests of the whole country, which in every part, from north to south, from east to west, in the study of the professional man, in the ware-room of the trader, in the home of the country gentleman, and in the cottage of the farmer, feels the terrible influence of this dreadful disease, some of the most dangerous symptoms of which I have laid before you. I hope it is not out of character for me to say that I fervently pray to God that this cloud of

discontent and crime which is brooding over this province may be speedily removed, and that peace and happiness, truth and justice, may be once more established within its borders.

* * * * * * *

"I have passed over in the counties I have been reviewing these acts of killing and maiming cattle without remark; but this I must say—that a more dastardly and cowardly offence was never committed by human hands than to maim innocent beasts unable to defend themselves, and placed in a position where they do injury to no person. This is done solely to work vengeance on the unfortunate owners of the animals, and I do not know what more atrocious or more savage act could be committed. Heathens who have never heard the joyful tidings of Christianity would not have perpetrated such atrocities."

At the Cork Assizes, also held at this time, Judge Fitzgerald received a letter threatening him with death, and concluding with these words—

"Ireland a nation! *To Hell with Miss Victoria. La Reine! Parnell for ever, Notre Roi!*"

The letter also contained a rude sketch of a man with a pistol, and the words, "*Shot by.*"

The administration of the law seemed paralysed in every branch. Here is another glaring example of the reign of terror:—

"THE OFFICE OF HIGH SHERIFF IN IRELAND.*

"The following correspondence has been placed in our hands for publication by an extensive landed proprietor in Ireland who formerly represented an Irish county in Parliament:—

"'Dublin Castle, *Dec.* 10.

"'Sir,—The Lord Lieutenant having been pleased to appoint you to be High Sheriff of the county of ———— for the ensuing year, I am directed by his Excellency to request you will make the necessary arrangements for undertaking the duties of the office.

* *Times*, Dec. 17, 1880.

"'An early acknowledgment of this communication s requested.

"'I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"'To ———' "'T. H. Burke.

"'———, *Dec.* 15, 1880.

"'Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the letter of the 10th December, informing me that the Lord Lieutenant had been pleased to appoint me to be High Sheriff of the county of ——— for the ensuing year.

"'I most respectfully decline the appointment.

"'1. Because, owing to the state of the country, I am in receipt of so diminished a rental that I cannot afford the expenses of the office.

"'2. Her Majesty's Government having allowed the country to verge into a state of anarchy and rebellion, the responsibilities and dangers of the office are more than I am willing to incur.

"'I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

———

"'T. H. Burke, the Castle, Dublin.'

And yet the Government folded their arms and did nothing; no demand was made for fresh powers, though clearly the ordinary law was wholly insufficient to cope with the emergency, and the Cabinet either seemed to connive at anarchy, or to be struck impotent by some hidden force or Radical pressure.

Thus ended the year 1880; a memorable one in the misfortunes of Ireland.

In the first week of January, 1881, the Parliament was at *last* assembled, and asked to deal

with a condition of affairs thus described in the Queen's speech—

"The anticipation with which I last addressed you of a great diminution of the distress in Ireland, owing to an abundant harvest, was realized; but I grieve to state that the social condition of the country has assumed an alarming character. Agrarian crimes in general have multiplied far beyond the experience of recent years. Attempts upon life have not grown in the same proportion as other offences; but I must add that efforts have been made for personal protection, far beyond all former precedent, by the police, under the direction of the Executive. I have to notice other evils yet more widely spread; the administration of justice has been frustrated, with respect to these offences, through the impossibility of procuring evidence, and an extended system of terror has thus been established in various parts of the country, which has paralyzed almost alike the exercise of private rights and the performance of civil duties."

Yes; Ireland, within a short nine months under a Liberal Government, had been reduced from a state "of comfort and satisfaction such as had been previously unknown," to so desperate a pass, that it could no longer be glossed over or ignored.

A "message of peace" was accordingly prepared in haste, and also a "measure of coercion;" and here we find a Cabinet Minister, who but a few weeks previously had loudly proclaimed that "force was no remedy," now unblushingly advocating a measure which permitted men to be deprived of their liberty and cast into gaol, without trial, on *mere suspicion*.

We can scarcely credit it, that he who in 1880 and 1881 is to be found handing over his fellow countrymen, now to the tender mercies of the Land League, now, without trial, to the common gaoler, is the same John Bright who, in days gone by, was wont to raise his powerful voice on behalf of the *sacred cause of freedom*—who, in the year 1863, with passionate force and eloquence, denounced "slavery" as the "foulest of all crimes." The die was cast! But had there been a little more wholesome preaching of obedience to the law, and a little less poisonous ranting on "force" being "no remedy," there surely would have been no need for this terrible measure of repression.

On the "*Message of Peace*" opinion was quickly pronounced. Outside of Parliament it was freely condemned as a new bribe to agitators, and further encouragement to revolution; another measure of Gladstonian plunder and blunder.

In Parliament, the number of amendments to it, in March, amounted to 900, of which over 800 proceeded from the Irish Party. I say, that to this "Message of Peace" Irish members alone at that time had raised not less than 800 objections.

Dissension in the cabinet again was rife, and the Duke of Argyll resigned, declaring

"That, while I approve and heartily support every measure which can reasonably be taken to increase the number of

owners of land in Ireland, I am opposed to measures which tend to destroy ownership altogether, by depriving it of the conditions which are necessary to the exercise of its functions."

The main feature of the Bill was *Protection.* It absolutely abolished *Free Trade* in land, and therefore was in diametrical opposition to every principle of political economy, either laid down by John Stuart Mill or Cobden, or popularly attributed in latter days to the Liberal Party.

Justice was at last to be done to Ireland! The property of one class was to be handed over to another class! The appetites which had been whetted in 1870 were to be appeased!

But, unfortunately, the appetites of the Land League are large ones, and they would not be comforted. Treason, outrage, and intimidation multiplied and flourished; and *in May* there were no less than *six* flying columns of troops endeavouring to support the Queen's authority in the disaffected districts.

In the *month of June*, Mr. Chamberlain, nothing daunted by the critical condition of Irish affairs disclosed by these facts—by the fact that the "Message of Peace" was still trembling in the balance of urgency rules and obstruction—trumpeted anew to the good people of Birmingham his faithful adhesion to the "Force is no remedy" policy, and while insisting that the "Land Bill *had been accepted by the representatives of Ireland*," in

the same breath, thus demolishes this astounding assurance. He said:—

"There is no secret about what I am going to say; there is no dispute about it. Mr. Parnell (groans, hisses, and cheers) and those who follow him have never concealed the fact that their chief object is not the removal of grievance in Ireland, but the separation of Ireland from England. (Hear, hear.) Only a few months ago Mr. Parnell, speaking in Ireland, said that he would never have joined the Land League, he would have taken no part in this agitation which has been called into existence to redeem the Irish people from the consequences of centuries of wrong, he would have taken no part in that agitation if he had not thought it would help him in the nationalist and separatist movement in which he chiefly takes an interest.

This was not the only information the right honourable gentleman gave on this occasion; he was in a candid vein; he said, again:—

"*Our talk never slackens; neither does the agitation in Ireland.*"

Alas! side by side with their policy of fatal verbosity, did agitation prosper and flourish, *satis loquentiæ, sapientæ parum!*

The "Message of Peace" thus spontaneously accepted by the Irish representatives, after having been spontaneously debated and obstructed by patriots for almost an entire session, finally reached the House of Lords in the last week of July.

The Duke of Argyll was there; he was ready waiting! And this is what he had to say:—

"His noble friends on the Government benches reminded him of a row of jelly fish, creatures which were beautiful in appearance and had an elaborate nervous system, but were destitute of a skeleton and a backbone, and which, when seeming to be swimming, were simply floating with the current. Having paid a tribute to the domestic virtues of the Irish, the noble Duke concluded by saying it was high time to tell them that no people could prosper who pleaded poverty as an excuse for crime."

It will be admitted his Grace did not mince his words in talking of his late colleagues, nor perhaps without *some* reason—as we now know, guided by the light of after events.

To this we may now conscientiously add, the time is fast approaching when "the jelly fish" will no longer be permitted to float with the current; they soon will be buffeted by a storm raised by their policy of feeble concession and coercion, which will assuredly dash them on the stern and relentless rocks of a people's just indignation!

It was only in the last days of August that Parliament was prorogued, and this is what we find in the Queen's Speech about Ireland— :

"I warmly appreciate the zeal and assiduity with which you have devoted yourselves to the task of maturing a measure for improving the relations between the owners and occupiers of land in Ireland, and for otherwise bettering the condition of its agricultural population. It is my earnest hope that the new law may be productive of benefits commensurate with the care you have bestowed upon its enactments."

The answer was not long in coming back. On the 26th of September Mr. Parnell made a

triumphal entry into Dublin. A great torchlight demonstration took place, at which it is estimated not less than 100,000 people were present, and an address was presented to him, from which I take these extracts:—

"Honoured and beloved Leader,—In the name of the united people of Ireland," &c. And then it goes on to say, "As the great God who shapes the destinies of man has endowed you with wisdom, courage, and other attributes of a leader, we ask you to lead us on to that glorious consummation of national independence."

This, then, was the fashion in which, at the very outset, the great "Message of Peace" was received—a measure admittedly the outcome of intimidation and crime, for have we not got it on the undoubted authority of a late member of the Cabinet, that the bare possibility of a "Land Bill" had not even been thought of at a time when peace and order yet prevailed in Ireland; at the time when the present Government assumed the reins of office.

Certainly this was not pleasant for Mr. Gladstone. Ungrateful Parnell was tampering with the "Message of Peace." Parnell was remorselessly arrested and thrown into goal.

This was on October the 13th, 1881.

Shortly afterwards the Prime Minister thus consoled himself at Leeds:—

* * * * * *

"And now let me do justice to a gentleman whose name is in Ireland respected among those who differ most widely from him, and who was lately, under the exercise of the discretion of the Government, confined in prison—Mr. Dillon, the member for Tipperary. Mr. Dillon is a man of the most extreme opinions upon every question connected with the nationality of Ireland. I am not going to recommend the adoption of his opinions, nor to profess any share of sympathy with them, but I am going to point out to you, first of all, that he is a man everyone acknowledges to be one of the most single-minded attachment, devoted to attachment, to his country, and to be of perfect unswerving integrity.

* * * * * *

"You will say you were not justified in intercepting the beneficent action of a measure like the Land Act, and that is what Mr. Dillon alone, I am sorry to say, among his friends, has done. ('No, no,' and cheers.) He has withdrawn himself from Ireland. He will not give up his extreme national views, but neither will he take upon himself the fearful responsibility of attempting to plunge that country into permanent disorder and chaos by intercepting the operation of the Land Act. (Cheers.) That is the conduct of Mr. Dillon, and I name him as an opponent, but as an opponent whom I am glad to honour."

Within a week Mr. Dillon had freely accepted the challenge thus freely thrown down to him. He scorned both Mr. Gladstone and the so-called "Message of Peace." He also, the honoured opponent, the opponent of unswerving integrity, was ruthlessly torn from his family and friends, and consigned to durance vile—cast into prison "on a reasonable suspicion"! But Mr. Gladstone was not to be denied; he apparently wanted comfort, and he found solace and relief where

others less gifted saw nought but disaster and confusion.

Speaking again soon afterwards at Knowsley, on the 27th Oct., he said :—

"The other relief was when the Corporation declined to present the freedom of the city to Mr. Parnell. I look upon that as a fact of very great importance, for two reasons. In the first place, the municipality of Dublin has always been a focus of popular national feeling in Ireland. In the second place, the motion was made expressly upon grounds which were intended to give the go-by to the position of one who was there to uphold law and order, and was in opposition to law and order. It was put rather upon personal grounds, I believe, and to give consolation to certain people; but, notwithstanding that, I believe upon the casting vote of the Mayor—depend upon it, it is a most significant fact in its bearing on the supposition that most of the Irish people are engaged in opposing the policy of the Government, it is a most significant and important fact—that motion was rejected."

It might, probably, have been ascertained that it was by mere accident and mischance, that the vote which would have conferred this honour on Mr. Parnell was not carried—a circumstance which Mr. Gladstone would have done well to have exercised sound judgment on, by passing the incident over in discreet silence. Unfortunately, in this, as in almost every other case in which Ireland has been concerned, the right honourable gentleman's judgment was the reverse of sound, and he had consequently the extreme mortification and pain of learning within a "*measurable*"

time afterwards, not only that *Mr. Parnell*, but also that *Mr. Dillon* had *received the Freedom of the City of Dublin!*

Here are the very terms in which the two honourable gentlemen themselves acknowledged the signal honour conferred on them:—

"'Kilmainham Prison, *Jan.* 6, 1882.

"'Sir,—I have received your letter informing me that the Municipal Council of Dublin have honoured me by the adoption of resolutions conferring upon me the honorary freedom of the city. I do not think one word is necessary from me to render evident my deep sense of the importance of the step which the Council has taken, and of the circumstances under which it has been taken.

"'I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"'CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.

"'Mr. John Beveridge, Town Clerk.'

"On the motion of Mr. Shackleton, seconded by Alderman Meacher, the Town Clerk was directed to insert the letter in the minutes. The Town Clerk read the following letter:—

"'Kilmainham Gaol, *Jan.* 6, 1882.

"'Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter inclosing a resolution of the Corporation of the City of Dublin conferring the freedom of the city upon me. I need not say how deeply I feel the honour conferred upon me by this vote. Will you kindly convey my thanks to the Corporation, and my regret that circumstances render it impossible for me to thank the Corporation personally for their great kindness?

"'I remain, yours sincerely,

"'JOHN DILLON.

"'Mr. John Beveridge, Town Clerk.'

"On the motion of Mr. Cummins, seconded by Sir John Barrington, this letter was also directed to be inserted in the

minutes. A resolution of the Corporation, requesting the Government to release Mr. Parnell and the other political prisoners, was subsequently read, and was referred for consideration to the same committee."

This was the judgment which the Corporation of Dublin passed on the judgment of Mr. Gladstone, and on what was then currently known as the "Buckshot" policy of his Government. As for the "Message of Peace," it had long since been consigned to limbo!

Meanwhile agrarian outrages which, during the months of August, September, and October of the previous year were not more than 740 in number, during these corresponding months in 1881, had reached the alarming total of 1,244. Anarchy could no longer be winked at. At last, that which should have been done at first, took place—the Land League was suppressed. But the spark, which it would have been easy when first kindled to stamp out, had been suffered to burst into a devouring flame, which had well-nigh obtained mastery, and which may yet end in a conflagration which will try all the power of England's empire!

It was well known that this threatening juncture of Irish affairs was the outcome of the Land League, and the question therefore naturally arose, Why had not the Land League been suppressed before?

Mr. Chamberlain believed himself equal to the occasion. On the 25th of October, speaking at Liverpool, he said:—

"The original objects of the Land League . . . were legal, were even praiseworthy. *To stifle the agitation at such a time would have been to have prevented reform.* . . . There was another reason which weighed with the Government. If the agitation of the *Land League had been then suppressed, the tenants of Ireland would have had no organization to fall back upon.*"

Here, then, was the key to that policy of wilful blindness, and cruel inertia which had reigned supreme, while Ireland was being delivered to devastation and ruin. Here we have an explanation of why the leaders of the Land League were allowed so long to escape, while their wretched followers were being sacrificed for crimes committed at the instigation of others. Here is indication of a road to reform, and what a reform!—a reform which, although not yet a year old, has left little else than desolation and misery in its track, has required the support of 40,000 bayonets, and the incarceration of not less than 800 wretched victims, without trial, *on a mere suspicion.*

These were the calamitous and unprecedented circumstances in which Parliament again met in this year; these are the circumstances in which we find these words of bitter mockery in the Queen's speech:—

"The condition of Ireland at this time, as compared with that which I described at the beginning of last year, shows signs of improvement, and encourages the hope that perseverance in the course you have pursued will be rewarded with the happy results which are so much to be desired."

These are the circumstances in which Mr. Gladstone has had the courage to call the Land Act "an infant Hercules," "full of blessings for the people of Ireland;" these are the circumstances in which, by a wretched tinkering, that "infant Hercules" is now being proved a very pigmy of the puniest type; and these are the circumstances in which the liberties of the Irish people are once more being trod under foot, and placed in jeopardy.

The truth is, the Land Act has so far proved a most egregious failure, and this, quite apart from all economic reasons. Firstly, because it is the outcome of lawlessness and intimidation; and secondly, because, although an offering to Mr. Parnell, Mr. Parnell has told us he would not have taken the coat off his back to obtain it only. He has, indeed, frankly avowed that his aim and object from the first, has been to sever all connection between England and Ireland—to see "Ireland a nation great, glorious, and free." This may be a poetical expression if you please; but we know that Home Rule is a great step towards the consummation of this

expression, and we also all know that a fair bid for "Home Rule" was demanded by Mr. Gladstone in plain, unmistakable, and unvarnished language from his place on the Treasury Benches in the House of Commons on February 11th, 1882.

Nor can the consequences of this language be contemplated without serious misgiving and alarm. During the last two years Ireland has had the demoralizing experience of seeing agitation rewarded, and lawlessness triumphant, and this new temptation to rebellion is a sore one.

This was the position of affairs when the House of Lords determined it was expedient to make inquiry into the working of the Land Act. It was no secret that it had wholly failed in the matter of *arrears*, in the matter of the *purchase clauses*, in the matter of *ameliorating the condition of the labouring classes*, and in the matter of *emigration*.

Further, so far from satisfying the "land-hunger," it was proved to demonstration it did nothing of the sort; it merely transferred the rack rent, which formerly went into the landlord's pocket, in a capitalized form to the pocket of the outgoing tenant.

Again, there was a hopeless block of business in the land courts; over 71,000 cases were pending, and it was shown beyond doubt that,

at the rate of progress then being made, it would take from fourteen to seventeen years to dispose of them, and this did not include the possible cases of the 480,000 remaining tenants not yet brought forward.

Lastly, there was a glaring lack of principle in the decision of cases. One Sub-Commissioner was reported to have given his decision after smelling the land. It was said he stuck his stick in a field as if it were a piece of cheese, and having smelt it, he valued the land!

Over and above all this a large question of compensation arose. The reductions of rent by the Land Courts had averaged about 25 per cent., or, in other words, *one fourth* of what the landowners had acquired under a system of *free trade* or *Parliamentary title* was, under a system of *confiscation*, being taken from them. About four millions sterling were being arbitrarily misappropriated at the demand of outrage and assassination.

The Land Act, in effect, says contracts which tenants have solemnly made with landlords, and landlords with tenants, shall not hold; that rights which Englishmen have hitherto imagined were inviolable, and that the owners alone were competent to determine for themselves, shall be handed over to others for valuation and assessment.

What would owners of goods and chattels, or other property whatsoever, in this country say, if they were to be deprived of their free right of buying, or selling, or hiring, or letting such property, just after such fashion, or on such terms as suited them best? Or what would they say if, having voluntarily made agreements among one another, in consequence of which goods or chattels, or other property whatsoever, were hired, or rented, or let, and the Government were to step in and say "all these agreements are worthless and must be upset"; say to the tradesman and shopkeeper, "You have been making too much profit, you must in the future hand back so much of it to your customer;" say to the working man, "You have been asking too much for your labour, you must in the future return so much of your hard-earned wages—those wages you have earned by the sweat of your brow—to your employers"? Why, there would be such an outcry throughout the country, that no Government could stand against it. And yet it is on principles such as these that the Land Act is founded, and is now being administered in Ireland.

In a word, this is purely and simply a question of *Free Trade.* The landlords say they have acted fairly towards their tenants, and there is no right or reason for depriving them of the benefit of contracts freely and fairly entered into

on both sides—at all events, without just compensation being made; and while on this point I will take occasion to refer briefly to an incident in Mr. Gladstone's political career which may serve to illustrate the openness and curious uncertainty of the right honourable gentleman's mind in such questions. In the year 1833 a large portion of the human race was declared free by Act of Parliament: a result principally arrived at by the expenditure of twenty millions sterling of British money, and the philanthropic efforts of a Wilberforce, supported by the conscience-stricken suffrages of an outraged and sympathizing humanity.

In those days Mr. Gladstone was interested in the compensation question: his father was the proprietor of at least one sugar plantation in Demerara, and many slaves; neither had confiscation or spoliation yet fallen as a Liberal blessing on the people! And it came to pass that there was a debate in the House, in the matter of compensating slave-owners, and Mr. Gladstone spake these words and said:—

"He deprecated cruelty, he deprecated slavery; it was abhorrent to the nature of Englishmen. *But, conceding all things, were not Englishmen to retain a right to their own honestly and legally-acquired property? . . . He trusted that the House would make a point to adopt the principle of* compensation."

This was the heresy that, in those days, he com-

mitted himself to, AND *with the result* that Messrs. Gladstone & Co. profited from the public purse to the tune of some **£68,454 17***s.* 1*d.*! On these facts have not our fellow-countrymen in Ireland, I ask, some cause for complaint?

In the debate on the Irish Land Bill, in 1870, the Marquis of Hartington said:—

"I believe that the Irish landlords have, as a body, done their duty to their tenants, while they have, perhaps, put up with more and sacrificed more than any body of landlords in either England or Scotland have done." *

And again, later on, Earl Granville said:—

"Landlords, too, have their grievances. It is stated, on good authority, that the rent of land in Ireland is lower, considering the capability of the soil, than that of any civilized country in Europe." †

These views have, moreover, since been repeatedly iterated and affirmed by Mr. Gladstone himself; and yet these Irish landlords, who have done their duty so well, are the persons he does not deem worthy of compensation, notwithstanding that, when personally interested on another occasion, as we have seen, he did not scruple to raise his voice in favour of compensating those who were engaged in the abominable traffic of their fellow-creatures. Yes, this is the

* Hansard, cci., 19 sq., p. 23. May 2, 1870. Amendment on Length of Lease.

† Hansard, ccii., 4 sq., p. 5. June 14, 1870. Second Reading

leader of a so-called Liberal Government, which, while engaged in singing the psalm of *Free Trade* on the housetops in England, has not scrupled in Ireland to prostitute that noble principle to greed, rapacity, and wrong.

The action of the House of Lords was undertaken in a spirit of conciliation and for the public good; it was met by a resolution from Mr. Gladstone as hostile as it was abortive. Hostile, because it was wholly uncalled for, and abortive, because it could have absolutely no possible effect in arresting the judicious step determined on. Such a debate could only tend to bring the two Houses into conflict; it could only tend to inflame passions, to which appeal was made; it could only afford the lamentable spectacle of one of the Estates of the Realm, endeavouring to bring another of those Estates into discredit; and, therefore, it amounted to a deliberate attack upon the Constitution. But this was not the first time the right honourable gentleman had attacked the Upper House. Already in his Mid-Lothian campaign he had said:—

"But the moment the people go to sleep—and they cannot always be awake—the moment public opinion flags, the moment people become satisfied, and cease to take a very strong and decided interest in public questions, that is the moment when the majority of the House of Lords grows powerful, and then they mangle, then they cut about, then they postpone,

then they reject the good measures that go up to them from the House of Commons." *

Such language as this in the mouth of one who had been Prime Minister, and who, even at that time, was proclaiming *nolo espiscopari*, needs no comment. Nor was it long afterwards, that another Cabinet Minister, aptly taking up the cue from his chief, used such language towards the hereditary chamber, that the Minister for Foreign Affairs had to apologise for the utterances of his colleague in the Lower House. Fortunately, threatened men live long. I say *fortunately*, for if we are to have much more of a system of government by agitation and misrepresentation, if the muzzle is to be put on freedom of debate, if the new-fangled tyranny of the caucus is to prevail, then surely the time will come when we will find in the House of Lords a real stronghold of the people's liberties; we shall find in it a sanctuary, where seats from Birmingham federations will be safe, where gagging may not enter, where loyalty and patriotism will endure untarnished and unshaken, and Freedom will fearlessly assert her sway!

Meanwhile, attention was not diverted, by this last manœuvre of the Government, from the weakly condition of the "Infant Hercules," and the responsibility of failure was sought to be shifted in vain.

* Fourth Mid-Lothian Speech, 17th March, 1880.

The attack on the House of Lords has been rapidly succeeded by other occurrences not less momentous, not less far-reaching in their consequences.

Of these, the "Kilmainham Treaty" first saw the light.

Men who, in the autumn, were thrown into gaol on a "reasonable suspicion" of intimidation and treason, were, in the spring, set at liberty on a "reasonable suspicion" that if certain arrears of rent were paid off, Mr. Parnell and his friends would be enabled to "*co-operate cordially for the future with the Liberal party in forwarding Liberal principles.*"

These are Mr. Parnell's own words.

Mr. Forster refused to be a party to negotiations based on the payment of "blackmail to lawbreakers," and, having warned the Government that the course they were pursuing "would tend to the encouragement of crime," he resigned.

Earl Cowper also resigned. Lord Zetland and other members of the Government had already taken this step.

These baleful events were closely followed by the fearful tragedy in the Phœnix Park, and we have since been face to face with panic!

In the extraordinary rewards offered in this case, we see panic.

Take the murders of Lord Leitrim, Lord Mountmorris, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Boyd, Mr. Herbert, and many others which may be recalled to mind, and compare the rewards offered in those cases and the one under review. Take the case of the bailiffs of Lough Mask, where two unfortunate men, in the peaceful performance of their duties, were tied together alive, put into a sack, and while thus bound, helpless, and incapable of making any struggle for life, were carried out to the middle of the lake, and there mercilessly sunk. And, lastly, let us take a case which cannot but appeal powerfully to all sympathies, in which the wife and mother of the murdered men gives evidence, and describes the crime as it happened :—

"*April* 26, 1881.—I and my husband were in bed. I heard a noise. A party of men broke in the door. They went into the bedroom, which was dark. When they came in they went over to the bed in which I and three of my children were lying. I called out. They went over to the bed in which my husband and son Martin were lying. They told my husband to rise and get out. He said he was sick. They said he must. They caught and pulled him out of bed. They took him out of bed and laid him on the stones outside. They came back into the room, and took my son Martin, and laid him on the stones. When they had taken the two out of the house they began shooting. I was standing at the bedroom window. After the men went away, *I went out and saw my husband and my son Martin lying dead on the flags.*"

What, we may well ask, could be more appalling, or more utterly fiendish than these last two

cases, and yet in neither of them was any reward offered at all proportionate or comparable to that which I have referred to as the reward of panic.

In the "Prevention of Crime" Bill, which is being debated in the House of Commons at this very moment, we see little else than panic!

"We detest coercion," they continually do cry, and yet coercion, and unparalleled and drastic coercion, is their remedy for all things.

Last year, Ireland was handed over body and soul to a "reasonable suspicion;" this year she is being deprived of a birthright, perhaps more dear than any other to all Englishmen, the right of trial by jury.

Again, in the "Arrears" Bill, also now in progress through the House of Commons, we see both socialism and panic, and if you ask me what is *socialism*, I will explain it to you as it was once explained to me by a gentleman of Irish descent, whom I met in America. He said, "I like a good row, because when there is a good row there is some chance of pickings." And this is the abominable doctrine which has been sown broadcast and allowed to take root unchecked in Ireland. An unfortunate and misguided peasantry has been incited to create rows, and the pockets of Englishmen have been pointed to for the *pickings!*

Yes, men of Bedford, the Government are now actually asking you to contribute to an unknown number of millions sterling by way of "pickings" —to pay arrears of rent, which, instead of going into the pockets of those to whom it was lawfully due, was squandered in lawlessness and crime.

Born of an *unholy alliance and panic*, such is the "*Arrears*" *Bill.*

In this last nostrum, I see nothing but danger and rocks-ahead both for Ireland and England. Throughout these troublous times, neither threatening manifestoes, nor Boycotting, nor assassination, nor terorrism of "Moonlighters," has deterred many honest men and loyal subjects from paying their rents; and what is their reward? Why, that an Arrears Bill has been introduced in order to permit of those who have been dishonest, who have been disloyal, and who have not paid their rents, to get off scot-free. Here is equity! here is justice! And who can say when the "cancerous sore" may not spread and reach us here.

In truth, the shadow of socialism is upon us—the position of public affairs is well-nigh without precedent; nor can we hope for any sensible amelioration or healthful change so long as the present Government remains in office.

The Premier has unfortunately committed himself publicly to such dangerous expressions

of opinion on Irish policy as to permit of no satisfactory explanation or retreat, and which would most surely imperil any further new departure the Cabinet might be tempted to embark on. Here are some exemplifications of what I mean :—

"*Alluding to Mr. Gladstone's confession that it was the Fenian insurrection which had brought the Irish Church Act within the sphere of 'practical politics,' he said :*—'If we have any grievance, and the English Ministry and Parliament disregard it, we are actually to get up another insurrection in order to get justice. This is the lesson we are taught.' 'A few years more, and some other grievance will arise. Are we again to awake the slumbering friendship of Mr. Gladstone, or some future Gladstone, by a second insurrection ?' " *

Here indeed was a lesson ; nor must we forget that while it was yet fresh in Irish memory the Land Act of 1870 became law. Again, we have had the same lesson more recently, in the second speech of the Mid-Lothian campaign, thus repeated :—

"What happened in the case of the Irish Church ? That down to the year 1865, and the dissolution of that year, the whole question of the Irish Church was dead ; nobody cared for it, nobody paid attention to it in England. Circumstances occurred which drew the attention of the people to the Irish Church. I said myself, in 1865, and I believed, it was out of the range of practical politics—that is to say, the politics of the coming election. When it came to this, that a great jail in the heart of the Metropolis was broken open under

* The late Isaac Butt, Q.C., M.P., Glasgow. *Times*, Nov. 15, 1871, 3 c.

circumstances which drew the attention of the English people to the state of Ireland, and when in Manchester policemen were murdered in the execution of their duty, at once the whole country became alive to Irish questions, and the question of the Irish Church revived. It came within the range of practical politics. I myself took it up, and proposed resolutions to the House of Commons declaring the view of the House that the Irish Church ought no longer to exist as an establishment."

It is just five years ago since we had, amongst other multifarious productions from the prolific pen of the right honourable gentleman, a sensational pamphlet, entitled, "Lessons in Massacre." Has not the time at length arrived, I ask, when we may fairly make claim to another pamphlet from the same pen, and which we will now name, in anticipation, "Lessons in Outrage and Revolution"! How, indeed, is it possible that the accursed blight from which our fellow-countrymen are suffering can be cured, if their constant food be poison?

Verily, their only hope in this most disastrous and threatening state of affairs rests on change of Government.

Further change of front for those at present in office, would not only tend to render them more ridiculous, more inconsistent, more impossible, but would surely lead to yet greater failure and disaster.

What faith, or trust, can we have, I ask, in a

Cabinet composed of gentlemen who, in 1870, and even since then—

(1.) Were "irreconcilably opposed" to "perpetuity or fixity of tenure," and who stated such a measure would "excite enthusiasm" such as to "render reasonable legislation for Ireland impossible." "It would be a social revolution absolving wealth and property from their duties."

(2.) Who declared that Land Reform in Ireland must "be based on sacred respect for the rights of property."

(3.) Who said :—

"Reduction of excessive rents would (1) throw into confusion the whole economical arrangements of the country. (2) Drive out of the field honest and solvent men. (3) Spread demoralization through the whole Irish people."

(4.) Who insisted on "freedom of contract," "resisted the idea of rents being fixed arbitrarily by public authority," and objected to the "periodical revaluation of rents."

(5.) Who said they were opposed to bullying landlords, and that if a system of "*free land meant making free with other people's land*," they would have nothing to say to it.

And of all these laudable determinations, these irreconcilable objections, these immortal principles, how much remains? I answer, emphatic-

ally, absolutely nothing; and, if you ask me what has become of them, I would reply that, for the nonce, they have probably been thrust aside, and put away as far as possible imagination permits, from the consciences of those who were once responsible for their creation.

Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, in the year of grace, 1881, have done everything which in the year of grace, 1870, they protested should be left undone.

They have burned that which they adored; they adore that which they burned.

But we shall be told, even if this change does take place, what can be expected more at the hands of a Conservative Government? What have Conservatives ever done for Ireland when they have been in power, and what now is the alternative programme they offer? To this I would say, that the one and only true "Message of Peace" sent to Ireland in the present century, was the Catholic Emancipation Act, and this proceeded from that great Tory leader, the Duke of Wellington.

We believe there are Conservative statesmen, also in these days, capable of grasping the vast happiness resulting from that large measure of "good will," and of discharging amply whatever trust may in time be reposed in them, notwith-

standing the gigantic legacy of failure they will inherit from their predecessors.

During their recent term of office the Conservative Party is entitled to take credit for *three* things concerning Ireland:—

Firstly,—For having given a measure of education to the Irish people which they had not hitherto possessed, and which, in due season, I feel convinced they will recognize to be a boon of the first magnitude, and be grateful for.

Secondly,—For having ameliorated Liberal coercion Acts and minimized coercion; and

Thirdly,—For having loyally maintained the non-coercive enactments of their predecessors, not that they believed in them, but in order that they might have fair trial.

We have no precise knowledge as to what the policy of the Conservative Party would be, were office—which they cannot wish to seek, and which indeed they would probably only be induced to accept from the most patriotic motives—now imposed on them. But for myself I would urge—

Firstly, and above all other considerations, uncompromising suppression of crime and outrage by a firm and efficacious administration of the law, and the unequivocal maintenance of the Queen's authority.

Secondly,—Proceeding on this basis, free trade should be re-established as far as possible in land, and compensation granted in such cases as justice and equity should demand.

Thirdly,—The Purchase Clauses of the Land Act should be developed and given full effect to.

Fourthly,—The condition of the labouring classes should be improved by increased facilities for allotment and better habitations.

Fifthly,—The burning question of emigration should receive full and generous consideration.

Sixthly, and Lastly,—In the matter of County and Local Government, which must now soon be dealt with, Ireland should be placed on a like footing with England.

Beyond this, I would strongly advocate close attention to the development of Irish fisheries and industries, and to the all-important question of education.

Thirteen years have elapsed since, what I will term, the "first new departure" in Irish politics took place. It was initiated by a measure of spoliation and confiscation; since that date poor Ireland has been governed on Gladstonian principles, and Gladstonian principles only; her evil genius, agitation, has been rampant, and she has known no rest.

Liberal misrule in Ireland has now reached a crisis demanding a solution which cannot for long

be deferred. The issue may be at any moment before the country, and upon it must be passed judgment.

We have some confidence and some hope that that judgment will be a wise one.

(Leaflet for Electors.)

Mr. GLADSTONE'S IRISH POLICY.

In April, 1880, the Liberal Party entered office with the light-hearted gaiety of success, pledged by an unwritten contract with the people to discharge the functions of Government, to deal out equal justice to all, to maintain the authority of the Queen, and to protect the lives and property of her subjects. And now, as the people of England look towards Ireland, the question is asked how that pledge has been redeemed. For there they see another Government more powerful than their own, another code of unwritten law more efficacious than their own, a threefold monster of murder, rapine, and rebellion arrayed against them. Therefore Her Majesty's Ministers are summoned to the reckoning, called on to render an account of their stewardship, bidden to say how it is that they suffered a country, comparatively tranquil when they entered office, to drift into this troubled sea.

Amidst all their railings at the Conservatives, no Liberal has ventured to cast on them the blame of Ireland's present state, except Lord Hartington on Nov. 26th, 1881. He, with all the ingenious and unblushing hardihood of despair, having discovered that under Lord Beaconsfield Parnellism had existed both in Parliament and the country, uses this discovery to prove that Ireland, too, is part of the heritage of woe left by the Conservatives to their successors. But let Lord Hartington say boldly, without quibble or hesitation, whether the Liberal Party would have joined the then Government in crushing obstruction within the House or the Land League without, and if he cannot answer in the affirmative let him hold his peace.

Let the people of England recall the policy of the Liberals. Warned by their predecessors not to suffer the Peace Preservation Act to lapse, they spoke proudly of the resources of the ordinary law—a law which their Irish Jury Act of 1872 had rendered powerless, and they plumed themselves on the high policy of trusting to this broken reed. Warned by Lord Beaconsfield of a peril menacing Ireland worse than pestilence or famine, they disregarded him with gibes and sneers. Agitation increased; they proposed a Bill, pithily described by Mr. Forster as a Bill for the suspension of payment of rent, which their own followers in the Commons would have voted against but that they were sure of its rejection in the

House of Lords, and on that rejection, in the sullenness of defeat, they openly refused to be accountable for events in Ireland. Encouraged by these utterances, mindful of Manchester and Clerkenwell, and their beneficial influence on Liberal minds, outrage stalked forth more rampant than before. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Selborne spoke brave words at the Guildhall in defence of law, and poured forth protestations of their zeal as her champions. Brave words, had they been followed by action; but no—there was a greater power behind. Ireland looked to Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Gladstone looked to Birmingham, and Birmingham responded not. "Force," said Mr. Bright, "is no remedy for the wrongs of Ireland;" demolishing with his happy epigram an imaginary foe. No one had said that wrongs were curable by force, but only the lawless mode of giving expression to them. Mr. Chamberlain went further when he proclaimed aloud to the comforted and responsive Irish race that liberty was higher and holier than law. Liberty! What a prostitution of the phrase! Where was the liberty of Ireland? There was liberty, aye, and license, too, for the bully, the murderer, the Communist, the cowardly torturers of dumb animals; but for the landlord, for the loyal man, for the honest tenant, there was none. But the edict of Birmingham had gone forth that force was no remedy, that liberty was more sacred than law, and Mr. Gladstone humbly acquiesced. Again and again did the loyalists of Ireland call for help. The moan of tortured beasts, the shriek of tortured men and women, the silent voice of blood rose in one great cry. But the Baal of Liberalism did not hear; he was poring over the wrongs of Greece, or muddling in South Africa, or stumping in England, or perhaps meditating a Land Bill, and cried they never so loudly he gave no answer. Then at last, after an elaborate burlesque, enacted with much spirit in the Four Courts of Dublin, which only stimulated to further outrage, by promises of impunity, the Government came with meek acknowledgment of error to ask Parliament for Coercion. It was given them, all they wanted; the formidable weapon they demanded was in their hands. Like the steam-hammer, it could at the pleasure of its masters crush a rock (so they said) or fall harmless on an eggshell. The Government chose even then, with all their harrowing pictures of Irish terrorism, with almost God-sent blindness, to regard the Land League as the eggshell, and they regulated the force of their steam-hammer in accordance with this view. The "village ruffians" emerged, under the beneficent operation of the Act, from the obscurity of the "shebeen" into the bright glare of Kilmainham, where, warmly housed by Government, well clad and fed, they became martyrs to boot. The leaders of the party meanwhile remained at large; the Land League organisation was still suffered to exist, gaining, by the martyrdom of its members, increased vigour and violence in the propagation of its gospel of plunder and terrorism. Then Mr. Gladstone tried his remedial

legislation; again all that he asked was given him. The Conservatives, disagreeing with much of his Land Bill, yet recognised the necessity of some such measure: in their conduct he has nothing to complain of. But the Land League rejected the Bill, and resolved to test its operation before they accepted it. The contest became personal between the two rulers, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell. At last, when their cherished measure was in danger, the Ministry, reversing Mr. Chamberlain's former dictum, announced that law was higher and holier than liberty; the Land League was crushed and its leaders arrested.

Such is the history of the matter. Now the Government is asked why was not all this done before? Ireland in September was no worse than during any time of the twelve months preceding. Why, then, was the Land League spared so long to be so ruthlessly sacrificed at last? We have no need, like Antony, to pause for a reply. It has been supplied by Mr. Chamberlain, the *enfant terrible* of the Cabinet. He said that "to stifle the agitation at such a time would have been to have prevented reform. . . . . There was another reason which weighed with the Government. If the agitation of the Land League had been suppressed, the tenants of Ireland would have had no organisation to fall back upon." (Liverpool, Oct. 25, 1881.) Such cynical audacity is well nigh incredible. The Government, pledged to maintain the law, were trading in lawlessness and crime, advancing lightly to their goal through seas of anarchy on the stepping-stones formed by innumerable victims. And then "the tenants of Ireland would have had no organisation to fall back upon." What a melancholy thing! "'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful." But what organisation were they relying on at the time when the Government viewed them with so tender an eye? The same, exactly the same, as that which, when it thwarted them, they put down as illegal and criminal, and which, while it forwarded their plans, while it terrorised their followers into a measure of confiscation, they cherished in their bosoms.

But now it is too late. The spark which might have been trampled out as it feebly flickered has become a consuming and devouring fire. The measures which, adopted sooner, might have quieted the country, have now but fanned the flame. The Government confesses itself powerless; in the fury of their weakness they turn on the Conservatives in false recriminations; they deprecate hostile criticism. Forgetful of their own conduct in a great national crisis a few years back, they call on the Opposition for aid in their distress. Even Irish landlords are made to bear the blame that belongs solely to the Government. They have been reproached by the Prime Minister for not having stood up in their own defence, for having by their weakness contributed to the anarchy of Ireland. Shame on him as a man, shame on him as a Minister, thus to upbraid those whose

prayer for help he disregarded, thus to attack those who in all times of danger and tumult have stood firm in defence of their Queen and her authority. Did they yield to fear for their families and grant the demands of the League, they were denounced as cowards; did they refuse to abate their lawful claims they were held up to execration as tyrants. This is the humiliating position of England's ruler, that he has to call on class to array itself against class in civil warfare to uphold the law he has suffered to be despised. He has called Irish landlords and English Conservatives to aid him, and aid he shall have. It has never been the policy of Conservatives to forget their country in blind zeal for party, nor to allow a lust of power and place to outweigh the instincts of honour and patriotism. But criticism, keen, biting, hostile criticism, the Liberals may not hope to escape. The Opposition owes to the country a duty, and one which cannot be neglected; and that duty now is to summon Her Majesty's Ministers to the bar of public opinion, and in face of the nation to demand what use have they made of their vast and servile majority to maintain the welfare of the country, or protect the lives and property of her loyal sons.

December, 1881.

THE BARGAIN WITH TREASON.

THE Treaty of Kilmainham has at last been brought to light, exhumed from that tomb of secrecy in which the Cabinet would fain have let it rest. The process of discovery has been long and difficult. No Old Bailey witness was ever more reluctant to confess the truth than Mr. Gladstone. Bit by bit, piecemeal, the articles of the treaty have been dragged into the light of day, and they now stand forth illumined by the lurid lustre of their own infamy. Infamy is a strong word to use; but who will say that it is too strong to qualify an agreement entered into by the Queen's Government with criminals and rebels, "whose steps," to quote Mr. Gladstone, "have been dogged by crime," men who are described one day as "steeped to the lips in treason" and "prominent in the attempt to defeat the law," and who on the next are clasped to the Ministerial bosom as returned prodigals, for whom the fatted calf of conciliation is to be killed, if they on their part will but allay the demon their spells have evoked, and assist in the passage of Liberal legislation?

An agreement, we say, exists between the Government and the Land League. We are aware, of course, that this is stoutly denied on behalf of the former, though the latter, with greater candour and naturally less shame, confess the soft impeachment. But let us see how far the Cabinet itself is agreed on the point whether there is or is not an arrangement. Mr. Gladstone denies it with unwonted directness of speech. The suspects, he says, were released "without any negotiation, promise, or engagement whatsoever." Mr. Forster, on the other hand, who at the time that these negotiations were pending was a member of the Cabinet, describes the proceeding as "a promise on their (the suspects') part to refrain from law-breaking if the Government did a certain thing." This surely is plain enough; here is the condition which is an incident of every bargain.

Sir William Harcourt speaks of the "information" which the Government received that the suspects would refrain from future sedition, and asserts it to have been legitimate to act upon such information. So far all will agree with him. The Government were surely justified in receiving Mr. Parnell's penitence; but he forgets that the "information" on which the Government acted was Mr. Parnell's letter to Captain O'Shea, in which his repentance was clearly conditional. What does this letter say? "If the arrears question be settled on lines indicated by us, I have every confidence that our exertions would be successful in stopping outrages." This is pretty plain speaking,

but our guileless rulers cannot see in it a bargain. Suppose Mr. Parnell had set a bulldog on the Premier, and then said, "If you will give me five pounds, I daresay I shall be able to keep the dog quiet," Mr. Gladstone, as he paid over the money, would have a painful consciousness that a bargain had been struck. Why does he fail to perceive it here?

But this is not all; let us read on. Hitherto the bargain has been plain and (comparatively) innocent and straightforward. But now Mr. Parnell gets on delicate ground, his conditions and promises are more carefully veiled, but are none the less real and binding. He hopes some compromise may be arrived at on the tenure clauses; there would be enormous advantages, he considers, in the extension of the purchase clauses of the Land Act; and then he uses the memorable words: "The accomplishment of the programme I have sketched out to you would, in my judgment, be regarded by the country as a practical settlement of the land question, and would, I feel sure, enable us to co-operate cordially for the future with the Liberal party in forwarding Liberal measures."

Skilfully as Mr. Parnell puts it, what can be more clear to those who will not refuse to see? There are three conditions: the settlement of the arrears question, an amendment of the tenure clauses, and an extension of the purchase clauses. There are two promises made in consideration of these conditions being fulfilled—to put down outrages, and to vote with the Liberal party. Yet Mr. Gladstone fails to see that any "promise or engagement" has been given. There has been no solemn ratification perhaps, but between men of honour—and Sir W. Harcourt assured us three times in the same speech that the Cabinet is composed of English gentlemen—such formalities are superfluous. We see in Mr. Parnell's altered demeanour how binding on himself that gentleman considers the treaty to be, and the Arrears Bill, avowedly founded on Mr. Redmond's, is tacit proof of the honourable acquiescence of the Ministry.

But Mr. Gladstone is so innocent of political chicanery, so unversed in subtlety, that he cannot see that there is any bargain. Such freshness is delightful, it is almost incredible. It is, however, unshared by others. Even Captain O'Shea, that ambassador of whose diplomatic skill Mr. Davitt speaks so disparagingly, saw the proposed barter of policies and the true significance of the last paragraph of Mr. Parnell's ultimatum. He betook himself to Mr. Chamberlain to ask for counsel. He pointed out that the last paragraph about "forwarding Liberal measures" might lead to "misapprehension," and he calmly proposed to omit it altogether. It is not complimentary to Mr. Chamberlain that Captain O'Shea should have selected him as the person to whom to make such a proposal. But strange to say, Mr. Chamberlain, too, seems to have been dwelling in Arcadia. The astute politician who could manipulate the complex caucus or oust a colleague from office by subtle intrigues had forgotten his cunning; all at once politics

became to him as euchre to the heathen Chinee, "a game he could not understand." He tells us that he "attached such little importance to the suggestion, that it quite escaped his memory, and he did not mention it to his colleagues."

Sweet simplicity! Convenient forgetfulness! What was the trifling suggestion that seemed to this pastoral politician of such slight importance? Why, merely the suppression of a whole paragraph in another person's letter, for fear it might "excite misapprehension," while the subject matter of this paragraph was nothing less than a promise to bring under the Radical standard a body of thirty-five or forty men who had been their most bitter opponents. But what makes this childlike innocence all the more surprising is that Mr. Forster had, in a memorandum of a conversation with Captain O'Shea which he circulated among the Cabinet, written this account of what Captain O'Shea had said to him: "What is obtained is that the conspiracy which has been used to get up boycotting and outrages will now be used to put them down, and that there *will be a union in the Liberal party.*" So that Mr. Forster had called attention to that passage which Mr. Chamberlain thought unimportant, and emphasised that bargain which Mr. Gladstone says does not exist. Mr. Chamberlain does not tell us what advice he gave to Captain O'Shea; perhaps he "forgets," but we know that the words *were* left out by that clever plenipotentiary. And it is probable that but for the fact of Mr. Forster's having left the Cabinet and being the possessor of a political conscience, we should never have known of their existence.

But now we do know all, without any thanks to those Ministers who sat calmly by and heard a garbled letter read without a sign of impatience or interruption, and we can sympathise with Mr. Forster when he says that he came away from his interview with Captain O'Shea "very sorry that he had had anything to do with the negotiation." Perhaps if he had been present at the interview between Messrs. O'Shea and Chamberlain his regret might have been increased.

We can now see the transaction in its hideous nakedness; we see the prisoner confined as being guilty of "treasonable practices" treating with his gaolers; we see them greedily, in their extremity, leaping at the hook he dangles before them, baited with promises of his political support; we see his ambassador entering on details as to the emissaries who are to represent her Majesty's Government in suppressing outrage in the West, the man who (to use Captain O'Shea's words) "knew all its details," and against whom a warrant is at this moment out; we see the Government thankfully accepting Mr. Sheridan's aid in discharging those functions which they have long since failed to perform.

And seeing these things, how shall we describe them? To say this treaty is without precedent is unhappily untrue. We have seen similar acts done by Liberal Governments before. The

Whig compact with O'Connell roused the country to indignation forty years ago, the Radical surrender to the Boers filled us with shame and anger a short year since. But these are as nothing compared with the present surrender. We have given up all that is most precious, most vitally necessary to us. We have surrendered law to lawlessness, peace to anarchy, loyalty to treason, honour to party advantage; we have taught the Irish people—and they are ready scholars—that the measure of their violence shall be the measure of reform, that the measure of their lawless treason shall be the measure of their necessity to a Liberal Government; we have taught the law-abiding classes in Ireland—and they, by hard privation will learn the lesson—that it is useless any longer to range themselves on the side of the law, for that law is overcome; that it is useless to be peaceful or loyal, because it is they who have preached violence and treason who are in future to administer the law.

And what was it the Government hoped to purchase? The peace of Ireland? Truly peace is worthy to be bought at a great price; but the price Mr. Gladstone was ready to pay was too heavy, too terribly extravagant. Peace is precious, but peace purchased by the demoralisation of a people is bought too dear. How much more dreadful, then, is it when such a price is paid, and that which we have bought turns out to be a bubble, the airy figment of our imaginative expectations! Yet so it is to-day—we have bid high for peace. The English people has bid its dignity, the English Ministry has bid its consistency and its honour, and what have we to show? The Liberals cry—"Peace, peace," when there is no peace. The work of outrage goes on. Blood is flowing, flames are rising all over the country, two high officials of the Crown have paid with their lives for their over-confidence, almost in the heart of the metropolis. Mr. Parnell may be amenable; like some captured animal he may dance to the sound of his master's fife and drum; but Michael Davitt ranges free, and he utters no uncertain sound. Mr. Gladstone, he says, deceives himself if he thinks that the Land League will efface itself because he has been converted to Mr. Parnell's views about arrears. The Land League was formed for the entire abolition of Irish landlordism, and until that work is done there can be no alliance between Land Leaguer and Whig.

So speaks Michael Davitt, so will speak the American Irish, and so, at a breath, the airy bubble of pacification bursts. Is the English people prepared to go further to make peace with Mr. Davitt? is it prepared to uphold a Ministry which has paid so dear a price for peace, and when it is paid, discovers too late that the vendor's title was defective?

THE

KILMAINHAM

AND FINALLY IT IS, AS I HAVE ALREADY SAID, AN ACT DONE WITHOUT ANY NEGOTIATION, PROMISE, OR ENGAGEMENT WHATSOEVER.

—*Ministerial Statement by Mr W. E. Gladstone in the House of Commons. The 'Scotsman,' Wednesday, May* 3, 1882.

THERE IS ONE THING WORSE EVEN THAN SECRET SOCIETIES, AND THAT IS THE OPEN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE POWERLESSNESS OF THE LAW WITHOUT THE ASSISTANCE OF THE LAW-BREAKERS.

—*Statement by Mr Forster in the House of Commons. The 'Scotsman,' Friday, May* 5 1882.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCLXXXIII

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THE KILMAINHAM

I.—THE RUPTURE.

1. *Mr W. E. Gladstone's Attack on Mr Parnell at Leeds, showing what he thought of Mr Parnell when about to put him into Jail.*

The SCOTSMAN, Saturday, October 8, 1881 :—

For nearly the first time in the history of Christendom a body—a small body of men—have arisen, who are not ashamed to preach in Ireland the doctrine of public plunder. . . . I take as a representative of the opinions I denounce the name of a gentleman of considerable ability—Mr Parnell, the member for Cork—a gentleman, I will admit, of considerable ability, but whose doctrines are not such as really need any considerable ability to recommend them. If you go forth upon a mission to demoralise a people by teaching them to make the property of their neighbours the objects of their covetous desire, it does not require superhuman gifts to find a certain number of followers and adherents for a doctrine such as that. . . . Mr Parnell is somewhat copious in his references to America. He seems to set up America as the true and only friend of Ireland ; but in all his references to America he has never found time to utter one word of disapproval or misgiving about what is known as the assassination literature of that country—not American literature—no, there is not an American who does not scorn it, and spurn it, and loathe it as you do. But there are, it is sad to say, a knot of Irishmen who are not ashamed to point out in the press which they maintain how the ships of her Majesty's navy ought to be blown into the air—to destroy the power of England by secret treachery, and how gentlemen they are pleased to select ought to be the object of the knife of the assassin, and deprived of life because they do not conform to the new Irish gospel. You know there have been some attempts of this kind made in this country. You may have heard of an explosion of dynamite in Salford not very long ago. There was a death of one person in conse-

quence of the explosion. The death of another was expected, but, I believe, was averted, and Mr Parnell, this gentleman to whom I refer, said that that occurrence in Salford appeared to him to bear the character of a practical joke.

2. *Mr Parnell's Reply.*

The SCOTSMAN, Monday, October 10, 1881 :—

WEXFORD, Sunday.—A great Land League demonstration took place here to-day, at which Mr Parnell, who was received with loud and prolonged cheering, said,—You have had an opportunity recently, many of you, no doubt, of studying the utterances of a very great man, a very great orator, the person who recently desired to impress the world with a great opinion of his philanthropy and hatred of oppression, but who stands to-day the greatest coercionist, the greatest and most unrivalled slanderer of the Irish nation that ever undertook that task—I refer to William Ewart Gladstone, and his unscrupulous and dishonest speech of the day before yesterday. . . . Who was it that first sanctioned this doctrine of public plunder? will be asked by some persons. . . . I say that this doctrine of public plunder is a question of degree; and when William Ewart Gladstone, who has shown himself more capable of eating his own words and better able to recede from principles and declarations which he has laid down with just as much fervour as he made the speech the other evening, will before long, if he lives long enough, introduce a bill into the House of Commons to extend this very principle of public plunder which he has sanctioned by his Act of 1881, and to thoroughly protect the interests of tenants and their predecessors in title for improvements they have made; so that, if we are to go into this question, the utmost that Mr Gladstone and the Liberal party will be able to make out of it will be to find that there are some persons very much better entitled to call him a little robber than he is entitled to call me a big one.

3. *Lord Salisbury's Opinion of both of them.*

The EDINBURGH COURANT, Wednesday, October 12, 1881 :—

At the banquet at Newcastle, Lord Salisbury said,—Mr Gladstone has complained that Mr Parnell deserted him. I think, on the whole, he is unjust to Mr Parnell. . . . And if Mr Gladstone complains that Mr Parnell has deserted him, I think he forgets that it is mainly owing to the exertions of the organisation over which Mr Parnell presides that Mr Gladstone now holds office. Well, when he returned to office, what did he do? There has been some talk of public plunder. . . . Mr Parnell has very strongly condemned the accusations which the Prime Minister reflects against him, and I say there is no essential difference between the two.

4. *Mr Parnell's Imprisonment.*

The SCOTSMAN, Friday, October 14, 1881 :—

DUBLIN, Thursday night.—Mr Charles Stuart Parnell, M.P., president of the Irish Land League, was arrested in Morrison's Hotel, Dublin, at half-past eight o'clock this morning, just as he was preparing to leave Dublin for Kildare. . . . The arrest was made upon two warrants, signed by "W. E. Forster, Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant"—one charging him with inciting people to intimidate others, and the other with intimidating people from paying their just debts in the shape of rent, and also from availing themselves of the benefits of the Irish Land Act (1881).

5. *What Mr W. E. Gladstone thought of Mr Parnell after he put him into Jail.*

The SCOTSMAN, Friday, October 14, 1881 :—

At the London Guildhall, Mr Gladstone said :—I have said that the Government recognises itself as charged in Ireland with most arduous and solemn duties, and that these duties to the best of its ability it is determined to perform. It was no unnatural criticism upon these words which expressed the hope that they would not be words alone, and at anyrate our decision, my Lord Mayor, our determination has been that, to the best of our power, they should be carried into acts ; and even within these few moments I have been informed that *the first step towards the vindication of law, of order, of the rights of property, of the freedom of the land, of the first elements of political life and civilisation*—that the first step *has been taken in the arrest of the man who* unhappily, from motives which I do not challenge, which I cannot examine, with which I have nothing to do—who unhappily *has made himself beyond all others prominent in the attempt to destroy the authority of the law, to substitute what could end in being nothing more or less than anarchical oppression exercised upon the people of Ireland.*

6. *What Mr W. E. Gladstone thought of Mr Parnell when he let him out of Jail.*

The SCOTSMAN, Friday, May 5, 1882 :—

The other point I wish to notice is one that my right hon. friend (Mr Forster) has used more than once in the course of his speech—a phrase equivalent to this : He said that he desired to obtain from the hon. member for Cork, and those with whom he had acted, an avowal of "change." I wish to lay emphasis on the word "change," because it is something like a penitential confession of guilt. I think I express the sentiment of the Government when I say—I certainly express my own full and clear opinion—that *I disclaim alike the desire and the*

right to ask the hon. member for Cork, or any of those who sit near him, anything of the sort.

7. *What Mr Parnell said of Mr W. E. Gladstone when he got out of Jail.*

The SCOTSMAN, Saturday, May 20, 1882 :—

They had been contending against the right hon. gentleman (Mr W E. Gladstone) for the last two years. They had found him to be a great and a strong man. He thought it was no dishonour to them to avow that he had fought them in a way he did not wish to be fought again by anybody in the future.

II.—THE [redacted]

8. *How our Colleague fell off the Machine although we kept a straight Course all the Way.*

The SCOTSMAN, Wednesday, May 3, 1882 :—

Mr W. E. Gladstone.—But I again say that this is an act taken on our own responsibility alone, DONE IN STRICT PURSUANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH OUR POLICY HAS BEEN FOUNDED ALL ALONG, with reference, and with paramount reference, to the maintenance of law and order in Ireland, which we believe it will promote—a belief in which I can assure those hon. gentlemen we are not likely to be changed. And finally it is, as I have already said, AN ACT DONE WITHOUT ANY NEGOTIATION, PROMISE, OR ENGAGEMENT WHATSOEVER. Sir, this act has entailed upon us a lamentable consequence—the resignation of my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, who declines to share our responsibility—who declines to share our responsibility in this matter, and who, in consequence, has tendered his resignation of that high office he has held and discharged with such unwearied diligence, with such marked ability, and such unfailing patriotism.

The SCOTSMAN, Wednesday, May 3, 1882 :—

Sir Stafford Northcote.—The Prime Minister seemed to wonder that there was any sensation in the House on his making use of the expression that the Government had taken the decision to release certain members of the House, and to consider the cases of certain other persons at present in prison under the Protection Act, upon their own responsibility. . . . But there was a very important, if not a very strange light thrown upon the expression by almost the next following words of the right hon. gentleman, with regard to the fact that the late—I am sorry to say the late—Chief Secretary for Ireland had refused to share that responsibility. That, I need not say, inten-

sifies in the most remarkable manner the very important step upon which the Government have decided. Under any circumstances to be told, and to be told without any reasons given for that decision, that they had decided to make so vital a change in the policy which they have been pursuing for a considerable time, and for which they have from time to time appealed for the support of the House, would have been startling, and would have required consideration. But when they tell us that the Minister, not only one of their colleagues, but the special colleague who has been responsible for the administration of the Act, who has had the most intimate knowledge of the state of the country—who knows not only what the state of the country has been hitherto, but what it is now up to the last moment —that he declines to share the responsibility, really presents to us a condition of affairs so grave that it is quite impossible to exaggerate it.

9. *Mr Forster's Statement.*

The SCOTSMAN, Friday, May 5, 1882 :—

Why am I opposed to this unconditional release at this moment? Well, Mr Speaker, I am obliged to give my reason. If I speak at all —if I give any explanation—I must speak plainly, and I hope not offensively. But I must say that my reason for not thinking it right is, that I believe that the same reasons which obliged me to vindicate their detention on the ground of the prevention of crime make me now object to their release, *because I believe it tends to the encouragement of crime.*[1] . . . The real grounds why these gentlemen and many others were arrested was because they were trying to carry out their will—their unwritten law, as they often called it—and to carry it out by working the ruin and the injury of the Queen's subjects, by intimidation of one kind or another, and that that was carried on to such a degree, that no Government could have allowed it to continue without becoming a Government merely in name, or a sham. . . . They organised, and instituted, and successfully carried into force, a system of intimidation of individuals, generally punishing them for obeying the law of the land, and for doing what they have to do, and very often what it was their duty to do, and punishing them for disobedience to their will, and to their unwritten law.

The SCOTSMAN, Friday, May 5, 1882 :—

Mr Forster.—The hon. member for the city of Cork, who has been alluded to this evening, in no way that I am aware of has he disowned —I am alluding to that famous Ennis speech, in which he alluded to the system of intimidation, of tabooing people, of ruining them, because they did not do what he thought he would try to make them do—in no way whatever has he disowned that speech or the principles which induced him to make that speech. I am told that hopes are held out that there will be a change of action on his part, and

[1] The italics and capitals throughout the extracts are the compiler's.

on that of his friends. . . . But what I want is an avowal of change of action — not a promise to help the Government if the Government do something, but an undertaking to cease to oppose the Government in the execution of the law. I must say I entreat the House—nay, I entreat my old colleagues — not to rely on these expectations; above all, not to act upon them. Let the House do what it thinks right upon these questions. . . . Let them do what they think right upon the purchase clauses, or upon any other amendment of the Land Act, but *do not try to buy obedience to the law by concessions. A surrender is bad, but a compromise or arrangement is worse. . . . There is one thing worse even than secret societies, and that is the open acknowledgment of the powerlessness of the law without the assistance of the law-breakers. Better even secret societies, with which we must contend, and which we shall put down, as we have put them down before—better even these hideous instances of demoralisation in Ireland than paying blackmail to law-breakers.*

10. *Sir Stafford Northcote on Mr Forster's Explanation.*

The SCOTSMAN, Friday, May 5, 1882 :—

The right hon. gentleman began by telling us that the ground on which he separated himself from his colleagues was, that they were prepared to allow a certain number of the members of this House, and other suspects who were detained under the Protection of Life and Property Act, to be discharged, and because he would not take the responsibility of an act which, in his opinion, would tend to the encouragement of crime in Ireland. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the right hon. gentleman had, far beyond all his colleagues, opportunities of knowing and exactly appreciating the real state of affairs in Ireland; and when he tells us that an act which in itself comes to require some explanation, was one which he could not concur in, because he thought it dangerous, and because he thought it might tend to the encouragement of crime,—I must say that is a statement so serious that it demands, on the part of his colleagues, most ample explanation, and the most satisfactory explanation of the grounds upon which they have proceeded. . . . *I should like to know, first of all, what sort of advice the Government have taken in this matter to induce them to take the step they were about to take.* Evidently it was not the advice of their colleague, the Chief Secretary. Whose advice was it then? *Was it the advice of the resident magistrates and of the authorities throughout Ireland?* I think we should have some information on that point. These are the gentlemen who are administering the law, at times, I fear, at great personal risk. *They are the men who are thoroughly conversant with the condition of Ireland. Have they been consulted, and have they acceded?*

Note.—On the day following this speech—viz., Saturday, May 6, 1882—the Chief Secretary and the Permanent Under Secretary of State for Ireland were assassinated.—*Compiler.*

11. *Mr Parnell's Bargain.*

The SCOTSMAN, Friday, May 5, 1882 :—

Mr Parnell.—I have stated verbally and in writing that I believe that another settlement of this arrears question . . . would have an enormous effect in the restoration of law and order in Ireland, and would take away the last excuse for the outrages which have been unhappily committed in such large and increasing numbers during the last six months, *and if such a settlement were made that I believed we, in common with all persons who desire to see the prosperity of Ireland, would be able to take such steps as would have a material effect in diminishing those unhappy and those lamentable occurrences.*

III.—THE FRUITS OF THE [redacted]

12. *The Assassination of the Secretaries of State.*

The SCOTSMAN, Monday, May 8, 1882 :—

Lord Frederick Charles Cavendish, the newly-appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Mr Thomas H. Burke, the permanent Under Secretary at Dublin Castle, were assassinated on Saturday evening in the Phœnix Park, Dublin, under circumstances unparalleled for daring and for the cold-blooded savagery of the murderers.

13. *Opinions on Dublin Castle Officials.*

The SCOTSMAN, Wednesday, May 3, 1882 :—

Mr W. E. Gladstone.—In my opinion, and I think I may say in the opinion of my colleagues, there is a great deal to be done in regard to the reorganisation of Dublin Castle.

Note.—How far Mr W. E. Gladstone's opinion of Dublin Castle officials coincided with those of Mr Parnell and his associates need not here be pointed out. —*Compiler.*

The SCOTSMAN, Friday, May 5, 1882 :—

Mr Forster.—I cannot allude to the magistrates, and I cannot allude to the Castle, without begging hon. members to withhold their judgment before coming to any condemnation of the arrangements at the Castle. Undoubtedly it is desirable that there should be less government by writing, and more by personal supervision. I only wish the Queen may be served, and long served, by such faithful and devoted, and loyal and hard-working servants, as those in her service in the Castle of Dublin.

14. *The Reasons for the Crime.*

The EDINBURGH COURANT, Tuesday, May 9, 1882 :—

In answer to a message received, May 8th, from the Viceroy of India, Mr Gladstone replied—The object of the black act plainly is, to rouse indignant passions and embitter the relations between Great Britain and Ireland.

The SCOTSMAN, Tuesday, June 6, 1882 :—

The Marquis of Waterford drew attention to the recent release of suspects under the Coercion Act, and moved for any correspondence connected therewith. *This change of policy had, in itself, been the cause of the greatest injury in Ireland. He believed that except for the reports that an understanding had been arrived at between the Government and the Land League, those awful murders in Phœnix Park would never have been committed.* The extreme party, believing they had been sold by Mr Parnell, and not wishing to arrive at separation by so extremely curious a process as an alliance with the English Government, committed these atrocities to show that no compromise was possible. They had proof in the resignation of Mr Forster that he believed a compact had been made.

15. *The Opinions of the Press, as quoted in the 'Scotsman,' Tuesday, May 9,* 1882.

The TIMES says :—Not more than four days have elapsed since the policy of conciliation was thus set in motion, and already we have its hollowness exposed by the tragedy in the Phœnix Park. It did not deserve any larger measure of success. It was founded on a combination of credulity and malice. . . . The history of this transaction, though its details may be decorously veiled, is perfectly understood by the public ; and, if we know the temper of the English people, it will be judged as it deserves.

DAILY TELEGRAPH.—This is a fierce and unanswerable rebuke of the hopes indulged by Mr Gladstone's Cabinet ; it is a monstrous protest against political transactions between the Government and Mr Parnell ; it is a defiance flung forth against the self-deceiving theory that "conciliation" can coax assassins to be law-abiding ; and it is Mr Forster's departing admonition made good, suddenly, terribly, lamentably. An end has come to the "treaty of Kilmainham" before it was so much as handselled, and Mr Forster has been appallingly justified before his hapless successor had passed a single day in Dublin.

16. *Some more Fruits of the Treaty.*

The SCOTSMAN, Friday, May 12, 1882 :—

Sir William Harcourt asked leave to introduce a bill for the repression of crime in Ireland. He described the circumstances of Ireland, which rendered it necessary that such a measure should be brought forward. A system of terrorism prevented the juries in certain districts in Ireland from doing their duty in convicting criminals, thus giving rise to an impression that crime might be committed with impunity. The Government, therefore, thought it necessary that, for those places and occasions, and for certain classes of serious crime, where the ordinary Courts were inoperative, special tribunals should be constituted. This special commission would be composed of judges of the Supreme Court, would consist of three members, and would sit without a jury; their judgment must be unanimous, and there would be an appeal to the Court of Criminal Causes. The Lord-Lieutenant would have the power of proclaiming a district under the Act; and there would be provisions permitting search by day as well as by night for the secret apparatus of murder, and for the arrest of strangers. The Aliens Act would be revived, for the purpose of giving power for the removal of foreigners. Crimes of a secondary class would be dealt with summarily. Members of unlawful associations would be dealt with summarily, and membership in such secret societies would be an offence under the Act. The duration of the Act would be for three years.

17. *Mr Forster at Bradford.*

The SCOTSMAN, Saturday, May 13, 1882 :—

This is what Mr Parnell said :—"Now, what are you to do to a tenant who bids for a farm from which his neighbour has been evicted? (Various shouts, among which were 'Kill him,' 'Shoot him.') Now, I think I heard some one say 'shoot him.' I wish to point out to you a much better way, a more Christian and a more charitable way, which will give the lost sinner an opportunity of repenting. When a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted, you must show him—you will find what the meaning of the word 'show' is afterwards—on the roadside when you meet him, you must show him in the streets or the town, you must show him at the shop counter—(a voice, 'Shun him')—no, the word was not 'shun' but 'show'—in the fair, and in the market-place, and even in the house of worship. Leaving him severely alone, by putting him into a moral Coventry, by isolating him from the rest of his kind, as if he were a leper of old; you must show him that that is your detestation of the crime he has committed, and you may depend upon it that if the population of an entire county in Ireland carry out this doctrine, there will be no man so full of avarice, so lost to shame, as to dare the public opinions of all right-thinking men within the country, and to transgress your un-

written code of laws." That was what Mr Parnell said at Ennis a year and a-half ago, and that has been the ground upon which the agitation has been worked ever since. . . . I have no doubt Mr Parnell is shocked at this murder—although it is very different from the way in which he spoke of Mr Boyd's murder. This murder is a disaster to him, and the country is crying shame upon the murderers. But what I say is, that when once you bring in this principle, that because a man does not do what you think he ought to do or say you think he ought to do, that therefore you are to injure him privately. *Murder is the natural outcome of an agitation such as this.*

18. *The Government and the liberated M.P.'s.*

The SCOTSMAN, Tuesday, May 16, 1882 :—

Mr Parnell.—Perhaps I may be permitted to read the letter which, I understand, forms the documentary evidence alluded to in the question. It consists of a letter from myself to the hon. and gallant member for the county of Clare (Mr O'Shea). It is headed "private and confidential." It is dated from Kilmainham, April 28, 1882, and is in the following terms :—

"I was very sorry that you had left the Albert Mansions before I reached London, as I had wished to tell you that after our conversation I had made up my mind that it would be proper for me to put Mr M'Carthy in possession of the views which I had previously communicated to you. I desire to impress upon you the absolute necessity of a settlement of the arrears question, which will leave no recurring sore connected with it, and which will enable us to show the smaller tenantry that they have been treated with justice and some generosity. The proposal you have described to me, as suggested in some quarter, of making a loan for however many years, should be absolutely rejected, for reasons which I have already fully explained to you. If the arrears question be settled upon the lines indicated by us, I have every confidence—a confidence shared by my colleagues—that the exertions which we should be able to make, strenuously and unremittingly, would be effectual in stopping outrages and intimidation of all kinds. As regards permanent legislation of an ameliorating character, I may say that the views which you have always shared with me, as to the admission of leaseholders to the fair rent clauses in the Act, are more confirmed than ever. So long as the flower of the Irish tenantry are kept outside the Act, there cannot be the permanent settlement of the land question which we all so much desire. I should also strongly hope that some compromise may be arrived at this session with regard to the amendment of the tenure clauses of the Land Act. It is unnecessary for me to dwell upon the enormous advantage that we should derive from the full extension of the purchase clauses, which now seems practically to have been adopted by all parties. The accomplishment of the programme I have sketched out to you would, in my judgment, be regarded by the country as a

practical settlement of the land question, and I believe that the Government at the end of this session would, from the state of the country, feel themselves thoroughly justified in dispensing with further coercive measures.—Yours, very truly, C. S. PARNELL."

Mr Forster.—May I ask a question of the hon. member for the city of Cork? Did he read the whole of the letter?

Mr Parnell.—I did not, sir, keep a copy of the letter. My hon. and gallant friend the member for Clare (Captain O'Shea) has furnished me with a copy, and it may be possible that one of the paragraphs has been omitted. But, speaking for myself, I have no objection to the hon. and gallant member, if he desires, communicating the whole of the letter to the House.

Captain O'Shea.—I think the best plan would be, that I should take the earliest opportunity of explaining every detail of all these transactions. (Cheers and cries of "Read.")

Captain O'Shea.—I have not got the letter.

Mr Forster here handed over to the hon. member a copy of the letter in question, amid loud cheering and renewed cries of "Read."

Captain O'Shea, having glanced at the letter, handed it back to Mr Forster and sat down again.

Mr Forster (handing the letter back again).—I believe it is the last paragraph but two, at the top of the last page. (Cheers, and renewed cries of "Read.")

Captain O'Shea.—I do not think it is fair. (Loud cries of "Read" and "Order.") The hon. and gallant member accordingly re-read the whole letter. The sentence which had been abridged ran as follows:—"*The accomplishment of the programme I have sketched out to you would, in my judgment, be regarded by the country as a practical settlement of the land question, and would, I am sure, enable us to co-operate cordially for the future with the Liberal party in forwarding Liberal principles—in measures connected with Ireland, and that the Government at the end of the session would, from the state of the country, feel themselves thoroughly justified in dispensing with further coercive measures.*"

The SCOTSMAN, Wednesday, May 17, 1882:—

Captain O'Shea said he was loth to intrude upon the House at that hour, but he felt that he would be doing a grave injustice to the hon. member for the city of Cork unless he made an explanation with reference to a letter from the hon. member which had been read that evening. . . . On the 13th of April he wrote a letter to the Prime Minister. On the 15th he received from the Prime Minister a reply stating that he would communicate with Mr Forster, and that no apology was required either for the length or for the freedom of the letter; that the end in view was of vast moment, and that no false shame would prevent the Government from taking any path which would lead to the pacification of Ireland. He felt sure the great majority of people would think these were noble words. *He also wrote to the President of the Board of Trade, enclosing a copy of his*

letter to the Prime Minister, and he received from him an answer which contained food for reflection on both sides of the Channel. It was dated April 17, 1882, *and stated that the writer thought there was nothing in his proposal which did not deserve consideration;* that he entirely concurred in the view that it was the duty of the Government to lose no opportunity of acquainting themselves with representative opinions in Ireland, and that for that purpose they ought to welcome suggestions and criticisms from every quarter and from all classes and sections of Irishmen, provided they were animated with a desire for good government, and not with a blind hatred of all government whatever; that one thing must be borne in mind—namely, that if the Government and the Liberal party were bound to show greater consideration to Irish opinion, on the other hand the leaders of Irish opinion must pay greater attention to the public opinion of England and Scotland; that, however, since the present Government came into office they had not received the slightest assistance in that direction, but, on the contrary, some Irishmen had acted rather as if their object had been to embitter and prejudice English opinion against their country; that nothing would be easier than to get up an anti-Irish agitation in this country almost as great as the anti-Jewish agitation in Russia; and that he should rejoice if the time came when there would be a conciliatory spirit on both sides.

Mr Forster.—I am afraid from what he (Captain O'Shea) said that I must say all I know about this. To a great extent I agree with the hon. member, that the matter arose out of a letter from the hon. member to my right hon. friend the Prime Minister. *My right hon. friend knows it very well, for he sent me that letter; and when I sent it back to him, I took precisely the same view as that which I stated I took a few days ago in the House when explaining the motives for my resignation.*[1] However, the negotiations or correspondence went on. The hon. member says he was in constant communication with me. I certainly did see him two or three times; but his communications consist to a great extent of a letter to the Prime Minister, and a communication to my right hon. friend the President of the Board of Trade. . . . I took a memorandum at the time, and I sent it to the Prime Minister, and circulated it among my colleagues. It was to this effect:—

"After telling me that he had been from eleven to five yesterday with Parnell, O'Shea gave me his letter to him, saying that he hoped it would be a satisfactory expression of union with the Liberal party. After carefully reading it, I said to him, 'Is that all, do you think, that Parnell would be inclined to say?' He said, 'What more do you want? Doubtless I could supplement.' I said, 'It comes to this—that upon our doing certain things he will help us to prevent outrages'—or words to that effect. He again said, 'How can I supplement it?'—referring, I imagine, to different measures. I did not feel justi-

[1] Mr Gladstone's statement is—I am not prepared to admit, as a mere matter of words, that I had any communication, EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, with Mr Parnell.—*Compiler.*

fied in giving him my own opinion, which might be interpreted to be that of the Cabinet, so I said I had better show the letter to Mr Gladstone and one or two others. He said, 'Well, there may be fault in expression; but the thing is done. If these words will not do I must get others, but what is obtained is [and here he used most remarkable words] *that the conspiracy which has been used to get up boycotting and outrages will now be used to put them down.*

Captain O'Shea.—The right hon. gentleman asked me to confirm the words of his memorandum. I must say I cannot confirm that expression at all. My belief is, I did not use the word "conspiracy;" organisation, I believe, is the word I used.

Mr Forster.—I took it down shortly afterwards, but the alteration will not make much difference. The memorandum proceeds :—

"And that there will be a union in the Liberal party. And as an illustration of how the first of these results was to be obtained, he said that Parnell hoped to make use of a certain person, and get him back from abroad, as he would be able to help him to put down conspiracy or agitation—I am not sure which word was used—as he knew all its details in the West."

I added, for the information of my colleagues :—

"This last statement is quite true—this man"—I will give his name if required. Cries of "Name." It is Sheridan——

"Is a released suspect, against whom we have for some time had a fresh warrant, and who, under disguises, has hitherto eluded the police, coming backwards and forwards from Egan to the outragemongers in the West. I did not feel myself sufficiently master of the situation to let him see what I thought of this confidence, but I again told him that I could not do more at present than tell others what he had told me."

. . . *It gave me a sort of insight into what had been happening which I had not before—that a man whom I knew, so far as I had any possibility of knowing, was engaged in these outrages, was so far under the influence of the hon. member for the city of Cork, that* UPON HIS RELEASE *he would get the assistance of that man to put down the very things which he had been provoking.* Well, I came away from that interview with this feeling: I was very sorry I had had anything whatever to do with the negotiation, although all I had to do with it was, to have got from the hon. member for the city of Cork a promise not to break the law. I felt I would have nothing more to do with it. If it was possible to injure the power of the Government in Ireland, and to make it more difficult to preserve order, it was by entering into any arrangement with a gentleman who said: "If I can get certain things done, then I will no longer instigate a breach of the law; I will try and help you to keep it, and I will even make use of agents who have been used for the purposes of outrages to put them down."

The SCOTSMAN, Wednesday, May 17, 1882 :—

Mr Gladstone.—The first question is, whether any other members of the Government had communication, directly or indirectly, with

Mr Parnell? *I am not prepared, as a mere matter of words, to admit that I had any communication, either directly or indirectly, with Mr Parnell.*

Mr A. J. Balfour.—The Prime Minister, ten days ago, when he announced to an astonished House the sudden reversal of Government policy, went out of his way to explain that there was nothing in the nature, as he said, of a compact or agreement with the gentlemen whom up to that time they had been confining without trial. Last night a lurid light was thrown upon the whole transaction by the sudden revelation of letters which were never expected to become public. The Government and the Prime Minister persisted in reiterating the assertion that there had been no treaty or agreement. It seemed to him that this was very much a matter of words. He recollected that in one of the comedies of Molière, the hero declared that he had not sold his goods, but had only given them to a friend, who had, in exchange, given him some money. In the same way, *the Government had not indeed entered into a contract with the liberated members of the House, but they had given something which the hon. gentlemen very much desired, and the hon. gentlemen had given, on the other hand, something which the Government very much desired, and each party, before the transaction took place, knew perfectly well what they were going to give and what they expected to receive.* The Government, on their part, were going to give liberty to the hon. gentlemen, and a bill with regard to arrears; and the hon. gentlemen were going to give to the Government peace in Ireland and Parliamentary support. However that transaction might be described by words, there was no doubt whatever that it was a compact. By this treaty the power of this Government had been weakened, and of all successive Governments, to deal with Irish disloyalty and disaffection. He did not believe that any such transaction could be quoted from our political history. It stood alone—he did not wish to use strong language—he was going to say it stood alone in its infamy. And if anything could add a darker touch to the picture, it was the conduct of the Home Secretary, who only three or four days before the Government concluded this Treaty of Kilmainham, at a public meeting in Derby, brought down the cheers of the assembly by accusing the Conservative Party of having entered into a league with the Home Rulers.

Mr Gibson (Member for Dublin University).—I put this proposition: If this transaction was what the English people love—a fair, honest, and above-board transaction, without anything clandestine or secret about it—why was it kept back and not put forward? If the Ministry felt they had nothing to be ashamed of in this transaction, why not make it public, instead of leaving it to dribble out in partial statements and uncertain actions? . . . What is this letter? . . . Is it not obvious that this letter disclosed three considerations that were to move the Government, and two of them for the hon. member for the city of Cork? *There are a great many ways of conveying your meaning besides writing.* I venture to think one of

the most obvious ideas at the bottom with both parties was, that the release would follow the carrying out of the transaction. No one could presume to think that the man who wrote the letter, if entertained by the Government, would be kept in custody for twenty-four hours. The terms of the letter demonstrate the absurdity of any such suggestion, because it says that in a certain contingency the strenuous and unremitting exertions of the hon. member for the city of Cork and his friends would be applied in a particular direction if certain things happened. How could the strenuous exertions be applied, unless he was let out of jail? *I say the release was not mentioned there because it was too obvious for statement. The understanding of it underlay the whole transaction.* Of course, the hon. member for the city of Cork could not stipulate for it, because, if he did, his influence in Ireland would be gone in a moment. The Government could not mention it because that would look like a thing which could not bear the most simple investigation. . . . . I do make this observation, that the memorandum contains a clear statement which is of the greatest importance to the country. A conspiracy which has been used to get up "boycotting" and outrages will now be used to put them down. I should like to know the view of the Cabinet with reference to that damning statement.

Mr Forster.—The real difference between me and my colleagues was this. I am obliged to say that I think the conditional statement, that if the Government did certain things, then certain persons would not break the law, but would assist in maintaining it, was not only no promise that they would not do it, but was to my mind rather an aggravation of the situation.

19. *Tuesday's Scene in the Commons.*

The COURANT, Thursday, May 13, 1882:—

The TIMES says:—We entertain the strongest conviction that Mr Forster was in the right when he refused to be a party to accepting the conditional aid of Mr Parnell or the co-operation of the man Sheridan, against whom a warrant had been issued as an organiser of outrages. But it is the shortsighted folly of those who approve that method of grappling with crime rather than any moral obliquity on their part that will excite the most general surprise and indignation. . . . If the public peace cannot be kept in the West of Ireland without enlisting the services of the "outragemonger" Sheridan, we may be sure that it is to Sheridan, and not to the servants of the Government and the law, that the masses will look up.

The SCOTSMAN, Tuesday, June 6, 1882:—

Earl Cowper.—I was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when these arrangements were made. . . . I knew no more than any of your lordships that this was going on. When I heard of the release of these three members of Parliament, I telegraphed, begging that the

matter might be left to my successor, and I only signed the document on the distinct understanding that it was a mere matter of form. I did not express any opinion upon the subject. I confess when I got the telegram announcing the intention of the Government to release the members, it took me so completely by surprise that I could hardly believe it; and I must say that I felt it to be a most grave step. That was not my opinion only, but the opinion of a great many people with whom I came in contact. . . . All professional men, judges, lawyers, military men, clergymen of all denominations, landlords and agents and others, were completely astonished at this sudden step. *It was the suddenness which, in my opinion, constituted the chief evil; and I am bound to say that the anticipations which we all felt of the evils which would be done, have been accomplished.* I do not refer to the tragedy in Phœnix Park—we know too little about that deplorable occurrence to say from what motives it arose; but I refer to the local effects that have been produced in districts previously disturbed. The language used is notorious at every bonfire lighted on that occasion, and *the language that comes to us publicly and privately from every part indicates that the release was looked upon at the moment as a complete surrender, that its effect was most disastrous, and that it will render the pacification of Ireland, and the restoration of law and order, more difficult than before.*

20. *The Daily Tale of Murder.*

The SCOTSMAN, Friday, June 9, 1882:—

A LANDOWNER AND HIS ESCORT SHOT DEAD.—Mr Burke of Rahassan Park, riding, and a soldier who was protecting him, were shot dead when returning from Gort on this day (8th instant), at 3.30 P.M., at Castle Taylor Grant Gate, Ardrahan.

Note.—Mr Burke's escort was a young Scottish soldier, Corporal Wallace, who had only been sent from his regiment on protection duty two days before. He was highly spoken of by his commanding officer.—*Compiler.*

The SCOTSMAN, Friday, June 9, 1882:—

A singular incident occurred to-night whilst Mr Burke's brother was walking down the lobby of the House of Commons towards the Library with Mr Trevelyan. Messrs Parnell, Justin M'Carthy, and Biggar were walking in front of them, when, seeing them, Mr Burke, who naturally was labouring under excitement, said, "Parnell, this is your fault!" No reply was made to this observation, the three Irish members walking on; whereupon Mr Burke, looking at Mr Biggar, made use of an observation which induced Mr Trevelyan to take his arm and lead him aside. Mr Biggar made no reply.

The SCOTSMAN, Friday, June 30, 1882:—

Another frightful agrarian crime is reported from County Galway. Mr Blake, agent on the estate of the Marquis of Clanricarde, with his

wife and his servant, named Keane, were driving from his residence to Loughrea, when, close to the town, a volley was fired from behind a wall, which had previously been loopholed, and Mr Blake and his man fell dead. Mrs Blake was wounded.

The SCOTSMAN, Wednesday, July 5, 1882 :—

A murder of a brutal and mysterious character was committed in the streets of Dublin early yesterday morning. Shooting was heard in the neighbourhood of Saville Street, and on the spot being reached, an artisan named Kenny was found in a dying state, having four gunshot wounds and seven stabs on his body. He died before he could be removed to hospital.

The SCOTSMAN, Saturday, July 15, 1882 :—

The counties of Cavan, Leitrim, Longford, Westmeath, Sligo, Roscommon, Mayo, Tipperary, Kilkenny, Waterford, Limerick, Cork, Clare, Louth, and Dublin, with the cities of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and other towns and detached districts in Ireland were yesterday "proclaimed" by the Lord-Lieutenant under the Prevention of Crime Act.

The SCOTSMAN, Tuesday, July 18, 1882 :—

Yesterday several additional counties were proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and other steps taken under the clauses of the Prevention of Crime Act.

The SCOTSMAN, Tuesday, August 1, 1882 :—

A man named Byrne, residing near Claremorris, was fired at on Sunday morning while going to chapel, and dangerously wounded. He had had a dispute about some land.

The SCOTSMAN, Saturday, August 5, 1882 :—

By a proclamation issued last night any person found out of doors in the city of Limerick an hour after sunset is liable to arrest.

The SCOTSMAN, Monday, August 14, 1882 :—

Another daring assassination is reported from Ireland. Edward Browne, a sub-constable, was deliberately shot and fatally wounded in a street in Parsonstown on Saturday night by an unknown man, who, after the murder, walked through a crowded public-house and escaped by the back yard.

In Dublin, on Saturday, Francis Hynes, son of a County Clare solicitor, was sentenced to death for the murder of John Doloughty, near Ennis. The crime is undoubtedly agrarian.

The SCOTSMAN, Saturday, August 19, 1882 :—

A FAMILY OF FOUR PERSONS MURDERED BY "MOONLIGHTERS" IN GALWAY.

CONG, Friday evening.—Another fearful crime has been committed in this disturbed district. Last night a party of men broke into the

dwelling of a farmer named John Joyce, and shot six of the inmates. Four of these are dead, viz., John Joyce, the farmer, his wife, his mother, and his daughter.

The SCOTSMAN, Tuesday, August 22, 1882 :—

Another cold-blooded murder has been committed by "moonlighters" in Kerry. A band numbering about fifteen, dragged from his bed an old man named Leahy, rent-warner on Lord Kenmare's estate, and deliberately shot him before the eyes of his wife, who threw herself between the brutal ruffians and their defenceless victim, imploring them, but in vain, to spare him.

The SCOTSMAN, Thursday, September 7, 1882 :—

A man named Thomas Quinn has been shot dead while driving along a highway in King's County.

The SCOTSMAN, Friday, September 8, 1882 :—

A meeting, called and presided over by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, was held in that city yesterday, at which a memorial to the Lord-Lieutenant was adopted, praying him to commute the death sentence passed on Francis Hynes. Among those present was Canon Pope, who made an eloquent speech denouncing the crime of murder; but he was constantly interrupted, and had to give way.

The SCOTSMAN, Thursday, September 28, 1882 :—

John Keane, aged twenty, son of Mr Keane, Kiloff House, Kildysart, a landed proprietor, was last night found dead in a dyke near his father's residence, which he had left on horseback a short time previously.

The SCOTSMAN, Saturday, September 30, 1882 :—

Our Dublin correspondent gives an account of the murder of the farmer Hickey in Tipperary. Two brothers named Carroll were heard to declare that they would "finish Hickey," and they accordingly went to him in a field, and stabbed him in the head with a hay-fork. The Carrolls, who are in custody, *suspected* that Hickey was instrumental in bringing about their eviction.

The SCOTSMAN, Thursday, October 5, 1882 :—

Our Cork correspondent sends an account of the circumstances of the daring murder of Thomas Browne, a well-to-do industrious farmer, near Castle Island, on Tuesday. Two men approached a field in which Browne was at work, and beckoned him to them. Suspecting nothing, he went, and a number of boys observed the three in conversation, Browne having his hat in his hand as if entreating forgiveness. Presently the ruffians drew their revolvers, and shot the unfortunate man dead within a few yards of his own house. The murderers then coolly walked away.

The SCOTSMAN, Monday, October 9, 1882 :—

Two agrarian outrages are reported from Mayo. In the one case two land-agents were fired at, and escaped unhurt; and in the other, a shopkeeper was shot in the thigh. No arrests were made in either case.

The SCOTSMAN, Thursday, October 12, 1882 :—

OUTRAGE IN TIPPERARY.

DUBLIN, Wednesday.—A Cashel (County Tipperary) despatch says that an outrage was perpetrated last night at Killestina, near New Inn. At about 10 o'clock P.M., Michael Dwyer, a fine young man, son of Widow Dwyer, of Kilnesten, who holds about nine or ten acres of land from Mr J. C. Armstrong, Rathmines, Dublin, was reading at the kitchen fire when he heard a tap at the window. He went at once to see who was there, and just as he had opened the door and was standing on the threshold, he was fired at by two or three men, who instantly ran away.

The SCOTSMAN, Wednesday, November 8, 1882 :—

THE BOYLE MURDER.

The magistrates at Boyle yesterday concluded an inquiry into the murder of Thomas Hunt, a farmer, and fully committed for trial Thomas Kennedy, of Ballenultha, who had been identified as the perpetrator of the crime.

The SCOTSMAN, Monday, November 27, 1882 :—

A desperate encounter took place in Dublin on Saturday night between a small body of detective police and a gang of desperadoes suspected of belonging to a secret society, and who have been under police supervision for some time. About eleven o'clock the detective officers, who had been watching the movements of the party, proceeded to follow them down Abbey Street. The "suspects," taking alarm, halted, and faced the police, after giving a signal by means of a whistle. The officers coming up, one of the gang, whose name, it has been ascertained, is Christopher Dowling, deliberately stepped out from the pavement, and presenting a revolver, fired two shots at Constable Cox, one of which took effect at the base of the skull, severing the spinal column, the result, of course, being fatal.

The SCOTSMAN, Tuesday, November 28, 1882 :—

A MERCHANT STABBED.

DUBLIN, Monday, 8.30 P.M.—To-night the city was again startled by the report of another outrage of a diabolical character, perpetrated in a public thoroughfare, not more than 500 yards from the scene of the sanguinary affray on Saturday night. The intended victim of the assassin's knife was a gentleman named Denis Field, aged about sixty years, a merchant of position in the city, and a special juror, who

served during the Special Commission at which Mr Justice Lawson presided. Mr Field was one of the jurors who convicted Michael Walsh for the murder of Constable Kavanagh at Letterfrack, County Galway—a daring and brutal crime. It is therefore almost beyond doubt that the attack on Mr Field was made in consequence of his conduct as a juror.

The SCOTSMAN, Wednesday, November 29, 1882 :—

A protracted meeting of the Irish Privy Council was held at Dublin Castle yesterday, with the result that the city has been proclaimed under the Curfew Clause of the Prevention of Crime Act, and a reward of £5000 has been offered for information leading to the arrest of the persons who attacked Mr Field.

The SCOTSMAN, Saturday, December 2, 1882 :—

Two fresh outrages are reported from Ireland. A Kerry rent-warner, escorted by two policemen, was fired at by a party of assassins from behind a hedge, and one of the constables was dangerously wounded in the neck. In the other case a policeman was shot at and wounded in County Sligo.

The SCOTSMAN, Thursday, December 14, 1882 :—

In Dublin yesterday Patrick Higgins was found guilty of complicity in the Lough Mask murders, and was sentenced to death.

The SCOTSMAN, Thursday, December 21, 1882 :—

Michael Flynn was yesterday convicted in Dublin of the murder of the two bailiffs near Lough Mask on the 3d of January last, and was sentenced to be executed at Galway on the 17th of January next.

The second trial of Poff and Barrett for the murder of a farmer in Kerry began at Cork yesterday.

The SCOTSMAN, Monday, December 25, 1882 :—

Last week's issue of the Land League organ has been seized through Ireland, and its editor has been summoned to appear before a magistrate for having published an article with intent to bring the Government and the administration of the law into contempt. The Mayor of Wexford has been summoned to appear in answer to a similar charge at New Ross.

The SCOTSMAN, Wednesday, January 3, 1883 :—

At a Special Court of Justices at Waterford yesterday, Mr Biggar, M.P., was, under the ordinary law, committed for trial at the assizes for uttering a seditious, wicked, and inflammatory speech.

A party of men having yesterday attacked three "Emergency Association" bailiffs in the County Tipperary, shots were exchanged, and one of the former party was shot dead.

The SCOTSMAN, Thursday, January 4, 1883 :—

Another agrarian outrage has been committed in Ireland, the son of a farmer having been attacked by two men on the highway near Ballinamore, and killed.

The SCOTSMAN, Saturday, January 13, 1883 :—

At the close of the Munster Assizes at Cork yesterday, Judge Barry passed sentence on a large number of prisoners who had been convicted of various agrarian crimes.

The SCOTSMAN, Monday, January 15, 1883 :—

Early on Saturday morning a series of important arrests were made in Dublin. The police and marines, armed with warrants, made descents on a number of houses, and arrested sixteen persons for conspiring to murder various Government officials and other persons. . . . It is understood that five warrants still remain to be executed. The prisoners were brought before a police magistrate, and remanded. . . . These arrests . . . are believed to be the result of the protracted investigations which have been of late conducted at Dublin Castle. A quantity of arms and ammunition has been found concealed in Dublin.

The SCOTSMAN, Monday, January 22, 1883 :—

Startling revelations as to the mysterious springs of the assassination conspiracy in Dublin were disclosed in that city on Saturday. Robert Farrell, a van-driver, gave evidence as to his own connection with the Fenian organisation and the "inner circle," or assassination branch, with which he also identified most of the other prisoners. He detailed the part taken by himself and others in abortive attempts to assassinate Mr Forster and Mr Field. It is understood that the Government have ample evidence confirmatory of Farrell's terrible story.

The SCOTSMAN, Tuesday, January 23, 1883 :—

MR GOSCHEN, M.P., AT RIPON.

Questions being invited at the close of his speech, Mr Goschen was asked to explain the Kilmainham treaty, and in reply simply said, amid laughter, that it was one of those things which no fellow could understand.

The SCOTSMAN, Monday, January 29, 1883 :—

The evidence against the men arrested in Dublin for conspiracy to murder was further disclosed on Saturday, when the prisoners were again brought before the police magistrates at Kilmainham. The statement of Mr Murphy at the close of the day that on Saturday next he hoped to be able to give evidence as to *the details of the Phœnix Park assassinations created a fresh sensation.*

PRINTED BY WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS.

THE KILMAINHAM TREATY;

OR,

'Lessons in Massacre'

(Of the Truth).

BY THE AUTHOR OF

'LETTERS TO MY SON HERBERT.'

Peachum. Brother, brother, we are both in the wrong—we shall be both losers in the dispute—for you know we have it in our power to hang each other. You should not be so passionate.

Lockit. Nor you so provoking.

Peachum. 'Tis our mutual interest, 'tis for the interest of the world, we should agree. . . . Business is at an end if we once act dishonourably.

THE BEGGARS' OPERA.

LONDON:
TINSLEY BROTHERS, CATHERINE STREET, STRAND.
1883.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

LETTERS TO MY SON HERBERT.

Fifth Thousand.

MORE LETTERS TO MY SON HERBERT.

Second Edition.

LETTERS TO A GRAND OLD MAN.

Third Edition.

THE KILMAINHAM TREATY;

OR,

'LESSONS IN MASSACRE' (OF THE TRUTH).

As an eminent counsel will spend half an hour, perhaps, in cross-examining a witness on some trivial question of place or date, with a view of proving him generally unworthy of credit, so this 'Kilmainham Treaty' business has, in reality, acquired a vast importance on account of a Prime Minister having solemnly pledged his word that the whole was a mere phantom, engendered in the brains of the credulous or the malignant. The issue is knit in the clearest way. There is no ambiguity or misunderstanding of terms; so that the eminent statesman at the head of the Government has literally offered us the choice of two alternatives: There was no 'Kilmainham Treaty,' or he is stating what is untrue. Fortunately for the impartial, unfortunately for him, there are all the materials in abundance for arriving at a clear, distinct conclusion; and we might hear the judge saying to the jury: 'Gentlemen, the issues for you are:

'I. Was there a Kilmainham Treaty?'

'II. Do you believe the statement of the right honourable witness?'

It will be seen that there can be no issue as to whether, granting a treaty, he was unaware of it. He not only denies that he knew of it, but that there was one. A rather painful matter to probe, but not to be shrunk from, where the person is in so high a place. Some slight measure of indulgence is given to diplomatists, who, as Talleyrand said, are 'sent abroad to lie for the good of their country'; but this privilege is not to be given to statesmen—to be used as a weapon against a hostile party. Nay, ambiguities seem to be 'bad form,' and it is expected that straightforward statement, or, at the most, reserve or refusal of information, shall be the rule with governing statesmen.

It has been represented that this Kilmainham Treaty, or business, is a trivial matter, and unworthy of investigation. But the reverse is the case. Whatever way it is looked at, discredit attaches to it. If proved, it is shameful to have made a bargain with men in durance—under treasonable charges, and to have offered release and certain advantageous measures in return for Parliamentary support and efforts at pacifying followers. If untrue, or unproved, there has been a series of shufflings—denials of matter not essential, but admittedly true, that in itself rears a monument of discredit.

Could the whole be put back a couple of centuries, Pascal would have found excellent subject for his bitter and witty pen, and have devoted a provincial letter to '*Mon Cher et très Reverend Père Gladstone.*'

From whatever side we look at the Kilmainham Treaty, it seems to be associated with denial, deceit, and reserve. We have to look at its last Protean shape. A person whose word and credit are in issue is always

eager for full investigation, if his conscience be clear. If it be the reverse, he resorts to denial and shifts. A chairman of a company, charged by his shareholders with manipulating the balance-sheet, would in the first case offer his books for impartial inspection. But if he declared he would allow of no inspection until the term 'doctoring,' or 'manipulating' was withdrawn; that the inspection should proceed on the assumption that there had been simply an 'arrangement of the figures,' or a 'simple matter of account;' if he had first 'challenged' an inspection, then refused to allow the books to be looked at, on the ground that it would interrupt the business of the bank, and then declared that he had never given such a 'challenge,'—apart from the merits of the question, it would be felt that this chairman was guilty and afraid to trust his case to examination.

Now, here is what took place in reference to mere inquiries as to the Kilmainham Treaty:

Mr. Gladstone: But the noble lord, with a perverse ingenuity, has without the smallest necessity or pretext brought into his speech to-night two of the most offensive charges I have ever known to have been made in the House of Commons. In the first place, he says that what he chooses to call the Kilmainham Treaty was a most disgraceful transaction. There was no Kilmainham Treaty. (Derisive laughter, answered by cheers from the Ministerial benches.) I challenge Mr. Yorke, who scoffs at me with that burst of laughter after the assertion I have seriously made, to move for an inquiry to see whether there was a Kilmainham Treaty. (Ministerial cheers.) Let him move for an inquiry.

Mr. Yorke: Will the right hon. gentleman give me a day?

Mr. Gladstone : I will agree to that inquiry, without granting any day. As I have answered the hon. gentleman's question, and he has evaded answering mine—(cries of 'No,' and Mr. Yorke—'What question ?')—most certainly. He said : 'Do I understand that the right hon. gentleman will grant me a day if I move ?' I said I would agree to that inquiry. The hon. gentleman flinches from answering.

Mr. Yorke : I will move for it as an unopposed return. I will move for a Committee of this House.

Mr. Gladstone : I will not oppose it. Frame your motion, and pledge yourself by that motion to prove the existence of that Treaty. (Cheers). Now, sir, I aver there is no such Treaty. (Opposition cries of 'Oh !' and Ministerial cheers.) And I say that those who make these allegations without proof, instead of fastening disgraceful transactions upon their opponents, bring the disgrace upon themselves. (Loud Ministerial cheers.)

Next let us see what followed, after an interval.

Mr. Gladstone : He says that I earnestly invited him to engage in this inquiry ('Hear, hear,' from the Opposition.) I did nothing of the kind. (Cries of 'Oh, oh !' from the Opposition.) I pointed out that if he chose to interrupt me by such an extraordinary manifestation as he thought proper to make individually when I asserted there was no Kilmainham Treaty, as indicated by the noble lord, then it was his duty to take some other step. That was the nature of the invitation I gave him. (Ministerial cheers.) It appeared to me that if his view was as then indicated, he ought to have moved for it six months ago.

Mr. J. Lowther : Do I understand the right hon. gen-

tleman to state that it is not the case that he directly challenged my hon. friend to move for an inquiry ?

MR. GLADSTONE : I have correctly and accurately recited what happened, *and that I don't call an earnest invitation. It was pointing out what, if he chose to adopt such a line as he took, I thought was the action it was his duty to take.*

It is melancholy to read such an exhibition of casuistry on a trivial point ! But is it not the irresistible conclusion, that the mind that could quibble in such fashion in a subsidiary matter *would bring the same casuistry to bear on the main question?* But this was not all. There was to be quite a wealth of casuistical ingenuity developed in baffling the inquiries. The question now stood : A challenge given had been accepted, and was now denied. The denial was allowed to pass, and the challenge given *denovo,* Would the arrangement *commonly called* 'The Kilmainham Treaty' be suffered to be investigated ?

Now arose a new plea—the matter of title, or description—another fruitful topic of quibbling shelter. Yet, if our Great and Grand Old Man in discussion with a Roman Catholic were to find himself met with the plea that no objection would be answered or argument tolerated, unless the 'Reformation' were described as an 'arrangement,' or a 're-formation,' or, as 'so called,' —how scathing and scornful he would be in his reply ; and reasonably so. The answer to this amended description took a Protean shape, and becomes bewildering from the *finesse* of the description.

MR. GLADSTONE : It is not possible for me to agree to any terms such as those proposed by the hon. member

who speaks of the arrangement of what he terms the Kilmainham Treaty. It looks as if those words were put into the motion for the purpose of getting it opposed.

Mr. Yorke naturally answered: The right hon. gentleman himself had referred to the arrangement after it had been called the Kilmainham Treaty.

Mr. Gladstone: I have never recognised what is called 'the Kilmainham Treaty,' further than as it has been called by the hon. member and those with him; but that is no reason why it should be taken into a motion to be brought before this House.

Yet, a moment before, he had actually objected to its being so called by the Opposition members. There were only the two ways of referring to the obnoxious transaction: either as what it was in the sense of the accusers, or in the sense of the accused. A prisoner might as well object to be tried, because he was charged with 'stealing,' on the ground that he could not admit that description. No wonder the irrepressible free-lance, Lord R. Churchill, wished to know if Mr. Gladstone would consent to any formal motion, and if so, what sort of form or motion, 'for the inquiry which he challenged last night, and which he severely denounced his hon. friend for endeavouring to shrink from, and which it appears he himself is now anxious to back out of.'

Mr. Gladstone: Until the noble lord removes from that question the concluding words of it, I decline to answer it.

Here, again, another form of expression must be adopted. An apology or disclaimer of offence was made, when our Proteus had another shift ready.

Mr. Gladstone: It would be very unwise on my part to attempt to frame a form of words for the hon. gentleman. What I referred to last night was *the conduct of the Government with respect to the arrangement* designated by the noble lord as a most disgraceful transaction. I conclude that there is no difficulty in framing a form of words sufficiently indicative of that subject, but at the same time without any assumption which we cannot accept.

Mr. J. Lowther asked whether the right hon. gentleman would take care that the motion of his hon. friend had a chance of being brought on before half-past twelve?

Mr. Gladstone: I adhere to the letter and spirit of what I said last night. I cannot *say what I may do with contingencies that have not arisen respecting an amended form of motion and opposition which possibly may not be offered* to the motion, when amended. I must really ask to have the motion put in its final form before I decide what course to take.

This 'opposition' referred to his own party, who, by an ingenious device, now that their chief was at bay, were to interpose and not allow him to enter on the subject! This cue was actively taken up by the Radical papers and Radical following. The chief was willing, but the following would not have him subjected to the indignity of being questioned. This, again, was a new turn.

In all this, would not a Crown Prosecutor assume guilt? But, indeed, there was no end to the devices employed to baffle the inquiry, attended by a cynical disregard of all that is straightforward. Thus, when the time for moving the adjournment came, some

members took care to talk out an opportunity that was favourable. Accused of not having checked this, the Premier affected to have no control, as they were 'independent members.' They were, but were also devoted followers.

An amusing episode was the following: Asked for the dozenth time, would he give facilities—

MR. GLADSTONE: I have nothing to say in reply to the latter part of the question, beyond what I have already stated.

MR. LOWTHER: Does the right hon. gentleman propose to give any facilities for the motion at all?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have nothing to add to the answer which I have already given.

Thus, having 'answered nothing,' he has 'nothing to add to the nothing he had already answered.' No wonder Mr. Lowther said 'that is no answer at all.'

'We know nothing of those ages which knew nothing,' said a foolish critic of the Middle Ages. But in such quiddities do your Professors of Hair-Splitting land themselves.

Yet, how profitless it all was! Actually, by his own new Rule, and in spite of all the fencing and reservation and refinements, the accuser helped himself to a day, and to an opportunity.

Coming now, therefore, to the transaction itself, so carefully guarded from the light of inquiry, it must be said we approach it with the gravest suspicion. The case may be stated almost in a sentence. Three persons—members of Parliament—suffering imprisonment for treasonable practices, are released. This step took place after communication between an agent of the Government and an agent of the prisoners;

after a consideration offered by the prisoners' agent, laid before members of the Cabinet, and rejected by the Government agent—who resigns sooner than have part in the business. In preparatory letters and conversations, the terms offered to secure release are mentioned and debated: some things are 'asked from us,' some things 'offered;' within a few days the release takes place, and the terms mentioned are carried out on both sides.

Now, hear Mr. Gladstone, on November 24th, last: 'On the 2nd May, I declared that the hon. member for Cork, and two other gentlemen confined with him, had been liberated without any negotiation, promise, or engagement whatever. Most true that I did say so, and most true was the statement I made.'

On the release itself, his original denial ran:

'*There was no negotiation, promise, or engagement whatsoever* with the suspects. I repeat, that there never *was the slightest understanding* of any kind between her Majesty's Government and the hon. member for the city of Cork. *The hon. member for the city of Cork has asked nothing and got nothing from us, and we, on our side, asked nothing and got nothing from him.*'

It will be seen that here is superadded, 'never was the slightest *understanding*,' even, with the prisoners!

But, oh that we had Pascal to deal with this amazing casuist! One hardly knows where to begin. If we look for light, we can only turn to other transactions as ambiguous and casuistical. Fortunately, there is a case in his record almost analogous. Mr. Errington, it was made 'matter of charge,' had gone to Rome, with a commission from Lord Granville to Cardinal Jacobini, with a view of smoothing matters in Ireland.

In answer, Mr. Gladstone said, 'There has been no negotiation with Mr. Errington, no proposal made, no request tendered to him, and no appointment.' So categorical and satisfactory a reply to reassure the Protestant mind there could not be. Errington may have gone to Rome, and said things to the Cardinal, but it was of his own motion. He was a stranger to us. We could not help these meddling agents.

After this, will it be credited that it turned out that Mr. Errington, prior to his departure for Rome, had been closeted with her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who (1) had desired him to explain the condition of Ireland to the Pope; (2) had given him a letter or letters, describing his quality as 'recommended agent' of the English Government; (3) and undoubtedly charged him with the duty of explaining matters to the Pope's secretary! The latter, it seems, wrote in reply, and in the same spirit, and expressed himself willing to confer with the recommended agent. There was a charge of the agent's expenses being paid, but this was put aside with such shifts, that it seems highly probable they were so discharged. Yet there was 'no negotiation,' 'no appointment,' '*no request to Mr. E.*'

If we are to imagine such an instance in private life —in the case of a gentleman of our acquaintance—we should never believe a word he said. But how valuable as a test applied to 'the Kilmainham Treaty,' as we shall take leave to call it! It sheds a flood of light. For the denial is just as categorical—'no negotiation, promise, or engagement whatever, not the slightest understanding.' Since Falstaff and his men in buckram there has been nothing like it.

But with this lamp in our hands let us follow the

steps of the transaction so justly described as 'disgraceful.' It is disgraceful to 'compound a felony;' not only disgraceful, but an offence against the law. It is disgraceful to enter into arrangements, bargains, 'understandings,' or even, as Mr. Gladstone puts it, his 'reason for saying there was no negotiation was, that because *while we welcomed all information as to the intentions* of the hon. member for Cork—and I maintain it was our duty to welcome information with regard to the intentions, not only of the member for Cork, but of every man confined on our responsibility; that it was our duty to catch at anything in the nature of a submission on their part, which would enable us to open the prison doors—nothing whatever passed from us to the hon. member for Cork.'

Now, this 'welcoming information with regard to intentions' of persons under grave charges is deliciously casuistical, and really shows a mind diseased by quibbling. Imagine the commander of a besieging force declaring that he had not negotiated for a surrender, but that 'he had merely welcomed information as to the intentions of the besieging general, and then let him go.'

It is further 'disgraceful' to repudiate your agent; act on, while you deny, the conditions; conceal and mystify, and refuse inquiry.

But let us begin at the beginning, and the facts shall speak for themselves. When, in May, Mr. Parnell was temporarily released for that mysterious funeral which he did not attend; and was allowed to remain at large without attending, he met his friend and recommended agent, Captain O'Shea, to whom he mentioned, as a desirable thing for pacifying the country, that a measure for remitting arrears—the Arrears Bill—should be brought

in. 'Will you not,' he was asked by his friend, 'if the arrears be granted, use your immense personal influence in the preservation of order?' '*Most undoubtedly*,' was his reply. Here was the point proposed, implying release. He was to aid the Government in preserving order, and his price was the Arrears Bill. Mr. O'Shea at once, thus commissioned, did what? Put himself in communication with Mr. Gladstone! and on April 13th forwarded Parnell's proposal to the Prime Minister, who, on April 15th, replied with alacrity:

'Dear Sir,—I have this day received your letter of the 13th, and I will communicate with Mr. Forster *on the important and varied matter which it contains.* I will not *now* enter into any portion of the matter, but will simply say that no apology is required either as to the length or freedom of your letter. . . . . I think you assume the existence of a spirit with which we can all sympathize, *whether we have any agreement as to the means* for the attainment of the end in view, or not. Assuredly no resentment, or personal prejudice, or false shame, *or other impediment extraneous to the matter itself*, should prevent the Government from treading whatever path may safely lead to the pacification of Ireland.'

Whether we are 'to have any agreement (!) as to the means,' 'the important and varied matter,' 'no impediment.'

Yet mark, 'not the slightest understanding,' 'no negotiation,' 'no asking of anything,' nor getting anything.

But this is only the beginning. The Prime

Minister having been thus favourable, the Captain next applied to a most important member of the Cabinet—the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain. This statesman—the soul of the Caucus—was inclined to welcome the overture; but the terms offered did not appear to him sufficient. Characteristically, he threw out that a promise to 'pacify Ireland' was well enough, but there must be an addition to the same offered for release, viz., some Parliamentary support or aid to the Government. The letter is too good not to be given in full:

'My dear Sir,—I am *really* much obliged to you for your letter, and especially for the copy of your *important and interesting* communication to Mr. Gladstone. I am not in a position to write you fully on the subject, but I think I may say that there *is nothing* in your proposal *which does not deserve consideration.* I entirely concur in your view, that it is the duty of Government to lose no opportunity to acquaint itself with reference to opinion in Ireland, and *to welcome suggestion and criticism, from whatever quarter it may come,* provided Irishmen are desirous for good government, and have not a blind hatred of all government whatever. One thing is certain—that if the Government and the Liberal party generally are bound to show greater consideration than hitherto for Irish opinion, the Irish party must, on the other hand, pay some attention to public opinion in England and Scotland. *Since the present Government have been in office they have not had the slightest assistance in this direction.* On the contrary, some Irish members have acted as if their object was to embitter and prejudice English opinion. I fail to see how Irishmen can profit by

such a policy; and I shall rejoice if ultimately a *more conciliatory spirit* is manifested on both sides of the House.'

Mark: 'No negotiation;' 'not the slightest understanding,' etc.

In another passage, the worthy Chamberlain dwelt on this view more pointedly, declaring that it would take very little to get up a sort of 'Irish baiting' in the great towns of England, so unpopular was that nation. This, we may suppose, was hinted, with a view to stimulate the negotiation.

Next came Mr. Forster, with whom our Captain had several interviews, and whom Mr. Gladstone had prepared. He was certainly the first 'to throw cold water' on the matter. He was not inclined for the release, but *his* terms were straightforward enough—an engagement to obey the laws. He disdained to ask them to aid Government in keeping the peace. If they were to be released, let a new Bill, with stronger powers, be passed. This was the answer he was prepared to give to a question of Mr. Cowen's in the House; but, he tells us, 'I saw the Prime Minister, and he did not approve of my giving that answer.' In consequence, *he* answered the question himself.

O'Shea, the agent, did not approve either, and says—in agreement, no doubt, with the Premier—that he had talked over this proposed 'foolish answer' with Mr. Forster, and which he was fortunately not 'allowed to give;' which the agent was glad of, as it would have blasted the negotiations.

All, however, that Mr. Forster would do was to give facilities for visiting Kilmainham clandestinely

or '*unostentatiously.*' How significant is every touch in the sketch of the 'no negotiation and no understanding!' He also tells us that he had little to do with the matter; which one can imagine, as he was not hearty in the disreputable business. 'For,' he says, the agent's communications, 'however, *were to a greater extent with the Prime Minister, and a conversation with the President of the Board of Trade.*'

O'Shea, having got on so satisfactorily, now reported progress to his principal, who had by this time returned to gaol. A confidential letter was written by Parnell 'to be shown to one person only.' No doubt, to the principal on the other side. In this conversation of five hours an additional clause in the treaty was proposed—the withdrawal of the 'No Rent manifesto'; on which the prisoner declared 'it would not be further circulated'—virtually accepting. And, indeed, the Captain added that there would be no difficulty, as 'it was practically withdrawn.'

The conversation was general, and, strange to say, the Captain is careful to insist there was not a word about release. It would be pleasant, certainly, to find these patriots so disinterestedly engaged: the Captain flying from Cabinet Minister to Cabinet Minister, negotiating simply for the good of his country, persistently withdrawing the 'No Rent' decree, inviting the people to follow the law, and all for no consideration! But the Captain surely means that on this occasion, improbable as it seems, there was no reference to his friend being '*let out.*' All he had seen and heard in London showed that gratitude, at least, would work.

The letter was to the effect that there was an absolute necessity for amending the Land Act by remit-

ting arrears, bringing leases within its scope, and other engagements. If this were done, he had 'every confidence that by this and his *colleagues' exertions*, much would be effected in stopping outrages.' And it closed with this tempting bait:

'*It would, I feel sure, enable us to co-operate cordially for the future with the Liberal party in forwarding Liberal business.*' Of which important clause in the treaty more presently.

It was at once placed in the hands of Mr. Gladstone's agent, Mr. Forster. It contained, with other proposals, this formal tender of political aid. This was clearly an answer to 'Joe' Chamberlain's rough 'Caucus' hint that fine words 'buttered' nothing, and would *not help Government* in the House. Poor Patriot Parnell was pining for his freedom, not unnaturally; the little whiff of liberty he had enjoyed at the no-funeral made him long for more.

O'Shea waited on Forster in Eccleston Square, who, in surly distrust of the whole business, carefully noted down every word that passed:

'After telling me he had been from eleven to five o'clock with Parnell yesterday, O'Shea gave me his letter, saying that he hoped it would be a satisfactory expression of union with the Liberal party. After carefully reading it, I said to him, "*Is that all, do you think, that Parnell would be inclined to say?*" *He* (O'Shea) *said*, "*What more do you want?* Doubtless I could supplement it." I said, "It comes to this—that *upon our doing certain things* he would help us to prevent outrages," or words to that effect. He again said, "How can I supplement it?"—referring, I imagined, to other measures with regard to land reform. I did not feel justified in giving him my own opinion,

which might be interpreted to be that of the Cabinet, so I said I had better *show the letter* to Mr. Gladstone and one or two others. He said, "If these words won't do, I must get others." And then he used these remarkable words, "The conspiracy which has been used to get up Boycotting and outrages will now be used to put them down," and that there would be union in the Liberal party. And, as an illustration of how the first of these results was to be obtained, he said that Parnell hoped to make use of a certain person and get him back from abroad, as he would be able to help him to put down conspiracy or agitation—I am not sure which word was used—as he knew all its details in the West.' I added, for the information of my colleagues: 'This last statement is quite true—this man—' (I will give his name if required. It is Sheridan)—' is a released suspect, against whom we have for some time had a fresh warrant, and who under disguises has hitherto eluded the police, coming backwards and forwards from Egan to the outrage-mongers in the West. I did not feel *myself sufficiently master of the situation* to let him see what I thought of this conference; but I again told him that I could not do more at present than tell others what he had told me.'

The Government agent, it will be seen, thought too little was offered; the other was even eager to advance on them. A memorandum of the whole was laid before each member of the Cabinet. And yet we find the Prime Minister, with incredible, unblushing audacity, vociferating 'no understanding, no negotiation, nothing offered,' etc.

Next, O'Shea waited on Chamberlain, with his letter, and gave him a copy. This is what 'Joe' reports on the suppressed passage:

'I did not suggest to him that he should withdraw any sentence whatever in a letter not written by him, but by another person; but it is true that he did, in conversation with me, after he had sent the original letter to my friend the late Chief Secretary, and when he was giving me a copy of that letter, say that he thought there was one sentence which might give rise to misapprehension, and which he would wish to withdraw. I must say that I did not pay very much attention to that statement, because I could *not see what authority he had to withdraw any part of the letter.* No doubt he was on very intimate terms of friendship with Mr. Parnell, and I suppose he considered he had authority to make alterations in a letter written by his friend; but, as I have said, I did not consider the matter of sufficient importance, and I did not mention it to my colleagues.'

Of course. The President of the Board of Trade thought the 'forwarding of Liberal business' to be the substantial part of the whole. Of course he did not, as a business man, consider the withdrawal of any value; and he adds, he did not 'mention it to his colleagues.' Now, why, if it was so important a condition? Because it was only to be withdrawn from the *record,* but the offer was to stand. Again, no negotiation. Shade of Talleyrand! Why, there has been no political negotiation so full of incidents, discussions and finessings!

In justice to Captain O'Shea's sagacity, it must be said, he felt that it was indiscreet in his friend having thus put in writing his offer to serve the oppressive Government that had imprisoned him. And his withdrawal of the passage might almost have war-

ranted his subsequent suppression of it, when reading it aloud in the House of Commons. In fact, he very forcibly said as much—that it might be '*misunderstood as a bid for release.*' But it slipped out.

Well! everything having been thus proposed, debated, with offers increased, etc., what remained for the Government, that had 'no arrangement, no negotiation,' etc., and would disdain such a thing? Why, of course, to do as Forster did—state their view. They would naturally say to their prisoners, 'We cannot treat. Get your followers to abate these disorders—your free colleagues. Set an example. Invite the country to pacification. Then, when there are sensible signs of your repentance and good councils, we shall see: *que messieurs les assassins commencent.*' But to the amazement of the public, within a few days the prison gates are opened, and the patriots walk forth! Could anything be more logical or consistent with a treaty? Any other result would have been absurd.

Granting that negotiation was entered on at all, it was only a question of sufficient terms and guarantees. And one is bound to say, the consideration was a handsome one. Mr. Chamberlain had, at the beginning, really stated what the release was worth to the Government, viz., the political support of the Irish members. He, no doubt, thought it a little 'cool' that the prisoners should demand Arrears Bills, enlargement of Land Act, etc., with their freedom, in return for some doubtful exhortations to peace.

Parnell felt that he must yield this, and accordingly added:

'*It would, I feel sure, enable us to co-operate cordially for the future with the Liberal party in forwarding Liberal business.*'

And nothing more comprehensive or satisfactory could be asked. The poor prisoner offered all he had to give. So in old times did the repentant smuggler offer to 'cordially co-operate' with the revenue officer for the future in 'forwarding preventive business.' So used Mr. Wild, the eminent thief-taker, to make 'arrangements,' or 'understandings,' with his prisoners.

But still, and it must be repeated at the risk of wearying, there was 'no arrangement, no negotiation, no *understanding*,' that in return for such handsome support Parnell and his friends were to be released. Matchless, unpardonable effrontery! Not even so impudent is the hardened pickpocket caught with his hand in a lady's pocket, and who says to the magistrate: 'S'help me, your worship, she gave it to me!'

Why, look to the words of Parnell's letter—'co-operate cordially for the future with the Liberal party *in forwarding Liberal business!*'

Liberal business!—Sir W. Harcourt's Bills—Mr. Gladstone's measures—to be 'forwarded,' *i.e.*, voted for, all in Kilmainham prison! And this meaning felt to be so obvious and fatal to the 'no arrangement' theory, that it is suppressed. Suppressed, too, it may be fairly presumed, not by foolish creatures that offered it, but by the more crafty negotiator on the other side. For, on the letter being laid before him, the wily old man saw that there was here all the awkwardness of a written bargain. So he wrote at once to Chamberlain, in these words: 'He'—that is Mr. Parnell—'then proceeds to throw in his indication or promise of future co-operation with the Liberal party. This is a proffer which we have no right to expect, and which I rather think we have no right *at present* to accept.'

'At present,' *i.e.* at this delicate stage. And, indeed, he almost seemed to think it was scarcely strong enough, for he calls it, in his own odd jargon, 'throwing in *an indication.*' But, mark how it convicts him of full privity with the 'no arrangement!' As we have seen, the very words, 'forwarding Liberal business,' imply presence in the House and release from prison. Further, not merely content with desiring the awkward passage to be erased from the record altogether, he performed the convenient feat of also erasing it from the tablet of his own memory, ordering his colleagues and henchmen to erase it also! For when it was asked, when the letter was read out with the passage suppressed, why he or his men did not supply it, but sat silent, he says—'I have no right to speak for my colleagues, *but I imagine it was quite impossible that they should have recollected the existence of the sentence in a letter of that kind,* and certainly, as I said before, when the letter was read, I had not the *slightest idea that it had been sought to be withdrawn.*' Again, Falstaff's account of his prowess was nothing to this. Mr. Forster, however, did not perform this feat with his memory. And 'Joe' Chamberlain certainly kept it in his mind.

Five or six months after these events, we have our Grand Old Man—grand certainly in these sort of jugglers' tricks—still loudly asseverating that 'Parnell neither asked anything from us, nor from anyone authorized by us, on the subject of his own release or on any political measure we intended to introduce; nor did he learn anything from us, except what he might have gathered from the public journals, in common with all the world. I hold there was no negotiation, promise, or engagement whatsoever.' But while all these things

were in the dark, and nothing had leaked out of the 'no negotiations,' see how serenely and boldly he protests. And anything more ludicrously convicting, when read by the light of what escaped later, cannot be perceived. Then he says piteously, 'What are we to do? We knew the prisoners were in this good frame of mind. We must have either gone to Kilmainham and asked for an engagement, or else, having information as to this view, we must have kept them in prison.' It would, of course, have been too shocking to have taken the first course. Yet again: 'He (Forster) says he would have required a public undertaking. Now, what does that mean? That means that *we must have entered into an arrangement. That means that we must have gone to the cell in which, unhappily,* an hon. member was at that time confined, and should have said to him, "We are not going to take exception to what we understand to be your sentiments, but we are going to require of you that you shall make a public undertaking." We desired to trust ourselves freely—freely to the honour and spirit of liberty, the unrestrained liberty, of the honourable gentleman and his friends.' But we must add to this noble and chivalrous confidence, of 'trusting freely to the unrestrained liberty,' Joe Chamberlain's Birmingham view of having something in 'black and white:'

'The solution we had to arrive at was—*was this a bonâ fide statement that these gentlemen would be the friends of law and order in Ireland?* We were bound to satisfy ourselves upon that subject as well as we could, and we did satisfy ourselves, *and we did desire to know from the member for Clare that it did not pass in mere loose conversation,* but that the member for Cork *should distinctly make that statement, and he did*

make it in the letter which he handed to the hon. member for Clare, and which was placed before us.' Something '*distinct*' was asked for, and it was supplied. Here it was 'blurted out.' This is real 'trusting freely to the unrestrained liberty.' But such is invariably the fate of those who entangle themselves in—well, let us call them *sophistries.*

It was too terrible to think of going to the prison cell and getting engagements. Yet, as we have seen, these engagements were thus tendered for weeks, debated by the Cabinet, put in writing, added to and withdrawn, at the suggestion of Ministers.

We now come to the second chapter of this discreditable history. No sooner were these persons released, than strange rumours got abroad as to the fact of the secret bargain, and the Minister found himself pressed and baited with questions on the subject. The answer he gave was this; but at this time no one knew of 'the letter,' or of the goings backward and forward. Mr. Forster had resigned, it was known, in consequence of this release. Mr. Gladstone replied to the effect that they had information '*tendered* to them,' on the part of the prisoners, which amounted to a promise to withdraw the No Rent circular, and which thus 'justified and prompted the release.' The gloss thus put upon the matter was certainly unhandsome and disingenuous. Not a word of the 'protocol,' of Chamberlain's invitation to support Government, and the rest. The admission of the release being 'prompted' by an offer from the prisoners is valuable, as connected with what we have seen, though not then revealed. He thus affected to say that the Ministers had not moved in the matter; it was the prisoners' own doing. In short, if there

was anything to be said or explained, 'I believe it would be far more dignified just to leave it to *those gentlemen* themselves to make their own declaration—and I think that we should wait such declaration being made to the House by the persons to whose conduct such declaration refers.'

On this the prisoners indignantly rose to deny that they had made any such engagements. Later, Parnell, feeling that the Ministers had been 'playing booty' with him, rose to protest against the whole responsibility, and perhaps odium, being thrown upon him. He complained of its being represented that his release was part of the bargain.

The Premier was 'prompted,' or felt he had gone too far, and that his game was not safe; so he was accordingly constrained to admit that the words, 'upon release,' might be taken to imply that he had engaged or covenanted to do something on release. '*The information I received was that he, Mr. Parnell, looked to effect a settlement of the question of arrears on the basis of a gift.*'

That was all. Nothing about putting down outrages; the getting 'Mr. Sheridan' to help; the enlargement of the Land Act; the forwarding Liberal business; the meetings with Forster; the letters to the members of his Cabinet; the secret visits to Kilmainham. No; if a simple offer had been unofficially conveyed from Mr. Parnell to get his 'No Rent' circular withdrawn—with a request, in return, that the arrears should be forgiven—he was content to remain in his cell, '*forwarding Liberal business*' there! The Government then felt that they must not lag behind in generosity, and, in a spontaneous burst, released him.

But the matter was not to rest there. The fact of

there being documentary evidence, a letter to the Premier, embodying the 'information' that prompted the release, had got out; and on May 15th—a memorable day, when this treacherous barley-sugar house of deceit tumbled down, in disastrous collapse—our Great and Grand Old Man was pressed to produce it. Not he! Indeed, one could not expect him; though he and his Cabinet had 'forgotten' that there was another damaging message about 'forwarding Liberal business.' He, of course, could give no lower reason than one with a fine moral ring. It would tend to 'diminish the responsibility of the Government;' 'it would not fall under the rule;' 'it would be drawn into a precedent,' and other Tartuffe-like excuses. He did not say, however, on this occasion, that 'it would be far more dignified just to leave it to those gentlemen to make their own declarations,' etc.; but, to his horror and consternation, they did! Who will forget the scene when Mr. Parnell rose to read out the letter? It was natural that he should do so, as otherwise grave suspicions would have attached to him. But he again was hoist on his own petard in the most delightful way. Never, indeed, was there such *journèe des dupes;* for Forster quietly asked, '*Had he read the whole?*' Then the damaging 'forwarding Liberal business' came out. Then Captain O'Shea told the whole story of his 'no negotiation' which we have been following. We may conceive the piquant effect of this full and detailed narrative, when contrasted with Mr. Gladstone's simple and pastoral statement: 'What were we to do? We had information.'

The unmasked intriguers were at their wits' end as to what was to be done. But the King of Hair-splitters on other occasions, recalled for once Danton's *l'audace,*

de l'audace!' From that hour to this moment he fills the air with noisy denials of the whole. 'There was no treaty, no understanding, no arrangement.' Listen to this and be amazed, ye simple folk who know not how to extricate yourselves: 'The first question was whether any other members of the Government had communicated directly or indirectly with Mr. Parnell? I am *not prepared to admit, as a matter of words, that I did directly or indirectly communicate with Mr. Parnell.'* What! when two of his letters, written for you and at you, were brought to him by his agent! 'I now think it would be a more correct phrase to say, "received information;" but, passing by that as a mere verbal matter on which we may differ, I believe it was mentioned last night by the hon. member for Clare that he had one or more conversations—I know not whether written communications also—on the same subject-matter with the President of the Board of Trade, *so far as my memory serves.'*

Alas! that such a nice, scrupulous regard for accuracy and candour, for not straining the service of your memory the breadth of a split hair, should not obtain in all the stages of this transaction!

And the fatal letter. Why was it all kept back? Surely not from any fear of its being damaging. As there was 'no arrangement, no negotiation, *no understanding* even,' how could it damage; but, as it was said on that fatal night, because it was against rule, it would tend to diminish the responsibility of Government? But the other day, when taunted by Lord Randolph Churchill about it, he pleaded nobler impulses—a kind of tender feeling about interfering with the rights of private persons, and that sensitive courtesy which should prevent one touching on the

liberty of others. It really reminds one of certain scenes in the 'Beggar's Opera.' Listen to this:—It might have occurred to the hon. gentleman whose standard of public morality is so high, and who has such a sense of the delicacy and courtesy that ought to govern the relations of members of this House, that possibly I might have declined to produce the letter of the hon. member for Cork from a vague idea that it was more proper that he should produce it himself, and that I should leave to the hon. member, with whom I had no communication, perfect liberty of judgment so far as I was concerned as to whether he would produce it.'

How beautiful!

But there is another letter from Mr. Gladstone himself to Forster, on this delicate subject, and which everyone is very curious to see, as it would throw such light on the matter. Here again real noble motives are interposed:—'I tell the noble lord fairly with regard to the question of producing that letter, the letter contains nothing that I should not be perfectly content to have read at Charing-cross; but the precedent of producing letters passing between one Cabinet Minister and another is a precedent which I am not willing to be responsible for establishing, unless it could be shown that there was some reason for supposing that the letter contained anything which was material to the case, and which would tend to bring home some charge against the Government.' In short, letters that 'passed between one Cabinet Minister and another,' or between anyone at all (as in the other instance) and Cabinet Ministers, are not to be produced on high moral ground —*if they contain inconvenient matter.*

Again another desperate point was this. There

was no treaty, he urged, because none of the conditions had been promised or engaged to. They were merely suggested or proposed.

'He says that Mr. Parnell knew that the Government were going to release him. I call upon him to prove it. I deny it. *He had no shred or tittle of knowledge about his release until he was released.* What else did he know? He knew there was to be legislation on the arrears in the sense he desired? Again I meet Mr. Balfour with a flat denial. (Cheers.) Mr. Parnell knew nothing of the kind. The Government had decided nothing of the kind, and I affirm that when Mr. Parnell was released from prison he knew absolutely nothing of the intentions of the Government with respect to arrears, unless it was gathered from the speech made by me in the House of Commons—(loud cheers)—which expressly and absolutely reserved freedom to the Government to judge and decide for itself between the two methods of proceeding as to arrears. Well, sir, so much for what the hon. gentleman, the member for Cork, knew on his side. Now, I come to what we know on our side. Not one bit. Because everything depends upon the reciprocal knowledge. Now, sir, what did we know? The hon. gentleman says we knew there was to be peace in Ireland brought about through the hon. member for Cork. Sir, I would to God that I had known it! I certainly, if I had known it, would have gone a long way in consequence of it.'

This sort of wretched quibbling can impose on no one. It was sheer desperation that prompted. The prisoner did not know he was to be released, and the Ministers did not promise to bring in their Arrears Bill. But these conditions were formulated and pro-

posed, and carried out A man says, 'I will take your house, if you let me have it for £200.' Nothing may have been signed or sealed. But if we find the new tenant in possession, and the landlord shows a cheque for the year's rent, it may be assumed that the contract has been made. And here is the convincing proof of all—the Treaty has been carried out scrupulously. The Arrears Bill, insisted on in Kilmainham, has been carried. Efforts at pacifying the country have been made, for everyone has noticed the little share Mr. Parnell has since taken in agitation. He has scarcely been seen in Ireland, except on some formal occasions. He has certainly helped to 'forward Liberal business,' and stood by the Government on the really crucial division that settled the Cloture. Even Mr. Davitt talks with disdain of 'the patient policy' he has pursued. The Treaty, therefore, as we have here seen, was negotiated and carried out, and the accused Grand Old Man shrieks, 'Where is it? Produce the paper!'

Such is the story of this shameful transaction—shameful in itself, shameful in the underhand mode in which it was carried out, and, finally, most shameful in the complicated arts and mysteries used to hide it from the public.

THE END.

RESULTS

OF THE

"SOCIAL REVOLUTION"

IN

IRELAND:

INCREASE OF CRIME;

FACTS AND FIGURES.

APRIL, 1882.

DUBLIN:

HODGES, FIGGIS & CO., 104, GRAFTON-STREET.

1882.

DUBLIN:
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"I think facts and figures speak for themselves; and if they do not, I cannot think there is any use in a Judge speaking. The Judge can only speak from the facts, and if the facts are not eloquent I do not think that any observations I should make would be of any avail."—*Vide* BARON DOWSE'S Charge to Grand Jury of the county Limerick.

Agrarian Outrages committed in Ireland which were reported to Inspector-General of Royal Irish Constabulary.

	1880.	1881.
Total, .	2,590	**4,439**

Agrarian Outrages for first Three Months 1880, 1881, 1882.

MONTH.	1880.	1881.	1882.
January, .	114	448	479
February, .	97	170	407
March, . .	83	151	531
Total, .	294	769	**1417**

These figures are taken from Returns presented to the House of Commons, 1882.

EXTRACTS FROM CHARGES

OF

HER MAJESTY'S JUDGES OF ASSIZE.

LEINSTER.

[LONGFORD, *March 6th.*]

LORD JUSTICE DEASY, addressing the Grand Jury, said that—

"He was sorry to say that the condition of their county did not seem to have improved since he was here last year. A good deal of business had to be done at these Assizes, and some of it of a very serious nature. The Police Report presented to him since he came to the town showed that *there were ninety-eight cases reported by the constabulary, as against seventy-five in the corresponding period of last year.* Of these there were three cases of firing at the person, nine of arson, thirteen cases of injuries to property, five of forcible possession, and six of stealing cattle. Of course that record only appeared in the Police Report, *and in but a few of them were the Crown able to bring evidence before them.*"

[LOUTH, *March 7th.*]

MR. JUSTICE LAWSON, in his Charge to the Grand Jury, said—

". . In looking over the Report I find there is a considerable increase, as might naturally be expected, in the number of a certain class of offences, committed with a view to preventing people from paying their rents. *No persons have been made amenable for these offences.*"

[WESTMEATH, *March 8th.*]

MR. JUSTICE FITZGERALD, addressing the Grand Jury, said—

" . . I have a report from the County Inspector, which gives a perfect view of the state of the county since the last Summer Assizes, and the list is by no means a gratifying one. *As contrasted with the corresponding period of* 1881, *it is exactly double—or rather not exactly, because the total number of cases reported for the corresponding period of last year was forty-four, and they are for the period we are dealing with eighty-six, so that they are very nearly double in number, and they certainly are not at all of a lesser character.* The list commences with the crime of murder. It is a case we all know of well, the murder of a young woman, a daughter of Mrs. Crohan. I can only characterize it as one of the most audacious murders that ever was carried out. Next on the list we have no less than twenty-five cases of threatening to murder, and on looking into these we find that they are no sham offences, but real threatening notices, threatening to murder. Then there are three cases of firing at the person, and sixteen cases of assembling with arms, seizures of arms, &c. In addition to the twenty-five notices threatening to murder, there are twenty-eight cases of ordi-

nary threatening letters. Then there are three cases well-established of firing into dwelling-houses, carrying out previous threatening notices that had been served upon the parties. Well, all these—I do not deal with the case of murder—so far as I can judge from the report, have one tendency and one direction, that is, to try and prevent parties by intimidation from meeting their engagements to pay their rents. Gentlemen, the enumeration of these cases is in itself enough to show that the condition of Westmeath is not satisfactory—nay, more, that for the period with which we are dealing it has been and is in a most unsatisfactory condition. I thought I would be wrong to let it go to the public without calling attention to these facts—that we have but two cases to be disposed of by the grand jury. That is one of the most remarkable features in the case—it is a feature that leads one almost to despair of the future of the country. *When I mention to you that there are eighty-six defined indictable offences reported to the constabulary, and capable of being proved, it is remarkable that in only two small cases—one for cattle-stealing and another for a petty larceny—has anyone been made amenable; in other words, that there is no evidence available by the authorities to establish the guilt of any of those parties.*"

[KILKENNY, *March* 10*th.*]

MR. JUSTICE HARRISON, having noticed in detail the cases to be submitted to the consideration of the Grand Jury, said—

"He was glad to say that the county was not so much involved in crime as other counties, but, *according to the County Inspector's report, fifty cases had occurred since the last Assizes, and this was an increase on the previous year, the return showing only thirty-nine cases.* He was sorry to say that a few of these cases are sending letters threatening to

murder, whilst there were twenty-six cases of ordinary threatening-letter writing, and *no individual had been made amenable in any case.* Then there was the posting of threatening notices, and it appeared from the police report that they all were attributable to the state of society to which he had referred. Men were threatened or intimidated for paying their rents, or for giving the use of their cars or refreshment to the police; and this system of intimidation was greatly to be deplored, as the people who were the object of it could not have policemen always at their elbows to protect them. There were four cases in which dwelling-houses had been fired into, but fortunately no one was injured. There was one case of cattle mutilation, in which a cow had a large portion of its tail cut off."

[KING'S COUNTY, *March* 10*th.*]

CHIEF JUSTICE MORRIS, addressing the Grand Jury, said—

"I learn from the list furnished to me by the Crown Solicitor *that bills in ten cases are to be submitted for your consideration.* They consist of four cases of assault, three of larceny, one of posting a notice, one of arson, and one of firing at. . . . *Since the last Summer Assize no less than one hundred and eighty-four serious cases* are reported to me on the list furnished to me by your County Inspector, a gentleman with whom I have been long and favourably acquainted. That list contains no less than eighty-three cases of threatening letters, ranging over every species of business that it is almost possible to conceive—threatening to murder, threats of violence, threats of various kinds connected with the various relations of life that must exist in a large and busy community. Gentlemen, sometimes persons of great courage—one of whom I do not profess to be, having merely

ordinary, fair courage—persons of great courage sometimes suggest that they do not mind threatening letters at all. Well, possibly, when these threatening letters are not seen to be accompanied by any effects, a person may to a certain extent possibly arrive at such a conclusion, but when I find that since the last Assize no less than seven persons have been fired at with, apparently, intent to murder, at various times and in various places—when two of the persons so fired at are members, if not of your grand jury, at least of other grand juries—when in four cases out of seven the person fired at was more or less wounded—in three cases they escaped altogether—when I add as a commentary upon these threatening letters that there have been forty-six cases of burning houses, four of hay and other property; that there have been various cases of other malicious injuries to property, and of firing into houses with intent to intimidate—when all these are remembered, I can only sum up this melancholy list by stating that it amounts to one hundred and eighty-four cases."

[QUEEN'S COUNTY, *March* 13.]

MR. JUSTICE FITZGERALD, in addressing the Grand Jury, said—

"I have just been furnished with the Crown Solicitor's list of the cases to go before you. Those cases are about twenty in number, some of them of a serious character; but I have also, in addition to the Crown Solicitor's list, a report furnished by the County Inspector; and the first thing that strikes one on the face of that is that, *while for the same period of last year as that we are now dealing with, the number of cases reported was twenty-one: there are now for the same period sixty-two;* but we must not be alarmed at that very considerable increase, for twenty-six of that increase are to be attributed to the ordinary class of threatening notices—

threatening parties if they paid their rent. . . . . On the whole, the report is not satisfactory—it indicates a condition of lawlessness and disorder, and a disregard for the laws relating to life and property, prevailing in this county, where I least expected it. I have not been here for the last eight years; but when I last visited this town, the Queen's County was remarkable for the peace and order that prevailed in it. . . . . Then there were two or three cases of threatening letters, of the worst character, to which he would recommend their special attention. They were all of that nature that went to the foundation of peace and order in society; and he was afraid that, if efforts were not made to put an end to this abominable system of posting notices threatening individuals, a grievous injury would be done to society."

[KILDARE, *March 17th.*]

MR. JUSTICE FITZGERALD addressed the Grand Jury as follows:—

"As the grand inquest of the county, your duties as a criminal tribunal will be very light. *There are only ten bills to be sent to you*, none of them of any magnitude, and in only one case will you require any assistance from me. . . . . But in addition to the Crown Solicitor's list, which is very satisfactory, I have a document before me which, though it contains some elements of a gratifying character, does not represent the state of this county, upon the whole, to be at all satisfactory. I refer to a summary taken from the elaborate report I have before me of the County Inspector, which gives officially and with authority a complete list of all outrages reported to the constabulary on creditable evidence to have been committed since last Assizes. *The number altogether, and I am sorry to say that I shall have to refer to some in*

detail, is one hundred and twenty-five. For the corresponding period of last year the number was only eighty-eight, so you see there has been a very substantial increase—an increase which is largely, though not entirely, under the head of threatening notices. . . . . There are four threats to murder—one man is threatened if he does not dismiss a herd, another if he lets land in a particular way; but the greatest number of these are threats in consequence of the payment of rent. They appear, as I said, to enter into every relation of life; and as long as that system continues it cannot be said of any county that it is in a satisfactory condition. It represents a great spirit of lawlessness and outrage, and an effort upon the part of a section of the community, of the lowest character, to take the government of the whole community into their hands. . . ."

MUNSTER.

[CLARE, *March 7th.*]

Mr. JUSTICE BARRY, who presided in the Crown Court, addressing the Grand Jury, said—

"On that the first occasion on which he had the honour of presiding in that Court, he regretted indeed that he was very far from being in a position to offer them anything approaching congratulation on the condition of their county. It was impossible not to see that there extensively prevailed a spirit of insubordination and lawnessness, manifesting itself in crime and outrage, which was deeply to be deplored. The labours of the grand jury would be indeed light at that Assizes. Under different circumstances that would be a source of congratulation; but at present, he regretted to say, it was rather the reverse, because, unfortunately, as he had heard

an eminent member of the Bar express it yesterday, *there was no absence of crime, but there was an absence of criminals being made amenable. . . . . The number of cases reported by the police at the last Assizes was one hundred and twenty-seven, but he regretted to say on the present occasion the number had reached three hundred and twenty-six.* Now, of course they must do a little more than compare the two sets of figures merely, because the last Assize was held in July, and the one hundred and twenty-seven cases covered a period of four months, the previous Assizes having been held in March, whereas the present return covered the period from last summer up to the present month of March, or eight months. Even supposing that offences were to increase in a direct ratio with the length of time over which they were spread, that would leave the number for the eight months at two hundred and fifty-four, whereas the number returned for the present Assizes was three hundred and fifty-six. They would perceive what a deplorable state of things that revealed. Looking at the class of crime in which the increase had taken place, he regretted to say that it seemed to him that the increase appeared to entirely consist of what was popularly known as agrarian cases, or of a class of offences which partook of an agrarian character, if the mode of the offence might not itself be considered as entirely agrarian. Among those cases he found the crime of murder, and one case of murder had occurred within the last few days. It was a case where a party of men entered the house of a farmer named Moroney, placed a gun up to his thigh, and discharged the contents of the deadly weapon in such a manner as to shatter the leg. It was a terrible thing to conceive that such an outrage should be committed in any country professing to be civilized. . . . . .

"Then, among the other cases reported were returns of arson, malicious injuries, maiming cattle, and tendering unlawful oaths; there were thirty-five cases of firing into dwel-

lings, and one hundred and fifty-three cases of sending threatening letters and posting threatening notices through the county. It appeared to him that the system of posting threatening notices broadcast through the county was a system of enormous intimidation, and he did not know a more heinous offence than that. It was an offence to which the law assigned a very severe punishment, and it would be the duty of those who had the administration of the law to carry out those sentences. When cases of intimidation, which seemed to be the general description of various classes of crimes amounted to twenty-four, and there were also reported cases of demanding arms, boycotting, and obstruction of the highway—all these offences showed a deplorable and unsatisfactory state of things. He himself was of a sanguine turn of mind, especially when his native county was concerned, and he could not believe that a better time was not in store; but it was impossible for him to address them (the jury) in any language of hopefulness or congratulation."

[TIPPERARY, NORTH RIDING, *March 7th.*]

LORD JUSTICE FITZGIBBON, addressed the Grand Jury to the effect that the Crown book on the present occasion contained but six entries, and added—

" . . . . If the business to be disposed of could be regarded as a sufficient indication of the condition of the county, it would appear to be one of almost unbroken peace, one of unparalleled social security. Unfortunately, the returns which the County Inspector had laid before them presented a very different picture. He had no means of estimating the state of the county, but he compared this report, as it was his duty to compare it, with the past state of the county. His Lordship here enumerated the offences set

forth in the County Inspector's returns. *There were one hundred and fifty-nine this Assizes, against seventy-five this time last year.* The return contained a variety of offences, all of which indicated a bad state of the county."

[TIPPERARY, SOUTH RIDING, *March* 14*th*].

LORD JUSTICE FITZ GIBBON, having referred to the increase of crime in the North Riding, proceeded as follows—

"I am sorry to be obliged to call your attention to the Official Return which the constabulary have placed before me, showing the condition of the county as regards its general peace and order during the past few months. . . . . I deeply regret to say that in your South Riding, not only are the numbers larger, but the proportion also is greater. *Against one hundred and six specially reported offences this time twelvemonths, I now find upon the returns no less than two hundred and thirty, making for the county of Tipperary, over the period covered by those returns—viz., from last Assizes, three hundred and eighty-nine cases reported, as against one hundred and eighty-one for the similar period of last year.* Endeavouring to classify these offences, I find that the *cases of wilful injury to property*, the wilful and malicious destruction of property, including wilful burnings, killing and maiming of cattle, and other wanton descriptions of destruction, *the number of cases has risen from thirteen to forty-eight.* . . . . . The next class of offences I have to classify are those of intimidation by acts of violence. There are three cases of firing at the person with the intent to murder. There a large number of cases of breaking into dwellings by night. There are other cases of the same sort, and *the number is now sixty-three against twenty*

this time twelvemonths. Lastly, there are those cases of intimidation by threats, threatening notices, threatening letters—*the number has risen from thirty-five to ninety. In these cases the number is two hundred and one, out of three hundred and thirty, the total reported cases on this list, as against one hundred and six this time twelvemonths. . . . .*"

In this county the following important Resolution was passed by the Grand Jury before separating :—

RESOLVED—"That the Grand Jury wish to draw the attention of Her Majesty Government to the alarming increase of the so-called boycotting in the South Riding of the county Tipperary, whereby men of all classes are affected and obstructed in their legitimate business, isolated, and deprived of the very necessaries of life. The Grand Jury respectively suggest the necessity of making boycotting a malicious injury, giving the sufferer the usual claims for compensation, or stamping it out by such other measures as Her Majesty's Government may deem fit. They would further suggest that the cost of the extra police in disturbed districts should be placed on smaller areas than counties, and also that compensation be given for injury to the person."

[LIMERICK, *March 9th*].

BARON DOWSE, addressing the Grand Jury, said—

"The number of bills to go before them on the present occasion would be very small, and with, perhaps, one or two exceptions, he did not think it necessary to give the many special directions with reference to them. . . . He wished that with the fifteen or sixteen bills to be disposed of the business of the Assizes would end, and, in point of fact, the business of

the Assizes would end with the consideration of those bills; but he was sorry to say that the condition of the county of Limerick was very different from what any person would imagine by the very small list which was laid before him by the Crown Solicitor. He had laid before him the summary of the criminal offences since the last Assizes up to the present time. Leaving out of consideration the Winter Assizes altogether, *he found that three hundred and fifteen criminal offences had been specially reported to the police. That was worse than at that time twelvemonths, when the number of offences was two hundred and forty-four.* . . . . . He thought facts and figures spoke for themselves, and, if they did not, he could not think there was any use in a Judge speaking. The Judge could only speak from the facts; and if the facts were not eloquent, he did not think that any observations he would make would be of any avail.

" . . . . . He found that while there were only twenty-seven cases of ordinary crime, the three hundred and fifteen consist of cases indicative of the present unhappy condition of the country, yet *only sixty-five persons were charged with offences.* . . . . . He found from the County Inspector's report that out of the three hundred and fifteen cases there were two hundred and forty-six in which the offenders were not known, and that there were some three hundred persons who refused to give information to the police, or make any deposition. . . . . The condition of the county of Limerick was very unsatisfactory as compared with last year, and last year it was very unsatisfactory also."

[KERRY, *March* 15*th.*]

MR. JUSTICE BARRY, addressing the Grand Jury, said—

" . . . . . Turning from the list of the Crown Solicitor, which, I regret to say, generally speaking throughout the country, conveys but a slight idea of the real condition of affairs—turning from that to the return of your active and intelligent County Inspector, I see before me a very formidable document indeed. . . . . *I regret to tell you that it discloses a total of three hundred and seventy-nine offences*, stated to be of an indictable character, as having occurred in the county since the last Assizes; and when we look at the list of which that number is composed, we find that class which is indicative of a disturbed, a lawless, and disorganized condition of the country. I find murder, letters threatening to murder, firing at the person, wounding, and stabbing, arson, injury to cattle, raids on houses, taking arms, and all that class of cases with which, unfortunately, we are in the history of this country too familiar."

[CORK, *March* 20*th.*]

BARON DOWSE, addressing the Grand Jury, said—

"The number of bills to go before you at the present Assizes is very considerable. The bills will not be considerable in point of numbers, but the offences are, many of them, of a very serious and aggravated description. . . . *The bills amount to fifty-two in number*, and are conversant with every sort of crime, and even with the ordinary sort of crime in a large county like Cork. I wish my duty ended there,

and that I was able to say that that comprised the bulk of the crime to be disposed of since the last Assizes. I have two reports before me—one by the County Inspector for the East Riding, and the other by the County Inspector for the West Riding—and I find that since the Summer Assizes for 1881—and we are now on the Spring Assizes of 1882—*in the East Riding of Cork no less than three hundred and seventy-five offences were committed* that were specially reported to the constabulary, and which are also described as indictable offences—that is, offences generally disposed of before a jury at Assizes or at Quarter Sessions. Those offences are almost of every sort and description known to the criminal law. Unfortunately out of the large number of three hundred and seventy-five indictable offences committed since the Summer Assizes, six are such as could be considered as ordinary crimes. Now, just to give you an idea of what those crimes are, I may say that they include forty-five cases of threatening to murder, thirty-two cases of arson and wilful burnings, and two cases of murder. . . . . .

"I now come to the West Riding of county Cork, and I find that *in the West Riding there is a remarkable circumstance—namely, that the number of offences committed since last Summer Assises is three hundred and seventy-two,* within three of the entire number of offences said to have been committed in the other district of the county, and they are very much of the same class of offences—one hundred and eight of threatening notices; twenty-seven assaults upon dwelling-houses; seizing arms and levying contributions, thirty, and thirty-five letters threatening to murder. . . . . I do not think that any person listening to me here can face those figures with any other heart than a sad one. I pray that a time may come when those who succeed me, or perhaps myself, if it is my duty to come here again, may be able to congratulate you on the state of the county. I, however, am now only able to do the reverse."

CONNAUGHT.

[LEITRIM, *March 7th.*]

THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, proceeding to address the Grand Jury, said—

"Mr. Foreman and gentlemen of the grand jury, the cases that will go before you are not numerous, nor are they, in themselves, of a serious character. At the same time I regret that I cannot conscientiously offer you my unreserved congratulations on the condition of your county, *for there is evidence to be found both on the calendar and on the reports submitted to me, tdat secret societies exist, and illegal combinations are in force, to deter men, by fear and by terror, from the discharge of their honest obligations.*"

[SLIGO, *March 10th.*]

JUDGE ORMSBY, addressing the Grand Jury, said—

"Their duties would be light, as *there were only fourteen cases to go before them*, one of which was of a serious character—a case of homicide. There were several cases of riot, two cases of perjury, and some cases of assault of the ordinary character.

"The calendar did not unfortunately represent the actual condition of the country. He found, upon looking over the Constabulary Returns, that since the last Assizes there was an increase in the number of outrages, compared with the same period last year. *At the last Assizes ninety-seven was the number of outrages reported, whereas it was this year one hundred and thirty-eight.*"

[ROSCOMMON, *March* 16*th.*]

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, addressing the Grand Jury, said—

"The cases which come before you are not numerous, nor are they of a serious character. . . Now, gentlemen, although the calendar of crime to come before you is neither numerous nor serious, I am sorry to say that to suppose it indicates at all the state of this country, or rather of this county, would be an entirely fallacious view of the case. *It appears from the official returns which come before me, that at the Assizes this time last year the number of crimes reported was only thirty, whereas at this Assizes, for the corresponding period, the number of crimes which are reported is eighty-four.* Amongst these there is one horrible case of murder. An unfortunate man called Brennan, sitting at his fire at night, was shot dead by a shot coming from the outside of the house. And what was his offence? It was that his brother was supposed to have paid his rent. I do not think that anything can be more frightfully horrible than that a quiet, respectable man, sitting at his fire at night, should be shot dead because his brother was supposed to have paid his rent. It indicates a state of feeling which cannot be too strongly deprecated. Another man was fired at and wounded on a Sunday, and what was his offence? It was that he had been collecting seed-rate. He was in the legal discharge of his duty collecting seed-rate, and therefore he was to be assassinated. Facts like these speak for themselves. What must be the state of feeling among the lower orders when two men are to be assassinated for reasons such as those? Well, in addition, there is a fearful return of midnight assaults on dwelling-houses, and of intimidation, because this person or that person had attempted to pay his rent, or had supplied some person with provisions. Then there are an enormous number of threatening letters of a similar character, and there are a

vast number of cases of burning property—stacks of corn and hay, &c. How are these accounted for? Simply that persons were supposed to have done some act, perfectly innocent and perfectly legal, but unpalatable to others who were associated together for the purpose of preventing persons from acting as they were legally entitled to do. There are a vast number of other cases—midnight assaults on houses, armed parties at night dragging persons out of their beds and endeavouring to administer unlawful oaths for the purpose of preventing them from exercising their lawful rights. As I said, the number of cases of that kind in this county amounts to eighty-four, and the most melancholy part of the case is the utter impossibility of obtaining evidence to bring the perpetrators to justice. The calendar that comes before you is of a very trifling description, but the returns that come before me are of a very serious and alarming character. *The fewness of the cases to come before you show the extent of the evil, and present a strong indication of an unsound and disorganized state of society.* These are the very grievous statements that I feel it my duty to make to you. It is not for me to suggest a remedy, but this I do say, that a remedy of some kind must be found; for if crime of this kind is to be perpetrated with impunity it will spread rapidly, and the end will be that these counties in the South and West of Ireland will become uninhabitable. We have the good fortune, gentlemen, to live under a free Constitution, but it is idle to say that it is a subject for congratulation that our liberties are free from oppression from above if we are to be subject to tyrannical oppression from below. I trust, gentlemen, that remedies will be found by which these crying evils may be put a stop to. It is not for me to suggest what those remedies should be. *It is for those who rule this country and are responsible for the administration of affairs to discover and administer the remedy for a state of things which is a disgrace to any civilized community.*"

[MAYO, *March* 18*th.*]

In this county the Grand Jury adopted the following Resolution:—

"That we request the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the necessity of taking measures for the restoration and permanent maintenance of law and order in Ireland, and strongly recommend for this object the re-enactment, as a portion of the permanent law of the country, of the provisions of the Peace Preservation Act, as they existed before the Act was weakened at its last renewal." "The power given to grand juries to present for compensation for murder and maiming, to be raised off those districts which they believe to be most rightly charged therefor, and the levying of the cost of special police stations off small districts in which crime and outrage are prevalent, instead of charging whole baronies, nine-tenths of which may be peaceable and orderly, have been proved by experience to be most effective in repressing crime, and we believe that they would be equally successful in the future."

[GALWAY, *March* 27*th.*]

THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, in his Charge to the Grand Jury, commenting on the Constabulary Returns, said—

" . . . . . Some cases of murder, of a cruel and cowardly character, had also been committed in this county. In one case an old man who had acted as a herd was taken out of his bed at night, and was in the most cruel way put to death. This old man's son was also taken out and murdered; and it was supposed that these men were murdered simply because they acted as herds, and because, perhaps, some people in the neighbourhood had been deprived of pasture.

Some policemen had also been shot, one in the open street, and one near the police barracks, simply because they had been energetic in the discharge of their duty. This was a state of things which it was shocking to contemplate, and one of the worst features in connexion with crime of this character was the impossibility almost of its detection. *Out of* **360** *cases presented on these reports only* **30** *cases were returned for trial.* It was lamentable that such a state of things should exist."

ULSTER.

The following extracts from the Judges' Charges to the Grand Juries of Cavan and Derry—counties respectively situate in the southern and northern extremities of *Ulster*, prove that in this hitherto peaceful province crime is on the increase.

[CAVAN, *March* 11*th.*]

BARON FITZ GERALD, in his Charge to the Grand Jury, said that—

" . . . *The number of specially reported crimes in the Constabulary Returns since last Assizes was one hundred and fifty-eight. That number, as contrasted with the returns at a similar period of last year, showed a considerable increase—the numbers then were one hundred and twenty-five.* One of the most unpleasant things connected with this return was that a number of persons, the offenders in about one hundred cases, had not been made amenable; and amongst the cases in which the persons had not been made amenable were some which indicated a lawless condition of the county. . . . . ."

[DERRY, *March 23rd.*]

BARON FITZGERALD, addressing the Grand Jury, said—

"The number of distinct cases in which bills are to be sent before you is twenty-five. . . . The return of specially reported crimes by the constabulary includes forty-nine cases. *That number, an increase I am sorry to say, compared with the corresponding period of last year, is very considerable, because it is the number of forty-nine compared with fifteen—a very considerable difference.* When I tell you that *in more than one-half of these forty-nine no person has been arrested or made amenable,* and that there are thirteen of which the character is always doubtful—that is, of threatening letters—that the great majority of the others, in which no person has been made amenable, are cases of malicious destruction of property—you will not be surprised; but it is unsatisfactory as to the state of the county so far, and more particularly as some of them appear to be connected with an agitation with which this country has for some time been troubled, and which we all deplore."

IRELAND SINCE THE ASSIZES.

"The condition of Ireland shows signs of improvement."—QUEEN'S SPEECH, *February* 7, 1882.

"The present condition of things is a disgrace to any civilized community."—THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF IRELAND at ROSCOMMON, *March* 16, 1882.

The following is a list of some of the outrages which have occurred in Ireland during the last month, as reported in the *Dublin Evening Mail* of March 18 and April 8 :—

MARCH 13.—The house of a farmer named O'Connell broken into. O'Connell himself shot and badly wounded: his wife and daughter dragged out of bed and clubbed with the butt end of a gun.

" A party of armed men who were about to enter the house of a farmer suspected of having paid his rent, come upon by the police near Patrickswell, Limerick.

" Written notices extensively posted through Ennis, calling on the people to "boycott" the establishment of a grocer on account of his grazing his stock on land from which another had been evicted.

" The house of a land bailiff named Kennedy, situate at Viewmount, close to the Crusheen Police Station, visited by a party of four men with blackened faces and armed with revolvers. His son was taken outside, and after being threatened, five or six shots were fired over his head, when the party decamped.

March 13.—Two shots fired into the dwelling-house of a man named Flynn, residing near Mondeligo, county Waterford.

,, The house of Timothy Callaghan, at Ballygarvan, county Cork, attacked by a party of men; the windows and doors broken in with stones, and the whole place wrecked.

,, 14.—The house of Widow M'Hugh, at Crosna, near Boyle, visited by two men, armed with revolvers, who placed her on her knees, fired two shots over her head, and battered her head with a spade.

,, Seventeen men entered the house of John Ward, a tenant farmer, at Cattan, county Leitrim, two of whom struck him on the head with their guns, while a third inflicted a severe wound with a blow of a pistol.

,, Widow Creegan, living in the same place, also visited, and forced to swear that she would take her son away from his master's employment.

,, Edward Kennedy dragged out of his bed at Crusheen, and marched to an old house some yards distant, where he was put on his knees and fired at, but not seriously hurt.

,, A farmer named Costello dragged out of his house at Listowel, shot, and seriously wounded.

,, Notices posted at Newport threatening anyone who pays his rent with "powder and ball."

,, All the labourers of Dr. Armitage, near Cashel, intimidated not to work for him.

,, 15.—The house of Mr. Daniel, J. P., five miles from Athlone, fired into. This is the second attempt on Mr. Daniel's life.

,, The engine-driver of a goods train on its way from Buttevant to Mallow fired at.

,, Two men entered the house of a farmer named Speering, residing near Adare, and forcibly took therefrom a double-barrelled gun.

MARCH 15.—Two men named Cassidy savagely beaten when returning from Mohill, for having paid their rent.

" Shots fired into the house of Patrick King, near Boyle, and threatening notices posted on his door, because he nominated Colonel King-Harman as a poor-law guardian.

" Three ploughs maliciously smashed on the lands of Margue, Castlebellingham.

" 16.—Mr. Carter, J.P., shot at his own gateway, near Belmullet, and dangerously wounded.

" A herd's house, near Kells, visited; the herd himself fired at and wounded, and his sister also maltreated.

" At Rathmore, Kerry, a caretaker named Leary dragged out of his house and shot in the legs.

" An evicted tenant in the same neighbourhood reinstated, and made swear that he would hold forcible possession.

" A farmer named Molony, at Kilfenora, county Clare, attacked by a party of Moonlighters, who fired shots at the house.

" Four shots fired into the house of Mr. Richard Merrick, of Lisheen.

" 17.—Party of Moonlighters visited a farmer who had paid his rent, near Nenagh, and extracted several of his teeth.

" A no-rent manifesto, signed by "Captain Moonlight," posted on the gate of a clergyman at Kilrea, warning tenants who paid their rents that they would be visited by "Rory."

" A cart of flax, the property of a boycotted farmer, destroyed in Cavan market.

" Notices posted in the neighbourhood of Boyle, threatening with death any person who failed to vote for the Land League candidates at the poor-law elections.

" 18.—Boycotting notices posted in Ennis, forbidding any further dealings with certain landlords in the district.

MARCH 18.—Michael Loftus, a railway carrier who had given displeasure in his neighbourhood by carrying goods for "the authorities," forced to publish a printed recantation.

" A man named Cregan brought before the Mohill magistrates, charged with having fired into the house of a farmer named Ward.

" Six revolver shots fired at the police and military at an eviction at Drumbeg, near Boyle.

MARCH 20.—Sub-Inspector Doherty and Miss Conry fired at, at Tubbercurry, and both severely wounded.

" Mr. Crawford shot, on his way to church with his family, at Clonmellon, and very seriously injured.

" Gibbons, a servant of Lord Ardilaun's, **murdered** near Clonbur.

" The mother of the murdered man brutally beaten by her son's murderers.

" Peter Andrews, **murdered** in Tighe-street, Dublin.

" Serious riot at Dunmanway. Police obliged to charge the mob.

" Farmer O'Brien's house, at Fedamore, county Limerick, fired into.

" A horse, the property of Denis Ryan, near Kilonan, in the same county, maliciously maimed.

" A quantity of hay and straw, and some out-offices, belonging to a farmer named Kaye, at Ballybunion, set on fire and consumed.

" A large crowd of men and girls, armed with sticks and forks, proceeded to the residence of an old woman who prosecuted some parties for attacking her house at Drumkeen, but were met by a police patrol.

" No-rent notice extensively placarded through the townland of Geashill, Lord Digby's property.

" The farm-house and out-offices on a farm at Knockane, about five miles from Mallow, from which the tenant was evicted, completely burnt down.

" 21.—Attempt made to blow up a house in Nelson-street, Dublin, in which some police detectives lived.

MARCH 22.—Band of Moonlighters visited a number of farmers at Boyle.

,, Three men arrested at Ballincollig on a charge of attacking the house of the sexton of the church.

,, 22.—The mail car between Limerick and Tulla attacked by armed men, and the driver beaten.

,, Sub-constable Godkin seriously injured from a blow of a bottle at Shinrone.

,, Several constables injured in an affray at Roscrea.

,, Twelve head of cattle driven into the Shannon.

,, At Carrickbeg, Edmond Power charged with firing at a man of the same name.

,, 23.—Joseph Doroney, a farmer near Golden, fired at and wounded in the leg.

,, The house of a farmer near Frankford attacked, and the roof set fire to.

,, Another house in the same locality visited by Moonlighters.

,, John Shanley, a farmer near Meelick, dragged out of bed, and half roasted before a fire.

,, A large quantity of hay and straw burned at Ballybunion.

,, The same at Tarbert.

,, A man named Donohoe put under a rule of bail for twelve months for posting a boycotting notice.

,, A horse, the property of Miss Kelly, Old Longford, stabbed with a pitchfork.

,, 24.—Band of Moonlighters visited the house of tenant farmers in the neighbourhood of Boyle.

,, Boycotting notices extensively posted in Carrick-on-Shannon.

,, 25.—A Moonlight gang surprised by the police whilst attacking the house of Jeremiah Ryan, at Drombane. One of the gang shot and seriously wounded.

,, Military riots in Galway.

,, The houses of several persons who failed to support the "popular" candidate as poor-law guardian in the Skull Union fired into.

MARCH 27.—John Keane shot in a railway carriage, near Tralee, during a row in which a set was made on Lord Ventry's gamekeeper.

,, A party of Moonlighters fired several shots into the house of a farmer named Donohoe, at Ballylongford.

,, The Rev. Thomas Feehan, Roman Catholic Curate, sent to jail for six months by magistrates at Rathdowney, for exciting discontent in the minds of Her Majesty's subjects.

,, Mr. John Ross Mahon's house at Ahascragh, county Galway, partially destroyed by an explosion of dynamite.

,, An explosive shell thrown into the House of Henry Lucas, at Letterkenny.

,, A farmer's stable, between Mallow and Cork, burned down, and a horse and cow burned with it.

,, The postmaster at Broomkeen severely beaten by a number of disguised men.

,, Thirty sheep, the property of Mr. Mulhall, Conservative, stolen, to revenge his success at the poor-law elections.

,, 28.—Joseph M'Mahon **murdered** in a public house in Dorset-street, Dublin.

,, Two men arrested on a charge of having fired into a farmer's house at Newtown, county Kilkenny.

,, Shots fired into the residence of a tenant farmer on Judge Flanagan's estate at Kilmihil.

,, A farm-house on Mr. Den. Keatinge's property, at Woodsgift, burned to the ground.

,, Five men arrested for illegal drilling at Ballyshannon.

,, 29.—Inflammatory placards, threatening members of Parliament who supported the Cloture, posted in Dublin, Longford, Limerick, &c.

,, Near Clonislie, Queen's County, Michael Kane was struck on the head by a man named Conry, and died shortly afterwards.

,, A body of men paid a visit to Templederry (North Tipperary) in search of fire-arms.

MARCH 29.—A farmer named Patrick Hallassey shot in the shoulder by an armed party, who attacked his house near Kenmare.

,, A farm-house burned down in Millstreet, on the property of Mr. Massey, near Macroom.

,, Near Athlone, shots fired into the house of a farmer named Dounican, who had paid his rent.

,, 30.—Patrick Duggan, a farmer at Rathmore, shot in the legs.

,, A shot fired into the house of a car-driver at Cloghan.

,, A fox-covert on Lord Gormanstown's property fired in twelve places.

,, 31.—Mr. Arthur Herbert **murdered** on his way home from Castleisland Petty Sessions.

,, A plough and gate of a small landlord near Kilkelly smashed to atoms.

APRIL 1.—John Doherty, a farmer, shot and seriously wounded near Carrigalere, Leitrim.

,, Bridget Glennor, while driving home in a donkey cart to Cooksborough, attacked by two men with blackened faces. Three shots were fired, one wounding the donkey.

,, A party of Moonlighters, armed and disguised, attacked the houses of two farmers at Cappa.

,, A raid made on a gamekeeper's lodge at Edenderry, and some arms and ammunition carried off by the Moonlighters.

,, 3.—Mrs. Henry Smythe **murdered** while returning from Collinstown Church with her brother-in-law, Mr. Barlow Smythe.

,, A farmer's house at Castlebar fired into, and the wife of the farmer severely wounded.

,, Limerick Police-station attempted to be blown up with dynamite.

,, The house of a farmer residing between Scanlan and Kiltoher attacked, and the farmer's cattle maimed.

,, Farmer Moore, at Moher, visited by an armed party, fired at but missed, and his dog killed.

April 3.—A land bailiff at Boher threatened, and ordered not to take a farm from Mr. Gabbett, M.P.

,, 4.—Mr. Johnstone Parke fired at near Bunninadden.

,, 5.—A large quantity of ammunition seized by the police in Berkeley-street, Dublin.

,, The anniversary of the murder of Constable Armstrong celebrated at Boyle.

,, 6.—Mr. Dominick O'Donnell fired at near Erris.

,, John Sullivan, a farmer, unmercifully beaten at Mallow, and his skull fractured.

,, The Members for Donegal threatened with "Leitrim's Ghost."

,, Riot in Tipperary on seizure of cattle by sheriff.

,, 7.—Mr. Hunt, Protestant curate of New Ross, attacked by a mob whilst reading the burial service over a Norwegian sailor.

,, Placards posted in and about Boyle, threatening with death any farmer who sends his cattle to graze on a farm of more than seventy acres.

,, Two Moonlighters arrested while attacking a house at Ballydehob.

,, The out-offices of Denis Lane, a farmer, near Castle-island, burned down.

,, 8.—A considerable quantity of arms and ammunition seized by police in Halston-street, Dublin.

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THE CAPITULATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

SPEECH

OF THE

RIGHT HON.

EDWARD GIBSON, Q.C., M.P.,

IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

MAY 4, 1882.

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THE CAPITULATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

SPEECH

OF THE

Rt. Hon. E. GIBSON, Q.C., M.P.,

In the House of Commons, May 4th, 1882.

Mr. Gibson: When on Tuesday* the Prime Minister made his statement to the House, I think everyone followed it with the deepest interest, and it must have been present to the mind of that great statesman himself that each word that he uttered developed and increased to an acute degree the interest of the House. (Hear, hear.) It was obvious that a great and serious decision had been arrived at, and equally obvious that that grave and momentous decision was made known to the House casually, suddenly, without notice, and without any sign which could indicate that it had received the deliberation which its importance required. No reasons were offered, and no explanations were tendered. I do not intend in connection with a great question like this to indulge in mere personal charges. The matter is far too important for that. But I think it is to be regretted that on an occasion of such gravity the Prime Minister should not have thought it his duty to make a statement of a more complete character. (Hear, hear.) When that regret was very temperately indicated by my right hon. friend near me, we were met in a way that was simply unworthy. We were told, "We give you no grounds, but if you are dissatisfied say so, and we will vote you down." (Hear, hear.) That was hardly the way to deal with a fair, reasonable, and thoroughly justifiable question on an occasion so important. I think also that it was not necessary for a statesman, holding the high position of the Prime Minister, to say that it was no new policy which was being introduced, and that it was in harmony with the old lines. Such expressions as those are simply nonsense. (Cheers.) When the Government cannot get their Lord-Lieutenant† to stay in office, and cannot induce their Chief Secretary‡ to be responsible for their actions, surely it is rather idle to say that they are proceeding in harmony with their preceding conduct. We have more knowledge to-night, but I am not sure that the increase of knowledge which we have received will lead to an increase of confidence. Speaking for myself, I am bound to say that a discussion more calculated to intensify the interest and increase the anxiety of the country has never been heard in Parliament. (Hear, hear.) The right hon. gentleman the member for Bradford,‡ as I must now call him, speak-

* May 2nd. † Earl Cowper. ‡ Mr. Forster.

ing with the greatest moderation, and with all the weight of his high character, and a long political life, made use of words which, if they do not bring conviction to men's minds, must surely cause every man in this House who is not heedless or thoughtless to reflect gravely on the state of affairs. When I heard the speech of the right hon. gentleman, and when I heard the three alternative propositions which he submitted to his colleagues, with whom he had obviously desired to remain—when he formulated those three propositions, by the acceptance of any one of which he would have been induced to remain in the Cabinet, my feeling was one of immense astonishment that in a crisis so grave the Ministry could not see their way to the acceptance of any one of them. (Hear, hear.) It looked as if the Government, *coûte que coûte*, were determined with their eyes shut to embark on a new policy, which might lead they knew not where, and for which they had no reason to offer either to their colleague or to the country. (Hear, hear.) The main proposal made by the right hon. gentleman the member for Bradford was that the present Coercion Act might well be allowed to come to an end, but that the period that would elapse before its expiration should be utilized in the enactment of other provisions which would so strengthen the general law of the country as to enable the change to take place safely and reasonably. That is a suggestion so temperate and fair that it is inexplicable to me that it was not considered worthy of acceptance by the Government. Now, I ask on what information has the Government proceeded? (Hear, hear.) That is a question to which we ought to have an answer. (Hear, hear.) It was not upon the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, for he had given notice to quit. It was not on the information of the late Chief Secretary; it was, in fact, in opposition to his opinion. His successor, whose appointment I do not criticise, knows necessarily nothing about the subject. If, then, the Prime Minister is unable to vouch his late Lord-Lieutenant, if he has acted against the advice of his Chief Secretary, if he is unable to say that his law officers agree with him, if he is unable to state that the Lord Chancellor of Ireland gives his sanction to this change, if he is unable to cite a single report or suggestion in support of his action from anyone who has the means of obtaining the necessary knowledge, am I not entitled to demand upon what information have the Government proceeded in making this momentous change? (Hear, hear.) I think it is to be regretted that in the speech of the Prime Minister on Tuesday he did not make himself understood more completely. He protested, I now think a little too much, in saying that there was no negotiation, or contract, or anything of the kind. I will not say there was a contract or a covenant—to use the right hon. gentleman's words—but if there was not an understanding, I am at a loss to know what is the meaning of an understanding. (Cheers.) The right hon. gentleman knew that the hon. and gallant member for Clare was going to Kilmainham with the knowledge of the views and intentions of the Government. (Mr. Gladstone: No.) Perhaps I may be allowed to state my own proposition. I will take the words of the right

hon. gentleman, and then I must demand leave to draw my own inference. I must, for the purposes of argument, draw inferences from the words which will be before the country to-morrow in the three forms in which the Prime Minister gave them (hear, hear), because I notice that there is a most extraordinary development in the frankness of the right hon. gentleman. In the first place he stated, "the information which led us to the conviction to which we recently gave effect." Nothing can be more interesting or bald than that. (Laughter.) Then the right hon. gentleman proceeds to the second development and says, "Then we were forced to the rational conviction"—the previous one was not characterised (laughter)—"that the three gentlemen in Kilmainham would find themselves in a condition to place themselves on the side of law, order, and individual freedom." Now, Sir, there we have a further development. The right hon. gentleman, if I may be permitted to say so, was, I think, hardly as happy as usual in his speech to-night, because, having made that second statement, there appeared a third branch of the Upas tree. (Laughter and cheers.) This further development threw full light on the question. The right hon. gentleman says "they had information that, were the Government proposals of Tuesday carried out, these members would be willing to act as I have stated." (Mr. GLADSTONE: I did not say that.) The meaning is as clear as crystal. (Cheers.) I took down the words which I have read, and it appears that the information was conveyed by the hon. and gallant emissary from this House to Kilmainham that the Government undertook the settlement of the arrears question on the basis of gift and compulsion.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Nothing of the kind. (Cheers, counter-cheers, and cries of "Withdraw" from the Ministerial benches.)

Mr. GIBSON: I have said nothing personally offensive. I am dealing with statements which appeared to me to culminate in the particular statement to which I have referred. Of course, I am in the wrong. (Cheers.) But now let us see the real meaning of this transaction. The Government have, by an emissary, recognised that they were willing to settle the arrears question on the basis of gift and compulsion. (Mr. GLADSTONE: Nothing of the sort.) And, on the other hand, the hon. gentlemen in Kilmainham seem to have conveyed, or it was understood that they conveyed, in a very clear manner, that they thought that if some such thing were done there would be a better chance of law and order. The meaning of all this is that the hon. member for the city of Cork and his colleagues—I will not say made a contract, for everybody knows that was not the case—made it to be understood that if the proposals indicated were adopted it would lead to the lessening of outrage and to the smoothing of the course of law and order. (Cheers.) I have now put my meaning on this transaction. It has already obviously landed the Government in a series of misunderstandings. All I can say is that if the hon. members lately in Kilmainham were able to put a clearer meaning on the matter than I have given they are a great deal cleverer than I. As far as I can gather, the lucidity and clearness of the Prime

Minister's statement is such that we are unable to assign to it any definite meaning. (Laughter.) I venture to think that this action of the Government, which has led to this series of misunderstandings, bears a strong similarity to an arrangement which binds the Government and leaves the other parties free. (Hear, hear.) I should like to know whether the right hon. gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland was cognizant of the proceedings. I should say, probably he was not, and certainly he did not approve of it. And, therefore, the Government seem throughout the whole business to have preferred acting on the casual and uncertain belief expressed by the hon. member for the city of Cork * as to what might happen if something were done in the matter of the arrear clauses rather than on the deliberate opinion of their own colleague, the then Chief Secretary for Ireland. (Cheers.) Now, Sir, every one in the House must be glad that the Government can see their way to the release of any people subjected to the great irksomeness of such confinement. I am sure there is not a single man in the country that would not be pleased if the Government, on their own responsibility and for satisfactory reasons, could feel that it might be safely done, to see every person in confinement released. There is no difference of opinion as to that. I can only say, notwithstanding the unworthy and petty charges made to night—I have never made such imputations—that the Conservatives hate coercion as everyone else does. But the way the Government have acted in this measure—the methods they have pursued—have been such as to excite the gravest alarm, the *maximum* of anxiety, and to lead us, who have listened to every word and watched every step of the transaction closely, to believe that the Government have no policy, no purpose, and no courage. (Cheers.) If the Protection Act was necessary last year, if it was necessary to confine three members of Parliament during the *clôture* debate (hear, hear), if the right hon. gentleman now says, as he said on Tuesday, that up to the very moment they changed their minds they were right, I should like to know when and where did it become wrong to proceed on their previous methods. The right hon. gentleman, whom I will not quote at length, on the 18th of August last year, in a discussion on the administration of the Coercion Acts, introduced by the hon. member for the city of Cork, used these remarkable and clear words: "Our course is clear; we must in no circumstances compromise the peace of the country: . . . . we must do our best to confront the danger and to compress it, and we must make no terms of accommodation with those who defy or endeavour to frustrate the law." † Sir, that is an interesting sentence, read by the light of subsequent events; and though I would be the last in the world to suggest any moral inconsistency in these words, it is obvious that it requires acuteness not to see that the present persons and occasions hardly fit in. (Cheers.) Sir, I have listened with attention to everything that has been said. The right hon. gentleman's speeches, I am bound to say, have been characterised

*Mr. Parnell. † *Hansard*, vol. 265, pp. 297-8.

by a want of amplitude and detail that is almost unique in the right hon. gentleman's oratory. He has certainly not given any lavish statement of the causes which have led to this change, and he has given no statement of his reasons. The past administration of the Government must have been either right or wrong. If wrong, they must have been blundering for months. If right, did it become by a miracle wrong in a night? (Cheers.) The right hon. gentleman alleged three reasons. I do not want in the slightest degree to distort any words that he has said. He gave three reasons. He called them reasons. He said that the Government action would be conducive to the interests of law and order, and of the security of property. But that is a perversion of language. They are not reasons. That is only a prophecy. And bearing in mind what the right hon. gentleman the member for Bradford has said, one can hardly feel any great confidence in this particular prophecy of the Government, and there is nothing in their past career of prophets to make us accept their statement with absolute faith. (Cheers.) Taking that as their reason, have the Government stated or suggested how long this reason has been in operation? Do they expect what?—a short lull, or more than a short lull—it may be they will get it. ("Hear, hear," from Sir W. Harcourt.) The Home Secretary is easily pleased. (Loud cheers.) Well, I have to remind the right hon. gentleman that he has a chance of a short lull. But what is the certain price to be paid for it? What are the weighty words of the right hon. gentleman the member for Bradford? Why, that this is certain to lead to the weakening of the respect for law and to the enfeebling of its power. (Cheers.) The Home Secretary said, using a grand word, of this transaction, that it was an effort of the highest policy. It may be attended by immense and stupendous results. In that sense he may call it the highest policy. But when the right hon. gentleman went on to say, not thinking, I imagine, at the moment what was the effect of his words—if I may presume to say so—that it was done with a knowledge of the circumstances, and having regard to the relation of the persons released to the state of the country, I ask him what circumstances? We have been told none. They have no apology to give us—not a name, or a report, or a suggestion. (Cheers.) I ask again, what circumstances have you stated? You are unable to suggest one solitary circumstance or fact, except this, that you have determined, for some inscrutable reason of your own, to throw over your Chief Secretary. It appears to me that the Government have suddenly turned over a new leaf (Liberal cheers); and that that new leaf is to be the first page of the chapter of accidents. (Loud cheers.) It appears to me that they went one side for a time and then went to the other, and the only analogy I can find for the Government policy is the modest and humble one of a ferry-boat. (Cheers.) Were we not entitled to a review of the period of the last few months, at all events to a clear statement of their principles and to some statement of their guarantees for the peace of the country? As far as I can see, the Government proceeded on a sudden inspiration that it would be wrong to keep the suspects in prison without trial. That might

be a reason for organising some mode of trial, but not for letting them out and postponing their trial *sine die*. Can you, if such be the reason of the Government, draw any distinction at all between the gentlemen who have been released and the remainder of the prisoners? If the reason for their release was that you cannot keep men in prison without trial, are you not bound to release the rest? (Cheers.) I do not see, in the face of what the right hon. gentleman has said, how any logical distinction can be drawn. The Prime Minister spoke of the "demands of necessity, with regard to future legal provisions, for securing peace and tranquillity;" the noble lord (Lord Hartington) went further, and said "the existing law was not sufficient to afford the police all the power they ought to possess for the suppression of crime." In the face of these admissions, I ask what is the reason for the delay in stating to the House these measures and in an early indication of them? (Cheers.) The Government, in postponing that statement, lays itself open to the charge of making a promise to satisfy the loyal and postponing it to satisfy the disloyal. (Loud cheers.) There are measures which have been referred to as of extreme importance; the question of arrears has been described as one of the utmost moment as well as the Bright clauses of the Land Act. Surely the sooner some proposals are made the better. The Government may take either of two courses; they may say, "We cannot at once pass these measures," but they cannot say, "We will postpone even a statement or indication of their provisions." At all events, I am entitled to assert this, that if they do so they will weaken the Administration and paralyze the arm of authority in maintaining the law. (Cheers.) But I ask the House whether, in speaking of these matters, the Prime Minister has ever said one word of sympathy to the loyal classes in Ireland (loud cheers) who have been placed in circumstances of such extreme difficulty, and who are struggling, some of them, to protect their lives, and all of them to protect their properties? The question of the day is, How are you going to rule Ireland at the present moment? The Government have thrown down their present arms, while they tell us, at the same time, that, at some indefinite period, we may have to manufacture new ones. I ask, how are outrages to be lessened? No answer. How is impunity for crime to be diminished? We are not told. How is the Queen's Government to be carried on? God only knows. Is terrorism lessening? The Prime Minister does not even suggest that. (Mr. Gladstone here pointed to Mr. Forster.) I am dealing with the Prime Minister now (cheers and laughter), and it is a strange commentary upon these proceedings that I should be referred to the late Chief Secretary. The Prime Minister himself does not venture to suggest that he rests his case upon a diminution of crime. The right hon. gentleman said, on the 4th of April this year, "There is, on the whole, an aggravation, in some degree, in the character of the outrages committed. The gravest subject is the absence of evidence that the outrages in Ireland are not associated with some influence behind them higher than that which belongs

to those who commit the outrages." Has the right hon. gentleman invoked the assistance of that superior influence? (Cheers.) Sir, what is the character of this criminal agitation? It is disloyal to the backbone, and seeks for a separation between the two countries (cheers), and struggles to secure a disruption of this Empire. ("No, no," from the Irish members.) There is no disguise upon this question. The right hon. gentleman has made frequent concessions, and each concession is treated as an instalment, and is made the starting-point of a new agitation, whose goal is separation. I am thoroughly familiar with this question, and I know the writings of Mr. Devoy and Mr. Davitt, men of courage, who plainly express their views. I know what the hon. member for the city of Cork, a man of great power of speech and clearness of expression, as well as of courage, said at Cincinnati on February 23, 1880. His words were:—

"When we have undermined English misgovernment, we have paved the way for Ireland to take her place among the nations of the earth. And let us not forget that that is the ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim. None of us—whether we be in America or in Ireland, or wherever we may be—will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England."

The Lord Chancellor of Ireland, my right hon. friend Mr. Law, in the course of his masterly statement at the State trials in Dublin, indicated that the farmer in all that movement was but a cat's-paw in the hands of the agitators. The Home Secretary, in his powerful speeches last year on the Arms Act, demonstrated that this movement was Fenianism in a slightly varied form, and your new Lord-Lieutenant,* whom you have sent to govern Ireland in some new method, has pointed out in the House of Lords the intimate connection of this movement with rebellion and sedition. But the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the Home Secretary, and even the new Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, fade into insignificance as compared with the greatest authority of all, that of the right hon. gentleman opposite. The words of the right hon. gentleman used at Knowsley, on the 27th of October last, were most remarkable. Speaking of the agitators he said: "They wished to march through rapine to 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 another." (Hear, hear.) These words are grave words. The authorities that I have referred to have stated their opinions in a way as clear as possible, showing that you are dealing with a disloyal agitation which cannot be satisfied, which regards every concession only as an instalment; and that is the agitation which you have dealt with as you are dealing! (Cheers.) And what is the crumb of comfort that the right hon. gentleman says he has got from the speech of the hon. member for New Ross† the other day, able, lucid, and moderate in its tone? The closing words of that speech were a strong indication that the speaker and the party for whom he

* Earl Spencer. † Mr. Redmond.

spoke would not be satisfied without a separation. ("No," from Irish members.) The hon. member's words were that if that Bill passed into law—the whole Bill and nothing but the Bill—it would do something towards bringing about the millennium, "when laws for Ireland would be made by Irishmen on Irish soil."* (Cheers.) Moreover, at this moment, there are warrants in existence for detaining men in custody for treasonable practices. I read in the *Times* that two arrests were made yesterday in the county of Cork for treason-felony. This indicates that the conspiracy is as strongly disloyal now as at any time during the last few years. It is worthy of note in regard to the papers distributed yesterday morning that the main strength and power of this agitation is not in Ireland at all. It draws its main force from a Press in America, from agents in America,† and it is fostered and supported by gold from America. And, as I have said before, I say again, that I believe that if the Government of the day, assuming that they had courage, had only to deal with the disaffection of Irishmen in Ireland, unhelped from America, they would find it but a small matter. (Cheers.) This is a political movement that acts by the social discontent which it stimulates, and governs by the outrages which it sanctions. Am I not entitled to ask how do the Government propose to suggest to the country that they are coping with this disloyal movement by their new departure? Any man of intelligence must see—I do not now speak of the release of the suspects, it is the indication of the Government policy, their mode and method of action, the way in which they have dealt with the right hon. gentleman and other matters—that they have strengthened the cause of disloyalty and weakened the cause of loyalty.‡ (Cheers.) The Government say: "Our action hitherto has been a blunder, therefore we shall have no action in future; our present position is nearly hopeless, therefore we shall trust everything in future to a hope; all our prophecies in the past have been falsified, therefore we shall try one more on the chance of its proving true (a laugh); we have tried in vain to work upon the fears of the lawless and disloyal; now we shall try the chance of appealing to their pity and their forbearance." (Cheers.) The Government deny that this is a new departure. I admit that it is not a new departure, because a new departure would require courage, resolution, and nerve. It is merely a development of an old departure—of feeble concession, of weakness, and of vacillation. (Cheers.) But the right hon. gentleman, if he remains in power, will some time or other arrive at a period when there is nothing to concede. Church funds will not last for ever; there is a limit even to the property of Irish landlords; even the most prolific parent will at some time or other arrive at a period when he has no children to throw to the wolves. (Cheers.) You must come to the end of this hand-to-mouth

* *Times*, April 27, 1882.

† A full and most interesting account of this matter will be found in "The American Irish and their Influence on Irish Politics," by Philip Bagenal, published by C. Kegan Paul & Co. London. 1882. 1 Vol.

‡ On Saturday the 6th of May, 1882, two days after this speech was delivered, Lord Frederick Cavendish, the new Chief Secretary, and Mr. Burke, the Under Secretary, were savagely murdered in the Phœnix Park, Dublin.

policy; and at last you will have, sooner or later, to face the question of the disintegration of the Empire. You are now, as far as I can see, without clearly considering what you are doing, deserting outworks and trenches and parallels. You thought you had bought a peace with part of the property of the landlords by your Land Act, and you have found that it was not a peace. Now you think by new concessions, and by more "becks and wreathed smiles," that you will win a truce. Be it so; you have not got your peace and you may not get your truce; but, sooner or later, whoever is responsible for the government of Ireland will have to face the alternative of cowardice or courage. (Loud cheers.) One of the gravest questions connected with this piteous policy of the Government is its effect in Ireland. Surely it is already known there that the Government intend by a novel process to encourage an Executive to suffer intentionally from creeping paralysis. The law in Ireland, God knows, is not strong enough for the constant tricks that are being played with it, nor is the Executive so potent that it can lightly run the risk of exposing itself to the charge of impotency. What has been done has been done, and you have only to read the press of Ireland to realise its effects. The disloyal are triumphant. The loyal are anxious. A discouragement which cannot be recalled has been the source of immense and painful anxiety to the loyal classes, who, through evil and good report, have adhered to the cause of law and order, ever true to their motto—"Faithful, though not favoured." (Cheers.) That class have never used the language of fear or cowardice, and they do not mean to use it in this crisis, trying as it is; but they appeal with confidence, as they are entitled, to the sense of freedom, justice, and courage in this great nation. Ministers have chosen in this transaction to play the pious but humble part of waiters upon Providence. The speech of the Prime Minister, exceptionally cautious, indicates no policy, but it clearly conveyed that he was ready to consider and reconsider everything, in the heaven above, in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. The country is absolutely sick of uncertain promises and qualified refusals. This uncertainty of language feeds the criminal agitation that is sucking out the life-blood of the nation. (Cheers.) There is, fortunately, thank God, in Ireland what the Government cannot take away at present—much material prosperity; there is a very considerable loyal class, and, besides that, all the great classes who have anything to lose are ready to support the Government in putting down terrorism—a circumstance entitled, at all events, to the consideration, if not the sympathy, of Parliament. They wish to support the Government; but no class, no matter how loyal—no class, no matter how much their material prosperity may depend upon it, can support the Government unless the Government give them something to support. (Hear, hear.) Is the time come—will the time ever come—that the Government will take their stand upon anything? (Cheers.) Say, if you like, what you will give while you have the power; but you are bound equally at once to make up your mind and boldly state what you will never grant in any con-

ceivable circumstances. I do not think it is fair and legitimate to be always suggesting that you may give, that you will give, that you possibly will not give at present, that you may give hereafter. If by strong words and resolute action the Government conveyed to the Irish people that they could govern and would be obeyed —they have never yet tried that simple expedient—they would make a real advance to the maintenance of that law and order which are the first conditions of civilisation and the surest and strongest guarantees of freedom. I have never taken, and never shall take, gloomy views, or utter Cassandra expectations in reference to my country. I believe in the future of Ireland; but it is impossible, no matter how sanguine a man may be, not to regard that future with painful solicitude, when the First Minister of the Crown proclaims in his place in Parliament that he governs by fitful changes, by startling surprises; that his system is without method, and his policy is without stability. Ireland needs to be ruled with justice and with power, but I reluctantly say that the conduct of the Government has forced upon me the conviction that they have failed to impress the Irish people with the steadfastness of their justice or the invincibility of their power. (Loud cheers.)

APPENDIX.

RECEPTION OF THE NEWS IN IRELAND.

Extracts from Speeches delivered in St. Mary's Hall, Belfast, on May 5th, at a Nationalist Meeting to celebrate "The Land League triumph."

(From the *Ulster Examiner* of May 6th, 1882.)

Rev. J. P. O'Boyle, P.P., the chairman of the meeting: We ask ourselves, what is the reason that compelled Mr. Gladstone to capsize the unfortunate Forster? (Groans.) . . . . . What we want in this country is men who are prepared to go the whole hog with Michael Davitt, and who are not to be made afraid. (Cheers.) Those who have done violence to us—the creatures of Mr. Forster, our soldiers and police—are conquered. (Cheers.) Dublin Castle they may burn down at any time. It is a nest of vipers—a rotten foul atmosphere rises around it, and it would be well for England and the empire if it were reduced to ashes to-morrow. They may do what they like with it. We are here to-night to congratulate the suspects—the men who put their names to the No Rent manifesto—the men who are fast gaining the land for the people of Ireland and a Parliament of our own. (Cheers.) . . . . . They were in the habit of having "God save the Queen" stuffed down their throats on many occasions, and he thought they could not now do better than bring the proceedings to a close by singing "God save Ireland." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. C. J. Dempsey, late Land League candidate for county Londonderry: They had disarmed all opposition, and were now complete masters of the situation. He advised them to continue the present agitation, and if they only imitated that patience, courage, and determination which their leaders had shown, they would not have long to wait for the dawning of Ireland's independence. (Loud cheers.)

Rev. H. Rylett, Unitarian minister, late Land League candidate for Tyrone: Referring to the office of Chief Secretary, he said it was no sinecure to be filled by sprigs of lordly English families, and he hoped the people would make the office as hot a one as possible. . . . . Lop off all they liked of the branches of the tree of injustice—now the land question, now another question, and what remains. There will be no peace in Ireland while England rules there. (Loud cheers.) . . . . . It is not local government they wanted, or partial self-government. They wanted the whole thing—that Ireland should be a nation once again.

(Cheers.) Let them not think that they had gained all yet. (Hear, hear.) There might be some wheedling at the bottom of this.

Mr. McERLEAN: The battle is more than half won—the foe is retreating, his colours are descending.

(*The Irishman.*)

In an article on May 6, headed "Capitulation," this paper says: "House of Lords, House of Commons, Government in London, Government in Dublin—all have capitulated to the indomitable force of Irish ideas, endorsed by the prison mark of Irish resolution."

(*United Ireland* of May 6, 1882.)

"The rats in the Castle cellars had better beware of rat traps. The vermin are going to have a bad time of it."

2d.

NATIONALISATION OF LAND:

A Review of Mr. Henry George's "Progress & Poverty."

By LORD BRAMWELL.

PUBLISHED BY THE
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NATIONALISATION OF LAND.

Mr. George has, in his book called "Progress and Poverty," discovered that poverty and all its concomitants are in some way or another engendered by progress itself. And he proves it thus:—"Go," he says, "into one of the new communities where Anglo-Saxon vigour is first beginning the race of progress, &c.,* and, though you will find an absence of wealth, you will find no beggars. The tramp comes with the locomotive, and almshouses and prisons are as surely the marks of material progress as are costly dwellings, rich warehouses, and magnificent chambers." Apparently, therefore, wealth, the result of progress, is the cause of poverty. Now Mr. George might just as well say that the sugar hogshead at the grocer's door has brought forth the flies and ragged children that are about it. Did it never occur to Mr. George that the large cities and places where the locomotive has been and where wealth is to be found, attract the idle, the weak, the dishonest, and the thriftless? Does he not know that the reason they are not found where Angle-Saxon vigour is just beginning a race of progress, is because the exercise of Anglo-Saxon vigour is unpalatable to them? Mr. George makes the common mistake of those who boast the virtues of rural districts. Why is there not a professional pick-pocket in the small village? Because there is no scope for his talents;

* When I use this "&c." I mean that I omit some of Mr. George's eloquence.

there are not pockets enough for his industry. Why is there no tramp, no beggar? Because there are not enough persons of whom to beg.

But Mr. George is wrong when he says that "the tendency of what we call material progress is in nowise to improve the condition of the lowest class in the essentials of healthy, happy, human life." That is untrue. The great bulk of the people of this country are better off than ever they were. They have more wages, more food, better homes (though far from good enough in towns), and better clothing than ever they had. Everything proves this. Statistics of every sort. The quantities consumed. The quantities of luxuries—drink, tobacco—the diminished number of paupers, the lessened poor rates; savings banks, benefit societies. What Mr. George means by the lowest class is uncertain. If he means the tramp and beggar, what he says is true, and would be if wealth was multiplied a hundred-fold. But it is untrue that increased power of production, and increased wealth have not benefited the whole people. What has become of the increased food and clothing? Have those wicked rich people eaten ten times what they ate before, and worn ten yards of clothing when they formerly used one? The complaint is untrue and silly. No doubt there are many laborers with large families who could eat, and eat advantageously, more than they do, and so they could if all produce was divided in equal rations. One may wish that every man had his *poulet au pôt.* One may have a misgiving as to whether it is not wrong that one man should ride in his carriage, at a cost which would keep two or three families, while, at the same time, as many families are underfed. But till we are good enough to work as fairly for the benefit of all as we do each for himself, we are not fit to be Socialists, and the best thing for all, is that each should work for himself, though the result may be poverty and wealth, want and have.

Mr. George, having made this discovery, proceeds to seek the cause—Why wealth produces poverty? One would think that an obvious remedy would be to get rid of the wealth, to destroy the locomotive and the great houses, and revert to the log hut, in whose neighbourhood, Mr. George tells us, no beggars are to be found. But Mr. George does not suggest this. He first deals with some economic opinions that have been entertained and promulgated by some of the best and ablest men the world has seen, but which Mr. George denounces as blunders, the result of a perversion of intellect scarcely honest.

Mr. George proceeds to put his enquiry which, he says, is "Why, in spite of increase in productive power, do wages tend to a minimum, which will give but a bare living?" He assumes the truth of that proposition, which, however, is untrue. For, if land increases in productive power there is not, necessarily, the tendency he mentions. He then proceeds to attack the proposition stated by Mill, and agreed to by all economists but Mr. George, if he calls himself one, viz., "Industry is limited by capital. There can be no more industry than is supplied by materials and food to eat. Self-evident as it is, it is often forgotten that the people of a country are maintained, and have their wants supplied, not by the produce of present labor, but by past." Not so, says Mr. George, with an enviable self-confidence, to feel half which one would be content to be half as wrong. "How," says he, "can that be, if capital is stored labor? How can it be that it existed before labor? And consider the case of the naked savage who lives on shell-fish and fruit, &c." Of course, nobody ever denied that there must have been a time when labor preceded capital. What Mill affirms is not in relation to naked savages living on shell-fish, but in relation to modern highly complex civilisation. Let us examine some of Mr. George's arguments to prove, as he says, that "wages, instead of being drawn from capital are, in reality,

drawn from the product of the labor for which they are paid." "See," says he, "the case of a ship which grows in value from day to day while being built. Has the builder lost any of his capital? No; there it is on the increased value of the ship." But the ship is not built of sovereigns or dollars; nor have the workmen fed on the latter. It is built of materials which have been saved or stored, and the workmen are fed and clothed on and with materials saved and stored. Mr. George would reason less ill if he could eliminate money from men's transactions and suppose them done by barter. Let us take one of his new communities where Anglo-Saxon vigour is at work. An Anglo-Saxon goes to a settler for work. Yes, there are three trees to be cut down, but I shall have nothing to give you for six months, when the timber merchant buys of me. Well, says the workman, but I want food and clothing; meanwhile, let us go to the timber merchant. He is willing to take the timber, but can't give the price or value till the house-builder buys, which will be in six months. Then they go to the builder, who has store of meat and wheat and clothing. He agrees to advance it to the timber merchant, who advances it to the farmer, who advances it to the laborer, who labors. Does Mr. George say that in this case capital has had nothing to do with setting labor to work? But this is the case with all work in civilised societies. It is the case where the capitalist finds the ship, the weapons, and the food of the whale-fisher. Try it thus. Suppose all the machinery in the world suddenly destroyed, or all the stored food, what would become of labor? "Oh, but," says Mr. George, "the grain thus held in reserve through the machinery of exchange, and advances passed to the use of the cultivators is set free, in effect, *produced* by the work done for the next crop!" So the work for the next crop *produces* the former crop. If so the laborer ought to be paid for the production of two crops. Mr. George might say this

is a question of words. But it is not; it is a question of substance and of things; Mr. George, like many others, would reason better if he used right words. Mr. George asks (chap. 5), "What, then, are the functions of capital?" He answers, "Capital consists of wealth used for the procurement of more wealth; or, as, I think, it may be defined—wealth in the course of exchange. Capital, therefore, increases the power of wealth to produce wealth." Why, "therefore"—but even if so, as a spade and a barrow are as much capital as a locomotive, the admission goes a long way to show that capital sets labor to work—but, in truth, Mr. George (Book 3, chap. 3) answers himself. For he says: "There are three modes of production, in one of which capital may, and in the other two must aid labor." Mr. George, having attacked the economists about capital, next has a furious tilt at Malthus, and the doctrine connected with his name. And it may well be that the geometrical and arithmetical ratios cannot be justified. But the main proposition is, undoubtedly, true, viz., That, left undisturbed, population increases, and by increasing presses on the means of subsistence. It is self-evident. It stares one in the face. Why has North America its 70 or 80 millions of European descent, but for this pressure? Why do the Eastern Americans go West? Why do hundreds of thousands of emigrants land on American shores yearly? Why does the Chinaman eat the filth and garbage he does? Not from pressure on the means of subsistence, says Mr. George, for 100 men will produce more than 100 times what one man can. Very likely, in certain cases. Ah, but, says Mr. George, and 100 times 100 men can produce more than 100 times what 100 men can. Well, this brings us to 10,000, and 100 times that is a million, and then we have 100 millions, and then 10,000 millions, all producing more per head than their predecessors. It does not prove this to show that the earth is not full, nor the best use made of it. Besides, suppose it could main-

tain the ten thousand millions, it could not maintain one hundred times that number. What does Mr. George mean. Why there would not be standing room. It is idle to say that increase of population does not press, will not eventually press on the means of subsistence. It does; we all know it, and, oddly enough, it is in part the foundation of Mr. George's argument. And the pressure is comparative, as most things are in this world. Not a pressure that could not be borne, but that could be lessened, and that has been lessened by a diminution of the population through emigration. It is certain that in England, at least, the average well-being of the population is greater than ever it was. But suppose there had not been that emigration, and suppose America had not been peopled, and sent us food! What would have been the condition of things? Would there have been no pressure on subsistence? Could we have produced that half of the wheat we consume which we now import? Some day America will be full. Mr. George admits that there may be "small islands, such as Pitcairn's, cut off from communication with the rest of the world, and from the exchanges which are necessary to the improved modes of production resorted to as population becomes dense, which may seem to offer examples in point. A moment's reflection, however, will show that these exceptional cases are not in point." Will it? I have reflected all the time it took to read the paragraph and to copy it, and that reflection has not shown me that the case is not in point. It is. The world is Pitcairn's island enlarged. It would have been better if Mr. George had shown why the case is not in point.

Proceed to consider some of Mr. George's opinions, observing in passing that he has got right notions on the theory of rent. He agrees with Ricardo and Malthus, and owns and shows that the increase of rent is not caused by the landowner, but by the increasing wants of man, in short, by the pressure

of population on subsistence, so admitting the pressure of population on subsistence.

Mr. George, in Book 3, chap. 3, discusses whether interest is "natural or equitable." And he deals with the case of James and William and the plane. James has a plane which it takes ten days to make, and which will last the 290 working days of a year. William wants the plane, and agrees to give James for it an equally good plane at the end of the year and a plank. Now, asks Mr. George, is that "natural or equitable?" "See," says he, "the case at the end of the year. James having parted with his plane, occupies ten days in making a new one, and then works for 290 days, at the end of which he will get a new plane from William. James, therefore, at the end of the year, will have done 290 days' work and possesses a new plane. But that would have been the case if he had kept his own plane, worn it out in 290 days, and then made a new plane in the remaining ten. Why, then, should William give him anything, and so make his own condition worse and James's better?" Wonderful! Mr. George thinks the promise of a plane as good as a plane. But, why put a year? Why not ten years? Why should not the promise to return the plane in ten years or a hundred be as good as the plane itself? Mr. George, however, seems to think as well as can be guessed from some hazy writing, that as a plane might be exchanged for seed, and seed might, if put in the ground, yield an increase not due wholly to labor; therefore, a plane may, perhaps, be reasonably parted with on the terms of getting back a plane and something more. The truth—the common, plain sense is, that the plane in hand at the beginning of the year is worth to William, in his opinion, and in truth, more than a plane at the end of the year, or more than a plane made in the first ten days of the year. Like a sensible man he agrees to give more for it; and, for corresponding reasons, James will not let him have it unless he does. Does Mr. George think that savings

banks, building societies, and others should pay no interest?

Mr. George, in Book 3, chap. 3, intituled "The Statics of the Problem thus explained"—whatever that may mean—says: "The increase of rent explains why wages and interest do not increase. The cause which gives the land to the landowner is the cause which denies it to the laborer and capitalist. That wages and interest are higher in new than in old countries is not, as the standard economists say, because nature makes a greater return to the application of labor and capital, but because land is cheaper." Cheaper than what? I suppose than land elsewhere—in an old country. But what is the meaning of "cheaper." It is not a question of pounds or dollars. Land is cheaper when it does make "a greater return to the application of labor and capital." And whether it shall or not does not depend on the landlord, as, indeed, Mr. George shows. If one man, or ten, or, perhaps, a thousand men owned all the land in an isolated territory they might fix its price; but, as it is, the price is fixed by nature. A deal of mischievous and dishonest nonsense has been talked about landlordism. Rent exists in the nature of things, and would exist in substance if we had an agrarian law to-morrow. If one acre of land will produce four quarters of wheat, with the same expenditure of labor and capital as will only produce two quarters on another acre, and it is worth while to cultivate the poorer acre (rentless, perhaps), the first acre will bear and pay a rent of two quarters; and if, on the agrarian division, it fell to the lot of A. B., he would receive from it two quarters as a return for his labor and capital, and two quarters in the nature of rent. It is true, in a sense (not always, as Mr. George says, but sometimes), that the increase of land values is at the expense of the value of labor, but it is for a reason that no legislation can prevent, viz., the pressure of population on subsistence. Mr. George finishes this Book 3 by saying: "To see human beings in the most abject, &c., condition, you must go not to

unfenced prairies, in the backwoods, &c., but to the great cities, where the ownership of a little patch of ground is a fortune." I have dealt with this before. Mr. George might as well have added, but where wages are higher, and the people better fed, clothed, and even housed, than elsewhere.

Book 4, chap. 3, Mr. George says: "The effect of labor-saving instruments will be to extend the demand." Yes, if there are mouths to be fed, not otherwise, *i.e.*, if population presses on subsistence. Because, but for that pressure; but for an increase in the population, where productive powers were doubled, and only half the land was wanted to feed the population, the competition among the landowners would reduce rent to nothing.

In Book 6, Mr. George gives the remedy for these evils. He discusses other possible remedies than his own and rejects them. I notice one instance, for the sake of Mr. George's style and language. He speaks of the "*robbery* involved in the protective tariff of the United States." That is a word Mr. George is very fond of. Whatever is not right in his judgment, is not only wrong, but dishonestly wrong—"robbery." Nobody thinks worse of a protective tariff than I do; but I attribute its existence to an honest want of knowing better, at least, in many cases. Thiers was, and Bismark is, a Protectionist—are they "robbers?" —are Mr. George's countrymen "robbers?" Might not some people think the term might be more reasonably applied to those who say "We must make the land common property"—without compensation to present owners, and who advocate its being done covertly, not openly. "To do that would be a needless shock to present customs and habits of thought, which is to be avoided. Let the individuals who now hold it (land) still retain, if they want to, what they are pleased to call their land; let them continue to call it their land; let them buy and sell, and bequeath and devise it. We may safely leave them the shell if we take the kernel. It is not necessary to confiscate land, it

is only necessary to confiscate rent." And this Mr. George proposes, and without compensation. He enquires into the "justice of the remedy." He says: "If we are all here by permission of the Creator, we are all here with an equal title to the enjoyment of His bounty, with an equal right to the use of all that nature so impartially offers. The Almighty, who created the earth for man, and man for the earth, has entailed it upon all the generations of the children of men, &c." It is singular what an acquaintance with the Creator's designs is shown by writers of the stamp of Mr. George. One may be allowed a respectful doubt whether what has so long existed and been permitted was not intended, not that things have gone wrong till Mr. George came to the rescue. At all events, it will be admitted that Benevolence would approve that condition of things which was most for the good of mankind. And if the private ownership of land is so, we may well have it without Mr. George's Land Act, to get rid of the entail he speaks of. He says: "The poorest child born in London has as much right to the estates of the Duke of Westminster as his eldest son, and the puniest infant that comes wailing, &c., has as much right to the Astor property as the Astors. And he is *robbed* (Mr. George's favorite word) if the right is denied." I am afraid Mr. George's notions of "right" are hazy. I will not say that the man who catches fish or game, or gathers fruit has not a natural right to do it. Though Mr. George would find it difficult to persuade his Patagonian, if he met the man with the fish or the game, that he (the Patagonian) might not in all right and reason take it. His conscience would not be troubled any more than would be that of the Bedouin, if he eased Mr. George of a watch made by him with much labor. However be it that there are natural rights, that is in a state of nature, where there is nothing artificial. But where men have formed themselves into a social state, all is artificial, and nothing merely natural. In such a state no rights

ought to exist but what are for the general good—all that are, should. And what we have to consider is not any vapouring about "the land being entailed by Providence, the decrees of the Creator, puny infants coming wailing into the world in the squalidest room of the most miserable tenement house," &c.; but whether private or separate property in land is for the good of the community. Certainly, there is rather a strong *primâ facie* case that it is, since it exists throughout the world. "Oh!" says Mr. George, "tyranny, violence, and usurpation." He quotes M. de Laveleye—"In all primitive societies the soil was the joint property of the tribes, and was subject to periodical distribution among all the families, so that each might live by their labor, as nature has ordained." And why is it not so now? Because we are not in a *primitive* state; because we are older and wiser, and know better, as M. de Laveleye ought to do. Periodical distribution! Is is not absolutely certain that a man will do better with a piece of land; will get more out of it each year, if he has it for two years instead of one; for ten years instead of two; and for all time instead of ten? If the profit of his care and labor will be his at some time, will he not bestow them when otherwise he would not? It cannot be doubted. Tax him if you like, tax his rent, tax him *ad valorem;* but leave him enough to tempt him to improve. It is too plain; separate property in land, as in sheep and oxen, is for the good of the community. And, if so, the quantity that one man may own can no more be limited than can the quantity of sheep or oxen he may own, nor the use he shall make of it. Have an agrarian law, give each man his share; in ten years the careful, skilful, and provident allottees would be the owners of the share of the careless, unskilful, and improvident. And it is for the general good it should be so.

But even if labor alone gave property, the landowner's case is much better on Mr. George's principles than he admits.

Suppose by labor a piece of land was banked and enclosed from the sea—made, in short. Not a part of the land "originally entailed on the puniest," &c., Mr. George must admit a right to it in the man whose labor made it. But what is the difference between the case put and land in general, except that in land in general there was before labor was put on it what has been called the "prairie value." That is what, if anything, was "entailed on the puniest," &c. Tax that—confiscate that, if confiscation is right, but not the stored labor which is on the land. Mr. George seems to admit this. What would the tax be? Something worth stealing, though not as much as Mr. George thinks. But confiscation is not right. Separate or private property in land is for the good of the community, and should be respected like any other property, and for the same reason. There is one passage in the book that may be noticed. As far as it is intelligible it is, that as a man belongs to himself, so his labor, when put in a concrete form, belongs to him; and that there can be no other natural rights, as other rights are destructive of this. Perhaps! as I do not know what is meant. But then it would seem that the man who has cut down and stored a hundred trees, has interfered with my right, as great as his, to cut them down. However, whatever is meant, I repeat we are concerned with social, not natural rights.

Mr. George speaks of the "justice" of the remedy. Justice! A man labors and saves, acquires a piece of land, perhaps taken in payment of a bad debt, dies with the comforting belief he has provided for his widow and orphans. Mr. George calls it "justice" to confiscate it. Another man has been member of a building society, and built his house, and believes it was his own. But Mr. George would charge him a heavy rent for the land on which it stands, because "every patch of land has become of great value." This is Mr. George's notion of "justice." They are robbers, receivers of stolen goods, knowing they are stolen, and

can have no right themselves, nor give any to the widow and orphan. No doubt, to confiscate land and raise the public revenue out of it would be a fine thing for all the community, save the landowners. But so would confiscating chattels be a fine thing for all but chattel-owners, and the confiscation of labor would be a splendid thing for all but the laborer. It may be there is much to be said for the taxation of land, and that a community would do well, if it resolved at the outset, to raise its taxation exclusively from land. There is much to be said for it, especially if the taxation is not so excessive as to deprive the landowner of all interest in improvement; but when the law for ages has allowed private property in land, to take that property from one man and leave property in oxen and horses in another, because the land is stolen goods, and its owner ought to know that—that, I say, is "robbery," and repugnant to all notions of fairness. Mr. George does not, indeed, propose to take all the rent. He would leave enough to make it worth the while of landowners to become tax-collectors. Mr. George says: "In every civilised country the value of the land, taken as a whole, is sufficient to bear the entire expense of Government." We flatter ourselves England is a civilised country. If it is, this statement is untrue. The whole agricultural rent, without abatement for collecting it, would not defray those expenses. If the expense were so borne, personal property would be untaxed, and Mr. George, this friend of the poor and the wailing infant, would let the Rothschilds and Astors go untaxed, while he filched the patch of land got by the savings of hard work, which gave a bare subsistence to the widow and orphan.

I have now gone through the more prominent matters in Mr. George's book. There are other errors in it, but warned by him, I will try not to be tedious. It is a mischievous book, for it holds out expectations that cannot be realised, and proposes their realisation by measures most injurious. It is a foolish

book, for though Mr. George is anything but a foolish man, his ingenuity is so perverse that his book is filled with foolishness. It is the most arrogant, self-sufficient performance ever seen. No one was right before Mr. George, and some of the best, greatest, and noblest men who ever lived are spoken of with contempt as blunderers and evil disposed. It is also a book which one would think was the work of an ill-conditioned man. According to Mr. George nobody is mistaken and honest. Robbers and robbery are his favorite words, and he seems to think he can set the world right and teach it, if he bawls "robbery" loud enough, to practice it.

Mr. George says that landowners evaded the land tax; he does not mention that personalty has been allowed to escape liability to the poor-rate. He finds fearful fault with the British Government of India. Now if ever there was an honest government, if ever one nation had cause to be proud of the way it governed another, it is England and its government of India. There is but one thing considered in that government, viz., what is for the good of India. Mr. George seems to have a sort of sympathy for Nihilists and Communists, and shows some contempt for the Irish that they only "occasionally" murder a landlord. Does Mr. George doubt that those landlords honestly believe in their right to the land, and are murdered for that belief and for acting on it? What would he think of an occasional murder of an author for preaching robbery, of *preaching* which offence Mr. George, in the landlord's judgment, is as much guilty, as they, in his judgment, are guilty of the *practice*. But Mr. George is safe. He entertains honestly, I believe, the opinions he expresses, and ought to be allowed to give utterance to them; but let him show the same liberality to the opinions of those who differ with him.

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