

J. Thos Drummond Esquire
With the Author's respectful compliments

IRELAND,

ITS

PARTIES, PEOPLE,

AND

PROSPECTS.

By Mr Edmund Nolan

122 Lower Gardiner Street

DUBLIN:

MILLIKEN AND SON, GRAFTON-STREET.

1839.

Price One Shilling and Six-pence.

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PAVILIES, PEOPLE,

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The decision upon Lord John Russell's resolution, gives to these pages an authority which they could not otherwise claim. They, now, come before the reader, if without presumption it can be so said, authenticated by the recorded opinion of a majority of the members, of that which is, certainly, not the least important branch of the imperial legislature. Happy would the Author feel, if he could hope, that, thus enforced, they may possibly influence even a very few, among those who, here or in England, are opposed to the policy, "which has guided the executive government of Ireland of late years," calmly and dispassionately to review its great leading principles. The more closely they are considered, without allowing the mind to wander too far after matters of merely administrative detail, the stronger, he feels assured, must be the conviction, that it is impossible that policy can be wrong. It is the humble hope to be of use to the candid inquirer, particularly if a stranger to this country, which has overcome the Author's reasonable diffidence, to bring this view of its condition, parties, and prospects, before the public.

Dublin, 25th April, 1839.

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Dublin, 28th April, 1830.

IRELAND,

8c.

THE fortunes of Ireland have reached a most decisive crisis. The Roman Catholic Relief Bill altogether changed the ancient landmarks of her administration ; and made it necessary as far as the law could, that she should be ruled according to the national wishes and interests, and no longer in any degree by or for a subordinate faction. The ministry of Lord Melbourne did not allow this principle to rest idle in the statute book, but transfused it into all the conduct and operations of their government. The result was what might have been expected. Already could the discerning eye see the good seed springing up with an infant health and vigour, which promised an early and most profitable harvest. " But the enemy came, and sowed tares." The party which has so long harassed this country, would not consent that it should have even four full years of good government, to appear in contrast with its more than six centuries of misrule. Lord Roden as the leader of that party, has unfortunately had power to induce the House of Lords to fling the sword into the scales in which the fate of Ireland was suspended, and the balance ever since inclines with alarming preponderance to misgovernment. It must be of use at such a crisis, in any way to throw light upon the rival systems of policy, which are struggling for the management of this country ;

and it is the object of the following pages, to collect and arrange some of the examples, which history supplies in abundance to show, that the inevitable result of the plan of government applied here for the last four years, must in a short time be the extinction of its parties, the improvement of its national character, and prosperity to Ireland, with augmented security and strength to England. For let it not be thought that this country is alone, or even the most interested in the issue of the contest. Long suffering has made hard and doubtful fortunes, familiar and comparatively easy to her; and she will, if so doomed, face them now with a strength incalculably beyond that, which she at any other time possessed in her struggle with them. But England amidst the difficulties which assail her at home and abroad, cannot for character or for safety, afford to have in this country her Poland. If weakened by misrule, and dispirited by discontent, it can give her no aid; and that its assistance can be secured only by kindness, and may be essential even for her preservation, she will be taught by the vicissitudes of an empire almost as powerful as her own. The present year will just complete the revolution of a century, since Europe saw these truths signally exemplified. The Emperor Leopold had told the assembled states of Hungary, that their country was not to him worth the trouble of defending it. It had then been subject for nearly two hundred years to the house of Austria; and during all that time had known nothing but religious divisions, and oppression, and constant disaffection. In 1740, Maria Theresa the grand-daughter of Leopold, succeeded to her hereditary dominions. France and Prussia, the enemies of her house, affected to greet her accession with cordiality. But within a few months after that event, they leagued for the wholesale spoliation of her dominions. War burst from all sides upon her unprepared and de-

fenceless; she was obliged to leave her capital, and to retire into Hungary. Fortunately the instinct of a young and generous heart, more probably than the dictates of policy had moved her from the first moment of her reign, to redress the grievances, and to heal the wounded feelings of that unhappy country. "The Hungarians," Voltaire adds,* "who had been always eager to shake off the Austrian yoke, warmly embraced her cause, and after two centuries of hatred, of sedition, and of civil war, rushed at once into adoration for her." The loyalty and military ardour of this generous people were for a year the chief protection of a depressed princess, stripped of her dominions and deserted by Europe. Sheltered by the Hungarians, she at length was able to collect the scattered strength of her allies and her empire; and the war proved in its progress as successful, as it was in its commencement dangerous and dispiriting.

Amongst our parties the Anti-Irish, or as it is commonly called the Orange, first deserves notice by its duration, by its great power, and by its irregular pretensions. An Anti-Irish faction has always existed in this country since its connexion with England, whose policy it ever was to keep such in pay as the minister of its rule. The Protestants with a few brief intervals, enjoyed a monopoly of this service, from the time of the change of religion in that country, until the Revolution. But after that event, and its completion of the penal code, what before was a rule of administration, became a fixed obligation of the law. The Catholic was made a slave, and a portion of the Protestants was rewarded with the whole patronage of the state for becoming his gaoler. The fer-

* Essai sur l'histoire générale.

mentation of the Rebellion cast up to the surface the most bigoted of the Protestant population, who thenceforth have retained, as Orangemen, prominent and cemented being. The Union soon after scattered the nobles and high gentry of our country; and the Anti-Irish faction passed from a noble and stately oligarchy, to the mixed aristocracy which together with the Orangemen now constitutes it. But the latter form so large and active a portion of it, as to affect with their unpopular colouring the entire party, which is thence universally called Orange. This body consists of, a great number of the owners of the soil and resident gentry, many of the members of the bar, some of the few high commercial names of the country, a considerable majority of the clergy of the Established Church, an equal division of the middle and productive classes of that communion, and almost all its lower orders. It comprises also a proportion which cannot well be estimated, but certainly is not considerable, of the Presbyterian population. It has great moral support in the orderly and industrious habits of its individual members, the result of a superior civilization, which Protestants as so long masters, and the only freemen of the country, necessarily have as yet over Catholics, who have just ceased to be slaves. But it is not the antiquity, or great strength of this formidable party, which makes it remarkable to the degree it is. Its political conduct and claims are of a kind so singular, as to make it one of the strangest social prodigies in the history of mankind. Religious prejudices, historical recollections, and the long habitude of a most lucrative dominion, had tended to fill the whole heart and soul of this party, with dislike and dread of their Roman Catholic fellow countrymen. The Relief Bill came, and in its simple and strong language declared, "that certain restraints and disabilities were imposed on the Roman Catholic subjects of his majesty,

to which other subjects of his majesty were not liable, and it was expedient that such restraints and disabilities should be from thenceforth discontinued." A vast change thus took place in our political constitution, and the immense host of Roman Catholics who before stood aside, was made by law part and parcel of the Irish nation. It thenceforth became impossible to separate the two, and one could not suffer without the other. The Orange party saw this consequence, and without changing the object of their hostility, they at once changed its direction: still retaining fear of Roman Catholics as their avowed motive of exertion, and the subjection of Roman Catholics as its aim, they are daily incurring the frightful responsibility of working out their ends by the destruction of their country. Their policy visible and avowed, is to narrow its freedom and their own; to prevent its enlightenment and their own; to obstruct its enrichment and their own; because all these benefits if obtained must reach the Roman Catholics. They are almost wholly descended from men who thought no atmosphere but that of a republic, to be pure or ample enough to live in; they are associated by the gallant resistance of their forefathers, in a peculiar manner, with the Revolution of 1688; yet they do not merely endure, but demand and insist that the whole Irish nation shall henceforth be subject to "certain disabilities and restraints to which other subjects of his majesty are not liable," because the Irish nation consists in part of Roman Catholics. The first amongst us who claimed education as a right for Ireland, they now demand in the name of religious liberty, that she shall be left by the state wholly without instruction, unless it be dispensed in such a manner as to gall the Roman Catholics. Having as great an interest as can be conceived in the enrichment of the country, yet they are continually deterring British capital from visiting it, and they have

been lately seen in part to use their legislative strength, in order to prevent Ireland—the land where they dwell, and which their children will inhabit—from obtaining a large advance of public money for the construction of railways. They thus exist in the country as if they were not of it; a hostile and anti-social class, using their great strength to keep down themselves and Ireland, lest the dreaded Roman Catholics should rise with the general elevation. Nor is the nation insensible of what she suffers from their anti-national spirit. She repays it with strong aversion, which must soon become invincible. Perhaps the most active and universal conviction of her mind is, that this party, while it continues its present course and pretensions, never ought to have the least share of administrative power.

Fortunately however, there are many grounds for the belief that this party, strong as it undoubtedly is, must soon sink into insignificance if left only to its own resources, still more if actively discouraged by the executive Government. In the first place, its unnatural conduct and principles in themselves give earnest of its certain dissolution. Long life can never be expected for a body, how great soever its bulk and strength, whose constitution is so unhealthy. Another certain cause of its decay is its intellectual feebleness. This party claims as a body, some little elevation in instruction above the country generally. If they have such (and it is very doubtful) it is certain at least that they are content with it; that they rest there, and amidst the general intellectual progression of Ireland are making no advance. This reproach, however, affects most the very first amongst them. They form probably, as rich a provincial aristocracy as any in Europe. They almost exclusively, have the right of education in forty-six schools endowed for classical tuition, and amongst which eleven (those of royal foundation,

and those under Erasmus Smith's board,) alone possess an income of £7500 per annum,* a sum almost as great as the entire grant for the support of Maynooth. Our University princely in its wealth, is truly their "alma mater," while to the intellect of the country generally, she acts but as a harsh and stingy step-dame. What notwithstanding is their intellectual position? Certainly the least honourable occupied by any aristocracy in Europe. The movement of mind which is stirring to their very centre its most enlightened communities, has reached also its remote and unpolished kingdoms. But it has not reached Ireland. At no period of her history, has intellectual fame been so utterly withdrawn from her, and she must with pain contrast the brilliant reputation won for her in former days, by the priests whom it is the fashion to despise, with the darkness in which she now sits, notwithstanding the riches and collegiate monopolies of her aristocracy. Nor is it difficult to discover the cause of this inferiority. It is the will of providence, that a long course of irregular conduct, whether in individuals or parties, shall bring about its own punishment. The demoralization that follows on persecution and uncharitableness, breaks out differently, according as the classes which have indulged in them differ in social position. That now spoken of, has in general been saved by the refining effects of wealth, of station, and of good breeding, from coarser enormities. The penalty which it has had to pay, has been intellectual degeneracy. But it is natural to suppose, that the debasement of the less refined members of this body, will appear in a more shocking form. And is not such the case? The sentiments and language of these men are such as to make it painful to

* 14th Report of Commissioners of Enquiry into the state of Schools in Ireland, 1812. Evidence before Commons' Committee on Foundation Schools in Ireland, 1836, p. 137.

think that we live in possible contact with them. Here too is another most likely source of decay to this party. They appeal to England as the arbiter of their cause; and yet they so plead it, as to render it impossible that her award if just, shall not be against them. For all their charges against Catholics if taken as true, do no more than show, that it is possible the latter are capable of those cruel and fanatical opinions, which these men with the most offensive boldness not only avow, but glory in.

But historical analogy supplies the most accurate test, by which to judge of their durableness. It in every way condemns them to certain decay, or to a condition of perfect impotence. In the first place, their own history bears witness against them, and wholly disentitles them to that, without which they cannot possibly live, continued employment and favour from England. Their long, but to her fatal services may give them some hold on her affection. Her pride may revolt at being forced to change a system of rule, which for centuries has formed her darling policy. Her religious prejudices, as inveterate as those of any existing nation, may be shocked at the thought of neutrality at the very least, in regard of a form of faith which she conceives to have been the enemy of her greatness and her freedom, and which she cannot yet bring herself to trust. But all cannot overbear the sure experience which she has, that this party have been to her most unprofitable servants, and that the system of government of which they were the instruments, has injured her character and her interests. This system at least has been well tried. During her own many and vast changes, it has known no change: not being in one case stricter, and in another instance more relaxed, but uniformly harsh and insolent, and administered through this or a similar party. More than six centuries pass

upon it an unerring condemnation. But they do more. They also give testimony in favour of the opposite system of policy. Different means will lead probably to a different result, and whereas suffering and loss to her, are seen to have been co-extensive with England's misgovernment of this country, so probably her good government of it, would, by increasing its power and greatness, increase also her own.

In the next place, the history of almost every country will shew, that parties, when their struggle is not with rival factions but with the nation, have been always put down with the greatest ease, and inevitably decay. It will be seen, that this has been the fate, not only of factions most like the party under consideration in strength and in circumstances, but also of parties far exceeding them in power, while the national force was less than it is amongst us. It will appear further, that where the nation has for self-protection condemned such parties to complete political exclusion, it has yet often made the most wonderful progress in greatness and in prosperity, though so large a portion of its effective strength thus became extinct and mortified. The most powerful party in English history, whose life and death we are able to trace, is the Jacobite faction. At the accession of the house of Hanover, it comprised almost all the landed gentry of England (the richest territorial aristocracy in the world) a great majority of the clergy of the Established Church, which there was the church of the people, with at least one of the Universities, and thereby the larger part of the learned professions.* It had formidable aid in the religious fears of the country, which the cry of the church in danger, roused almost to insurrection against the King and his Ministry.† It was for years

* Smollett's History of England, 4th vol., pp. 428, 430, 432, 455.

† Ibid.

guided and defended by the unequalled genius of Lord Bolingbroke, aided by many others of the greatest political and literary talent. Such was its mighty strength in England. It had also the sympathies, and could command almost the whole armed force of Scotland. While in this country, it could depend on the whole Catholic population, and on a small section of the Protestant inhabitants. It had with it, too, the current of public opinion in Europe, then almost unanimous as to the hereditary right of Kings. But it had against it, the good sense and feelings of the English people. And what was its fate? First, total political exclusion; in 1714, it was wholly ejected from place and administrative power.* Secondly, demonstrated weakness; it continued for years—

“Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike.”

Lastly, speedy extinction. In 1736, Lord Bolingbroke abandoned it and his country with contempt and indignation; and in 1758, the epoch of Mr. Pitt's glorious ministry, it, with all other parties, ceased to have being or a name in England. But the nation, amidst its political outlawry and decay, grew in wealth, in greatness, and in glory.—A far more honorable party will next rise from its tomb to preach the same truths. It is the Louvenstein faction in Holland. It owed its origin to the patriotic motive of curbing the spirit and ambition of the house of Orange, which, notwithstanding its generally moderate pretensions and the virtues and services of its family of heroes, it was feared might, if unchecked, prove too large for the liberties of the country. This party was supported, by the richest class in a commercial nation of immense wealth. It had produced men, who in peace and war, in arts and in arms, had been the benefactors and

* Smollett's History of England, Ibid.

the glory of their country. Its administration after the death of William II. in 1650, had raised Holland to almost miraculous power and wealth; and if herein most unlike the Orange party, it had at least this resemblance to it, that its political zeal wore a cloak of religious colouring, and the differences between its Arminianism and the Gomarism of its opponents, were almost as bitter as our theological distinctions.* The death of William III. restored this party to power. They continued to possess it for many years; and the historian adds, "this continuance encouraged them to believe it a thing inherent in them, that they had an exclusive right to it, and that whoever sought to rise without their consent was to be regarded as a public enemy." But in 1747, a slight whiff of popular insurrection drove them from power. It, however, was an indication of the nation's will. They sank into obscurity and political nothingness. The French Revolution recalled them for an instant to life, for their own ruin and that of their country. But with their final extinction religious peace revived, and exists nowhere more than it now does in Holland.—Our next example shews further, that a nation, teased and heart-broken by an anti-national faction, may, if other resources fail, imitate the folly of its tormentors, and in order, at least to be rid of them, sacrifice even its own liberties. Fortunately, in only one instance, has an European nation been driven to this extremity. Before the year 1660, "the whole power of the nation in Denmark was lodged in the gentry. Every gentleman was a kind of prince, and the farmers and countrymen were very little better than slaves. The former formed a distinct body in the states of the kingdom, and without their advice the King could do no nothing. In peace he was little better

* Modern Universal History.

than President of the Council, and in war, no more than general of the army. The succession of the crown, too, was very precarious; for, though the son succeeded the father, yet as it was by consent of the nobility, the monarchy was strictly speaking elective, though in appearance hereditary.”* Here then was a party almost omnipotent over King and people. And what was its fate? It perished in three days. In 1660, “the clergy and people represented to the King, that in their mind the present constitution did not answer the end of government, and they were therefore resolved to make the crown hereditary, and leave the administration entirely in his hands. The King thanked them, but at the same time told them that the consent of the nobility was necessary.” The nobility at once saw their doom was inevitable. “They first sent to offer to entail the crown upon the King and his heirs male, and to enlarge his power considerably. But the King gave them to understand, that this would never content the clergy and people. After a fruitless and dishonorable struggle, the nobles found themselves obliged to comply, and three days subsequently the King received the homage of all the senators, nobility, clergy and commons.” Every one must be eager to know the consequences of so extraordinary a revolution. Denmark at the time of this event was poor; and a long war had drained it of its strength, and stripped it of a great part of its former territory. But it soon shot out into the most wonderful prosperity. For a country may enjoy such under any despotism, but that of a faction. “It could never have been supposed then,” says Voltaire, “that the Danes would one day have an India company, and that their King would maintain thirty ships of war, and an army of

* Present State of Europe, p. 70.

twenty-five thousand men.”*—But the league is the great prototype of the Orange party. Its fanaticism, its fierceness, and the support which it draws from the religious prejudices of another country, make it with a vast inferiority in power and in formidableness, closely resemble that colossal faction. In 1576, it was first formed by Henry de Guise, a great man, who, in the lively language of Voltaire, was “born for factions.” That historian thus describes its power, and foreign patronage. “The league was first set on foot in Paris. Papers were circulated amongst the most bigoted of the middling classes, with the plan of an association to defend religion, the crown, and the liberties of the country, that is to oppress both crown and country by the weapons of religion. The league was solemnly signed through almost all Picardy. Soon after the other provinces joined in it. The King of Spain protected it, and in fine, the Pope sanctioned it.”† In 1589, Henry the IV. succeeded to the throne, without revenue and with a miserable army. But his opponents were after all only a faction; for the heart of the nation, though mistakingly divided between religion and loyalty, was not against him. He won it wholly, by conciliating its religious feelings in the year 1593. The omnipotent league was totally deprived of the power of resistance. Though its poison was not completely purged, yet it had no strength to prevent the greatness of the King whom it opposed, and of the nation which it had oppressed. The same historian thus sketches the wonderful change in the condition of both. “Henry then applied himself to civilize and enrich the kingdom which he had conquered. He restored order in the finances. He reformed the administration of justice, and what was

* Essai sur l'histoire générale.

† Essai sur l'histoire générale.

far more difficult, the two religions were made to live in peace. Commerce and the arts were honoured. Manufactures re-appeared with splendour. Paris was enlarged and adorned. The palaces of St. Germain, Mouceaux, and Fontainebleau, and above all the Louvre, were almost entirely re-built. In the latter, artists of every kind found a home. He established the royal library. And while he thus gave lustre to his own country, he became the arbiter of others."

These examples probably suffice to shew, that the result of a contest, between a party however powerful and a nation, is unavoidably the extinction of the former; and that if its own perverseness shall make its total political exclusion necessary, the country may flourish, notwithstanding a diminution of its strength in appearance so likely to prove fatal to it. But these truths obtain their strongest illustration, in the history of the free cities of Italy. That beautiful country has had the glorious privilege, of having twice civilized and taught mankind. Long before the other nations of modern Europe emerged from barbarism, she had made great advances in freedom and social development. They learned both only by her example, and as her historian has observed, the inquirer can find no instruction so clear, as in the practice of her governments or in the meditations of those superior men, who formed by that practice, have taught to their countrymen and to the world the true principles of political science. The history of all these municipalities traces with the most impressive minuteness, the progress and certain issue of the struggle, between a faction and the great body of the people. And while it shews the former vanquished, and a political outcast; it exhibits the latter, contemporaneously reaching the very highest point of wealth and greatness. The peace of Constance, obtained from the Emperor, an acknowledgment of the rights and

liberties of the free cities of Italy. But new enemies arose to disturb their peace, and to threaten their freedom. "The growing greatness of the towns of Italy, had left her nobles in an ambiguous position. Hence, they now asked the right of citizenship, in the hope that it would pave their way to ascendancy. Their wealth and military education raised them soon to the highest offices of the state, by the votes of their fellow-citizens. But, if in such situations they shewed greater talent for war and government, they proved far inferior to the middling orders in subordination and submission to the law. Relying upon their wealth, they placed themselves above all law."* Such were the strength and insolence of these factious men. Nor were they without foreign patronage. They in general espoused the interests, and enjoyed the favour of the Emperors, who still retained at least a nominal dominion over Italy. Theirs, also, was the modest pretension, to be held a co-equal and perfectly independent power, in regard of the communities of which they were but part. "Laws were proposed to entitle the nobility to a fixed number of the public employments."† But what was their end? "The insolence of these men, their factious dissensions, and the alarm which they gave to all peaceable citizens, had in 1292, filled all Florence with bitter resentment. Giano della Bella, himself a nobleman, but who felt with the people, proposed that their nobility should in itself be a ground of political exclusion. In consequence, a rigorous law was passed, excluding for ever from the first offices of the state certain families, whom it described as 'great and noble,' and forbidding them the power to renounce their nobility, and to descend to the level of their fellow-citizens. A

* Sismondi *histoire de la renaissance de la liberté en Italie*.

† Ibid. p. 165, vol. i.

similar regulation was made at Sienna, at Pistoja, at Lucca : in all the republics of Tuscany, and in most of those of Lombardy, the nobility by their turbulence forced the people to exclude them from all offices. Harsh as were these precautions, they were not enough to enforce submission to the laws upon men, who thought themselves born for ascendancy, and who despised all other classes with which they were associated. These gentry retreated to their mountain castles, and looking on themselves as sovereigns, exercised there absolute power over their vassals.”* Thus citizens the foremost in rank, in wealth, and in talent, moreover numerically strong by their alliances and their retainers, became wholly lost to these cities ; but they did not therefore (as might be expected) decline. On the contrary, the historian describes them as enjoying, after this event, a prosperity, which seems fitted only for vast and ancient empires, and so disproportioned to these small and new-born republics, that it would be impossible to believe it, if its splendid memorials were not seen and attested even at this day by every traveller in Italy. “ Their prosperity was extraordinary, and appeared greater in contrast with the rest of Europe, then every where else in misery and barbarism. The lands of these free cities were tilled by a bold, industrious and wealthy peasantry, who were not afraid to let their abundance be seen in their houses, stock, and farming implements. Immense public works were undertaken. That scientific agriculture, which afterwards served as a model to other nations, was even at this early period practised in Lombardy and Tuscany ; and now, at the end of five centuries, it is easy to distinguish the districts which were formerly free, from those which were the property of the great feudal landlords. The cities were paved

* Sismondi, vol. i., p. 183, 201.

with stone. Stone bridges of a bold and graceful architecture crossed their rivers. Multiplied miracles of architecture sprang up through Italy. Pure taste, boldness, magnificence, characterized all the public buildings. Sculpture, in brass and in marble, equalled the advance of architecture. Cimabue and Giotto revived painting; Casella, music; Dante astonished Italy by his 'divine poem;' and that country, ennobled by the arts, gave back light to the nations, which till then were sunk in darkness. The useful arts and those of luxury, were cultivated with like success. Shops and warehouses, in every street, displayed stores of wealth. Industry and abundant capital, together with the application of the mechanical and other sciences to the production of wealth, gave the manufacturers of Italy a sort of monopoly throughout Europe."*

These examples seem to preclude all doubt, that if the Orange party continue their struggle with the nation, on the monstrous footing on which it now stands, the result must be, sooner or later, their political annihilation, while the country, notwithstanding such an event, may prosper exceedingly. At present, their fate is in their own hands; they can, if they please, wholly avert it; but it would be rash to deny, that the catastrophe is fast coming. The national mind, as has been already said, is firmly resolved to consider their political exclusion from administrative power, while their conduct and pretensions remain unaltered, as the truest test whereby to determine whether the government of Ireland is good or bad. In the mean time it is evident, that a natural instinct is stirring up the country to form for itself, if so permitted, some permanent political and social organization, which shall be free from the changes and restlessness, which have so long tortured it. It will be a misfortune for Ireland, but be-

* Sismondi, vol. i. p. 172, 176.

yond doubt fatal to this party, if the country shall put on this durable shape and being, before they become reconciled to it, and submit to a sincere union with its other citizens. A political structure, which would be forced to reject so great an element of national strength as they form, would certainly be more comfortable than our present unsettled condition ; it might even, as has been shown, reach a state of great prosperity ; but it would be unnatural and distorted, and, therefore, such as no one who loves his country wisely, could desire. It must necessarily want something of the perfect strength and beauty, which can belong only to a conformation where all the parts are complete and harmonious. Nor does history fail to enforce this truth. Among her many illustrations of it, one instance is so demonstrative, and it may be said so touching, as to set aside all others. A country for centuries poor, infirm, and querulous, because torn by divisions, is seen as it were in the twinkling of an eye, by the hearty union of all her citizens, to fling aside her rags and her debility, and to become a great, glorious, and flourishing kingdom. That country was our own. But it would be unjust to this event, incomparably the brightest in our history, not to make the illustrious man who brought it about, describe its causes, its glory, and its results. "Ireland," said Mr. Grattan, in 1782, "is no longer a wretched colony, nor is she now a squabbling, pitiful sectary, perplexing her little wits and firing her furious statutes with bigotry, sophistry, disabilities, and death, to transmit to posterity insignificance and war. Look to the rest of Europe, and contemplate yourselves, and be satisfied. You are the only people, you of the nations in Europe are now the only people who excite admiration, and in your conduct you not only exceed the present generation, but you equal the past. I am not afraid to look antiquity in the face. The Revolution

of 1688, that great event, was tarnished by bigotry ; but you have sought liberty on her own principle. You, with difficulties innumerable, with dangers not a few, have done what your ancestors wished, but could not accomplish. You have moulded the jarring elements of your country into a nation. Cities, counties,—Protestants and Catholics,—it seems as if the people had joined in one great national sacrament. A flame has descended from Heaven on the intellect of Ireland, plays round her head, and encompasses her understanding with a consecrated glory.”* “Turn to the growth and spring of your country,” he adds, “and behold and admire it. See her military ardour expressed not only in forty thousand men, conducted by instinct, as they were raised by inspiration, but manifested in the zeal and promptitude of every young member of the growing community. The country is rising in prosperity. Freed from restrictions, she has shot forth in prosperity and industry. Yes, the country is a great and growing kingdom. Ireland is a great country, four millions of men, and nearly five millions of exports.”† But the moral of this our glorious Revolution, is not yet exhausted.

Venit summa dies, et ineluctabile tempus

Dardaniæ ; fuimus Troes ; fuit Ilium, et ingens

Gloria Tuccrorum.

Party conflict, for the struggle then was not between the nation and a faction, but between a faction and an outlawed sect, revived ; this brilliant scene vanished, and darkness once more overspread the land. “The parliament of Ireland,” Mr. Grattan spoke these words in 1805, “of that body I have a parental recollection. In fourteen years she acquired, what you did not acquire for

* Speech on the declaration of right.

† Speech on the increase of expense.

England in a century. But there was one thing which baffled the efforts of the patriot, and defeated the wisdom of the senate. It was the folly of the theologian.”*

At least equally powerful, and not less worthy of note among our parties, is that which the Roman Catholic priests so guide and animate, that it may without offence be called their party. In regard of it, that portion of the English press which is hostile to this country, has ingeniously invented two fallacies, and, together with the anti-Irish party here, has repeated them with such iteration, as it is to be feared has greatly deluded the public mind of England. The first of these fallacies, has been to represent Ireland as split and sundered merely into these two rival factions, and as containing no other element whatsoever of political power. There can be no greater mistake. The real antagonist of the anti-Irish party is, as is natural to suppose, the Irish nation, with which, however, the party of the priests is far from being co-extensive. The nation, it is true, owes to it whatever it has of past triumphs, much perhaps of its future hopes. The priests have made themselves felt more and more at each succeeding election, until at last the Irish liberal representatives have become one of the most numerous and powerful sub-divisions in the electoral strength of the empire. They have been a mainstay to Lord Melbourne's ministry, who have repaid their support by the honorable recompense of governing this country well; and they, it is to be hoped, are strong enough to make the tenure of office uncertain to any ministry which would govern it upon other principles. But although Ireland owes this and other obligations to her

* Speech on the Catholic Petition.

Roman Catholic clergy, and although their party reckons millions for its members, as including all the lower orders who profess their religion, it is yet far from being the Irish nation, taking the word of course in the limited sense, which it bears by the self-exclusion of the anti-Irish faction from its comprehension. That it is not so, is indeed obvious to every one who will take time to observe the structure of the national mind. He sees that the Roman Catholics of the first, and those of the middling ranks, the active mass of liberal Protestantism amongst us, and that inert but powerful section of public opinion, also chiefly Protestant, which dreading the violence and detesting the anti-Irish spirit of Orangeism, wishes well to Government without very actively supporting it, all form distinct component parts of this structure. These several divisions, while acting with more or less zeal in concurrence with the party of the Roman Catholic clergy, yet one and all reject some portion of its spirit and its sympathies. He sees also, that should good government be ensured to the country, it is likely, these latter elements must enlarge in bulk and weight every day, while the party in question will probably decline in power. If a close observer, he may see even further, and to his surprise, that although the Irish nation cannot but regard with respect and gratitude men to whom they owe so much, yet that these sections of liberal opinion show a disposition to separate themselves from the Roman Catholic clergy in interest, and perhaps even in position. No effort has yet been made by them, or by any one of them, to obtain for this body any peculiar advantage. Yet there are changes in their condition which the Roman Catholic clergy must naturally desire, and from which no man of liberal opinions could dissent. Take for instance, the removal from our statute book of the unjust and unprofitable insults put upon them in the

Catholic Relief Bill. Eleven out of the forty sections, of which that Magna Charta of Catholic rights consists, impose upon them restrictions and penalties, which vary from a fine of £50 to banishment, and even transportation for life. Again, the enlargement of the grant to Maynooth College would be a benefit not only to them, but to the nation. Yet no public meeting has ever yet been held in Ireland for these or similar purposes.

The second fallacy is in truth a very wicked one. Having thus falsely assumed that the only object of regard and affection which Ireland offers to England's choice, is, except their own darling anti-Irish faction, this party of the Roman Catholic clergy; their enemies, in order to prejudice the choice, proceed falsely to blacken this clergy with the vilest reproaches, the most infamous calumnies, and the most unjust accusations. But the desperate violence of this iniquity is its own ruin. The exaggeration excites contempt or fear, and the latter feeling will suggest inquiry at least to every reflecting or charitable mind. Upon analysis, three-fourths of the mass break off with the rubbish of coarse and dirty abuse, expressed in language so offensive that it is discreditable to the public taste of England, to lend to it a patient much more an eager ear. Candour will next lay aside all the calumnies which have been borrowed from the antiquated armoury of Peter Dens. There remains, then, little of this heap of slander, and even that can be made less.

Paullatim vello, et demo unum, demo etiam unum.

One true charge there is indeed, which if it cannot justify the calumny, at least explains the hatred. They are ever criminating the Roman Catholic clergy with their interference in elections. But even this electoral activity of the priest, does not verify a single feature of the frightful portrait which these men have drawn of him. He is

made by them to appear a dark, stern, and remorseless bigot, armed with the fagot and the rope, and labouring per fas et nefas, to extend the dominion of his Church over the few freemen who yet exist without its pale, as well as to rivet it more closely on the wretched slaves already chained within. But it is within the reach of all, at least in this country, to see that this Guy Fawkes bears no resemblance to her every-day country priest. He may sometimes want worldly manners; but his plainness suits him for his flock; high enough above their level, he can yet stoop to them without straining. His learning may not always be extensive or varied; but he respects and covets the lighter graces as well as the solider treasures of knowledge, and no man regrets more than he, that the stinted resources of Maynooth permitted him to satisfy his hunger and thirst after learning, only through a single channel. That stream, however, flowed abundantly. He knows well what it is most necessary that he should know, the learning of his calling. No other learned profession in Ireland can boast of having its peculiar knowledge diffused through every member of it, and possessed by each, at all in the same degree in which the Roman Catholic clergy have mastered theirs. It is impossible to meet amongst them an individual wholly ignorant, and the greatest number have studied profoundly and accurately. Nor let ignorance deny the weight or difficulty of such learning. It includes, in its demonstration of the truth of Christianity, a necessary acquaintance with much of the history and learning of antiquity. Ecclesiastical history is an integral portion of it; and such is, in fact, more or less the history of Europe, from before the reign of Constantine, until after the Reformation. Controversial divinity required for its perfection, the wonderful genius and almost limitless learning of Bossuet. The most eminent philosophers of continental Europe, and they

not Catholic,* are at this moment employed in re-editing the works, and in illustrating the acute philosophy of the old schoolmen, which may be said to be a dead language throughout the British Empire, to all but to the Roman Catholic clergy. But learning though valuable, does not necessarily make moral worth, which in almost all cases the priest has. Beneficence has been with the Roman Catholic clergy so universal and perpetual, that notwithstanding the reverence with which they are regarded by their flocks, the beggar if denied an alms would think he had a right to reproach his priest with breach of duty. He is almost always light-hearted, frank, and courteous; warm in his feelings, and often probably somewhat sensitive as to the treatment of himself or of his order. But denied, by the folly of many, that rank in society, which through the world his profession should give him, he on this subject cannot but feel restless and uneasy. These things are however trifles; see, how he does his duty. You, probably, encounter his good-humoured jest, or the overflowing courtesy of his greeting upon the roads after mid-day; he has been toiling since sunrise at some distant *station*, and no food has yet passed his lips. In the dreary winter's storm, perhaps at the dead of night, it may be earlier in the evening, when he hugs himself over the warmth of his hospitable hearth, the sick call comes. No matter from what distance; let it be from a wretched hovel, which he knows to be so situated, that he cannot reach it but by blindly making his own road over mountain and through bog, the greater part of which he must travel on foot, for his horse would not move on it. Yet he loiters not; and thinks himself too well repaid, if he arrive in time to give to his dying parishioner the comforts of religion. Returned home, he has not yet completed

* Œuvres inédits d'Abelard par Victor Cousin.

the round of the toilsome duties of his calling. He must, still for two hours, exert his numbed senses and tired soul. For his Church, in order to render him a fit instrument of her worldly-minded and aspiring designs, makes it a duty with him, to repeat for that time each day a prescribed selection of prayers, almost entirely scriptural, and chiefly from the Psalms, and thus during so considerable a portion of his waking hours, to habituate his thoughts to the self-humbling spirit of that sacred poetry. Midnight at length comes. His task is now ended. He closes his eyes in peace, with the happy confidence that his day has been spent, surely, not in vain. The slanders of his enemies lie lightly upon him; and he rises on the morrow vigorous and refreshed, again to move through the same circle of useful toil and solemn duties, of warm-hearted impulses, and of kind and good acts.

But a grave and startling question suggests itself here—"Will the Roman Catholic clergy continue always to wield so powerful a party, and are they likely ever to attempt through it to injure civil and religious freedom amongst us." The lover of liberty, whatever be his religion, reflects with pain that such things have been; and if an English Protestant, will probably feel constrained by the influences of creed and of education, to believe that they are most likely to occur again. It is notorious, indeed, that something like distrust of these worthy and useful men prevails even in the liberal party. And perhaps it is for the best. The infant form of Irish freedom cannot be too vigilantly guarded. Suspensions, which would be otherwise unjust, become fair; jealousies, which may be thought even ungrateful, are acts of duty, when likely to secure this cherished object of our hopes and our anxiety. Let, then, all the hearsay evidence against Roman Catholic priests, in every place and time, be received as relevant and material proof against those now living in Ireland,

still, surely, it will not be too much to ask, that they, like other men, shall be tried by their own acts, and not by the faults of their progenitors, if the presumption against them shall be contradicted or explained by evidence of a more unsuspected character. For these impressions against the priests, owe much of their universality and force to the eminent English historians of the last century, who, though they restored to history a grace which may be said for centuries to have deserted it, yet certainly did not bring to it that careful authentication of facts, and that freedom from prejudice, which at the present day belong to it. The argument against the Irish Roman Catholic clergy is, that their religion makes them necessarily enemies of liberty of thought, and of the free political rights to which it alone gives life and spirit, and that history shows them to have been the cruel antagonists of civil and religious freedom. Perhaps a more correct form of stating the historical part of the case against them is, that Catholic states, as notoriously France in regard of the Huguenots, and Spain in the low countries, exercised the greatest cruelties in order to suppress religious dissent, and that the clergy were prominent in these states to effect this result, as also to obstruct civil liberty. Now in the first place, it would be a mistake to suppose, that it was through the fault or instigation of the clergy, the governments of these countries acted a persecuting part. They adopted the principle of suppressing religious dissent, just as they did that of opposing political freedom, not as a theological doctrine or compliance, but as a maxim of state policy. And it was so adopted by every other power in Europe. Lord Bacon, superior probably in moderation as well as wisdom to the statesmen of his own and of the preceding age, has treated the enforcement of uniformity in religion as a matter of state necessity. Speaking "of the means of procuring religious unity," he

says,* “There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion.” Unfortunately however, the states of the first class were at that time, with one exception, all Catholic, and therefore this induction presses with most weight upon that religion. But the Protestant kingdom, which formed the exception, adopted the principle. England enforced uniformity of faith with a rigour, which, if not so shocking as in other states because not so bloody or illegal, was at least more systematic. The Roman Catholic clergy, then, cannot be answerable further than as they gave assistance to the state in carrying into effect this its own policy; and how could they refuse it?

Until the ninth century, according to the candid and weighty testimony of Mr. Guizot, “the Catholic Church uniformly asserted the separation of spiritual and temporal power, and their mutual independence. It was by the aid of this principle that she dwelt freely by the side of the barbarians; she maintaining that force had no authority whatsoever over religious belief, hopes, or promises, and that the spiritual and temporal worlds were completely distinct.”† Unfortunately for herself, she at last consented to abandon this her ancient and natural rule of conduct. Upon the re-construction of the Western Empire by Charlemagne, she allowed herself to be united with the state as a co-ordinate power, and continued thenceforward to be so in all the kingdoms of Europe until the Reformation. She did so, probably with the view of adding to her own appropriate influences, the aid and strength of the material forces which direct society. But they, like all things human, were subject to change, vulnerable, and mortal; while those influences should have been

* Essays, civil and moral.

† History of Civilization in Europe, Lecture v.

made to regard only things immortal and impassible. This union was bought by her at a dear rate. As has been observed, "she had no need of it for life, and it has often seemed to threaten her with ruin." Its wrongfulness became apparent almost from the first, in the struggle between the temporal and spiritual powers respecting investitures, which at no great interval followed it, and which for a long time wounded religion and disjointed the social frame of Europe. But the effects of this union upon her stopped not here. It was probably the cause why the Reformation affected her to the extent it has. And after that event, she found herself bound by it, at all times, to use the weapons of her spiritual power, in order to suppress every principle of dissent which arose in opposition to the state. Hence, she has loaded herself with the suspicions and hatred of civil and religious freedom, and she who had so long maintained the separation of temporal and spiritual power, is now condemned without a hearing, by public opinion, as being by the necessity of her constitution, and not merely accidentally and only for a time, a persecutor and a tyrant. It happened still further for her misfortune, that in the struggle of Europe for political and religious liberty, she was the state church in almost all its leading kingdoms, and that their constitution was invariably despotic, and therefore the march of government amongst them violent and irregular. History, therefore, on a first and hurried view, seems to visit with its reprobation, her alone amongst all Christian forms of faith. But if more closely questioned, it will be found too impartial to point its finger only at particular individuals, when teaching a great truth of universal application. Whenever any other religious sect became united with the state, it, also, at the call of its ally invariably proved a persecutor. "The synod was opened on the 13th of November, 1618; theology was mystified, religion disgraced, Christianity out-

raged. And after 152 sittings, during six months display of ferocity and fraud, the solemn mockery was closed on the 19th of May 1619, by the declaration of its president, 'that its miraculous labours had made hell tremble.' Proscriptions, banishments, and death, were its natural consequences."* Such is the historical account, not of a Popish council, as might be supposed, but of the Calvinistic synod of Dort, used by Prince Maurice of Nassau, as a political engine whereby to crush the patriots of Holland, and to increase his own power. If the inquisition, somewhat tempered in ferocity, were to be painted, how find fitter words than those which follow? "The Queen having conceived a strong aversion to these people, pointed all her artillery against them. She erected a new tribunal. The reader will meet many instances of its high proceedings in the course of this history; of their interrogatories upon oath, and all, not for insufficiency or immorality, but for not wearing a white surplice, or for not baptising with the sign of the cross."† Yet it is Queen Elizabeth's court of high commission which is here described, and the sufferers are Protestant dissenters. "The edge of all those laws that were made against Popish recusants, was turned against Protestant non-conformists; nay in many cases they had not the benefit of law."‡ It became an uniform maxim of state policy with the Stuart line of English kings, to force upon the Presbyterian people of Scotland, the English or episcopal form of faith. In the reign of Charles II. it was made by Act of Parliament the state church in that country, and at once became an active persecutor. "Now that it is planted," says Wodrow speaking of its establishment, "the fruits it bears will be best gathered from the records of the

* Grattan's History of the Netherlands, p. 240.

† Neal's History of the Puritans, preface. ‡ Ibid.

council, who were for many years its executioners. There we shall meet with a large harvest of imprisonments, fines, scourgings, tortures, banishments, beheadings, hangings." Such is the compendium which this author himself gives of his "history of the sufferings of the church of Scotland," and which consisting entirely "of the records of the council, and of the criminal courts," and extending only through twenty-six years, yet occupies nearly 2000 pages.

But European history does much more for the vindication of the Roman Catholic religion. It gives instances in which its laity and even its clergy appeared as the direct antagonists of Papal power. The League of Cambray was formed in 1509 by France, the Emperor, and the Pope, against Venice. Early in that year, the Pope excommunicated the Doge and the Republic: and that state had the generosity to release from their oath of fidelity its subjects on the Continent of Italy, whose allegiance was thus assailed, by so many terrors spiritual as well as temporal. But they remained faithful, made a brave resistance, and the Republic escaped from a destruction which seemed inevitable. In 1527, Rome itself was taken and sacked by the army of the Emperor Charles V. under the command of the Constable Bourbon. Nay, the Pope after being reduced to the extremity of famine, became towards the middle of the year the prisoner of that Emperor, whose hereditary subjects were wholly Catholic. But they, although naturally shocked at such event, never staggered in their allegiance to him. The same result is seen, where a Protestant state is the antagonist of Papal power. The Spanish Armada, as is well known, was an expedition set on foot jointly by Philip II. and the Pope. He took share in it with a view to increase his spiritual authority, and to give a death-blow to the Reformation. "It was brought about," says

Osborne, in his *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, “by the over confidence which his Holiness had in a Catholic party.” And the Catholics at the time amounted, according to the calculation of their advocates, to two-thirds of the whole English people, and were suffering a relentless persecution. But Osborne adds, “no man appeared to favour the Spaniard: the very Papists themselves being no less unwilling than the rest to see their native country in subjection to the ordinary cruelty found in strangers.” But these accounts, it may be said, make no mention of the Roman Catholic clergy. Nevertheless, they go directly to the present question, for that body either shared the feelings and opinions of their people, or opposed them; and if the latter was the case, their influence with the laity is not, at least as an historical inference, very formidable. However, even English history gives an instance of resistance to Papal authority, in which the Roman Catholic clergy were active, and on the side of freedom and their country. “King John, to strengthen himself in his struggle with the barons, granted to the clergy a charter of free election.”* But they remained true to freedom, and *Magna Charta* was signed by that Monarch in the presence of the barons and the bishops. The Pope, as the pretended feudal superior of the King and of England, annulled the charter, and “ordered Langton the Primate to excommunicate the disobedient. But he refused, and in punishment was suspended from his archiepiscopal functions. The Pope himself then excommunicated the barons, and put London under an interdict. But both censures were equally despised.”* “*Dicebant enim generaliter,*” says the original historian,† “*has literas falsâ suggestionem fuisse impetratas,*

* *Lingard's History of England*, 2nd vol. p. 262.

† *Historia major Mat. Paris*, p. 278.

et ideo nullius eas esse momenti, ex hoc maxime quod non pertinet ad Papam ordinatio laicarum, cum Petro Apostolo et ejus successoribus non nisi ecclesiasticarum rerum dispositio sit collata.” “For they said generally, that these letters had been obtained by false pretences, and were therefore of no avail, above all, because the Pope has no jurisdiction in lay matters, ecclesiastical power only having been given to him and to his successors.”

These facts will prepare us to see the Roman Catholic clergy and laity, hold a political position precisely the same as that in which they exist here, in a country where civil and religious freedom flourish with a strength far beyond that which they possess in Europe, and where they are in no danger, certainly from tyranny or superstition, perhaps from any thing but their own excess. The Catholics in the United States of America, bear exactly the same political aspect as in Ireland. There also, it has excited wonder, has been studied, and is understood. Mr. de Tocqueville, in his well-known work on democracy in America,* writes thus—“The Catholics in America in general are most faithful to the practices of their religion, and full of zeal and ardour for it. They, notwithstanding, are the most republican and democratic class in the Union. This fact at first causes surprise, but reflection easily discovers its cause. It is wrong to look upon the Catholic religion as the natural enemy of democracy. On the contrary, it, amongst Christian sects, appears one of the most favourable to equality of conditions. As regards faith, it holds every order of intelligence upon the same level ; it enforces the same dogmas on the learned and on the ignorant ; it imposes the same practices on the rich and on the poor ; it inflicts the same austerities upon the strong man and the

* 2nd Vol. p. 210.

weak. While thus disposing its faithful to obedience, it does not indispose them to equality. I should say the reverse of Protestantism, which inclines men far less to equality than to independence. Often, indeed, the Roman Catholic clergy have left the sanctuary, to take their place in society, as a power of the state; and consequently have used their religious influence, to ensure durability to a political system of which they formed part. But once priests become separated, or separate themselves from the state, there are no men more disposed by their religion, to transport into the political world equality of condition. The Roman Catholic clergy of America have divided the intellectual world into two parts; in one, they place revealed doctrines, and require submission to them without discussion; they leave in the other political truth, and are of opinion, that God has resigned it to the free researches of man. Thus the Catholics of the United States are at once its most submissive religionists, and its most independent citizens."

No more is asked from these illustrations, than that they shall have force, which surely they must have with every fair mind, to neutralize the historical charges and prejudices against the priests, and to leave them to be tried by their own avowed opinions and known conduct. If we apply this test, all doubt upon the question under discussion must cease. That body constantly declare their eagerness and determination to give up all interference with politics, as soon as good government is made sure to Ireland. They have not, during ten years or more of great political power, used it to obtain for themselves a single object of peculiar or corporate advantage. Their time and character deal, almost entirely, with severe and virtuous labours, which it is within every one's reach to see that they perform thoroughly, and which they could

not perform at all, if they were not conscientious men.

“Ambition should be made of sterner stuff.”

But it can be made still plainer, that their power is not permanent, and that their designs are not dangerous. They themselves are employing the most certain means to break their own political strength in this country, by transferring the class which gives it, from dependance on them to a state of self-sustained strength, and permanent self-government. Misery, oppression, and the consciousness of weakness, have handed over to the priests the millions who form their party. It is not they themselves, but the mis-government and sufferings of the country, that have moulded, and vivified, and matured, and made ready to their hands this formidable mass. The Roman Catholic peasantry, a scattered and a frightened herd, utterly unconscious that they had any effective strength, or, if conscious of it, unknowing how to use it, fled to their clergy, in whom they saw talent, and of whose integrity and love for them they could feel sure, and clung to them with as firm an adhesion and as utter a despair of self-protection, as does the shuddering infant when rivetted to its mother's breast. Nor were they disappointed. These sagacious patrons measured the strength of their afflicted and despairing clients, and saw that it was great. How have they used it? Again, and again it must be repeated, not to gain for themselves or for their order, any, the slightest advantage, or even relief from wrong. Uniformly, it has been directed to give to this class, which thus cast itself upon them, freedom, and education, and greater ease of life. It is impossible to name a measure promoting freedom, education, or domestic comfort amongst the peasantry, which their priests have not supported. It would be a waste of ink to cite the instances in which they have worked, to extend the

legal liberties of their poor countrymen. Friends and foes admit their labours here, and to these labours they chiefly owe the hatred and slanders with which they are assailed. The new system of education, to which no one can object, that it is not likely to diffuse most extensive and well-taught instruction amongst the lower orders, has in general found them to be its steady friends. But they have shewn zeal, above all, for the physical improvement of the poorer classes. Every plan of the kind, no matter by whom urged, has had their unanimous sympathy and support. The Poor Law was opposed with courage, and of course with the greatest ability by Mr. O'Connell. It undoubtedly had against it, the fears more perhaps than the feelings of the middling classes, who, it must be remembered, are the chief support of the Roman Catholic clergy; yet they to a man sustained it, and urged it on, and there may be reason even to say, that but for them it never would have been received as it has been. The priests then, at least visibly, have worked hard for the freedom and education and increased comfort of their poor countrymen, and for nothing else; and are these the things which make bondsmen? Are these the things which will perpetuate that mighty but subservient machine, moving only at their will, and obedient only to their hand, which the Roman Catholic lower orders now form? No. Let Orangeism regain its ascendancy, and the party of the Roman Catholic clergy will become more comprehensive in numbers, and more condensed and resistless in strength; but if on the other hand, the priests should succeed in their struggle to secure good government for their country, they will leave themselves wholly without political power, though while Ireland is grateful, they can never want influence and respect. For in truth, the extent of the sacrifice which they are making, can scarcely be appreciated. Liberty is to them less trust-

worthy than it is to others. Their education has convinced them, that in matters of religion, it is weakness and error, and even on other grounds it might well be dreaded by them. From the frequent connexion of the state with their church, the history of Europe offers scarcely an instance, either in other days or now, in which the progress of liberty has not seemed, at least for a time, to wound it. Conscientious fear or prejudice might hence, well have made them Tories, and then with what rapture would they not have been welcomed !

Oh qui complexus, et gaudia quanta !

But no ! They have disregarded all selfish caution, and be it marked too, the current of political feeling universal amongst their brethren on the Continent, and have been always true to freedom, though remembering that it had wrought great evils, and though conscious, that it must leave them politically powerless.

The survey of these antagonist parties has extended to considerable length. It is unfortunately, however, not out of proportion to the space which they occupy in the country ; and it was of importance to show, that if the system of government adopted for the last four years should be continued, they were, one from its constitution, the other by its own desire, likely to decline. Ireland could never prosper if they were everlasting ; but if removed, she has every hope of comfort, and of greatness. Her national character, though disfigured by most grave faults, yet is furnished with great virtues which are sure to wear well, while the former seem likely every day to lessen ; and England will be seen urged by her own history and experience, to give to this country the amplest measure of kind and liberal government. It would be fulsome to

draw a full or laboured picture of the many good qualities, which our lower orders possess. Nor is it indeed necessary. Among them, many have been and are notorious. Their bravery has made itself known in almost every battle field in Europe, since the English Revolution. Long suffering has rendered patience and resignation to them inevitable virtues. Their acuteness and liveliness of intellect are not excelled in any nation of Europe. Their self-denying industry is yearly brought under the eye of England, in the indefatigable paupers who reap her harvests. The elections in this country have proved them a people, with whom it is a thing of course to sacrifice self, at the call of religion and of country. Let what will be thought of the influence and motives of those who have urged on them this conduct; that affects not them; and this noble quality cannot but be conceded to them. Now bravery, patience, industry, genius, and disinterestedness, are qualities which make a most promising people: and it is impossible, that the national heart can be wholly unsound, where these great virtues exist. But Ireland is defamed in a quarter, where she ought least expect to be so. The anti-national party is reduced by the instinct of self-preservation, to seek to prolong life by the crimination of their country; and they constantly exhibit as their title-deeds to England the records of Irish crime. Yet, thank God! no lover of his country need be ashamed to look even them in the face, and they are the very sources to which he will apply, not for the reproach of his countrymen, but for the illustration of their anomalous condition. These returns will show, that as to the number at least of serious crimes, the proportion of Ireland is not excessive, nay even that it is less, than from comparison with other countries might be expected. Next, as to the character of our crimes, if we first confine our view only to those offences which seem to be inseparable from the

ordinary social and political state of nations, and therefore unfortunately to be deeply rooted amongst mankind, Ireland will appear to be extraordinarily unoffending; but her calendar will be found filled with peculiar and local atrocities. Their nature and other evidence will show their cause to be certain collateral peculiarities in our social condition; but as it can be also shown, that these peculiarities are likely soon to lessen greatly or be entirely removed, if the wholesome influence of good government shall continue much longer to act upon them, the same result may be expected for the crimes which they evidently cause; and Ireland, answerable only for those offences which are common to it with other countries, will, it is not too much to hope, become superior in morality to them. Mr. McCulloch, in his statistical account of the British Empire, has collected numerous returns of crime with their classification, in England and Wales, and in Ireland.* Later returns might be set out.† But it is obviously convenient to rest the computation on a work of high authority, which presents at one view eleven tables containing every variety of information, as to the number, nature, and punishment of the crimes committed in the two countries, which otherwise should be verified by reference to distinct and unconnected documents. Comparing these returns for the former country in 1835, and for Ireland in 1834, (the two latest given by Mr. McCulloch,) the following results will appear. First, as to number; one is here startled by the strange fact that it is nearly equal in both countries, though one has not far from double the population of the other; the total by these returns in England and Wales being 14,729, in Ireland 14,253. But a short examination will place this in a very different light. It appears, that of offences punished with six months imprisonment and under, and therefore not very

* Vol. I. pp. 567—577. † See note A at the end.

seriously affecting society or national character, there were in England and Wales 8071, in Ireland 11,190, thus leaving the number of more serious crimes in the latter country 3063, in the former 6658, or more, though its population is less, than double. Nor is it by this fact alone that the crime punished in England, appears, on the whole, of a more serious character than in this country. There 523 were sentenced to death, here 197; in England 746 to transportation for life, in Ireland 244; there 2325 for seven years, here only 781, leaving the conclusion greatly in favour of this country. These tables will fully establish further, the conclusions stated above as to the character of Irish crime. A comparison with a highly civilized, enlightened, and moral country like England, will clearly point out, how far this country is marked by crime of an universal and permanent kind, and how far its immorality is local, and may be expected to be transient. The most numerous division of crime in England and Wales, as these returns have classified it, is that of offences against property without violence. The number there is 11,372, in Ireland 3381; of offences against property malicious, or committed with violence, the number in England is 982, in Ireland 146; of forgery and offences against the currency in England it is 287, in Ireland 83. So far the latter appears the more faultless country. But her excess is startling, when we come to look at offences against the person. The total in England is 1194, in Ireland it is 5423. England exhibits in all but 865 assaults; there were in Ireland 5143. This pugnacity may excite a smile: but it is shocking to find that there were here 49 murders, double the number in England, where they amounted only to 25, and that the list of manslaughters here was 180, more than double that of England, where there were but 72. The rest of our Irish calendar, with the exception of 2668 offences

named generally as misdemeanors, is made up by 1149 convictions for illegal distillation, and by 1272 Whiteboy offences or crimes of the same character as they.

This exceeding proportion of agrarian offences, in itself, shows some serious disease in the condition of the peasantry, but we are not left only to its indication. The Parliamentary committees on the state of Ireland in 1824, and 1825, directed their attention chiefly to an inquiry into the causes of the peculiarities of Irish crime. Witnesses whom it is necessary only to name to ensure respect for their testimony, concurred in ascribing them to the wretchedness of the peasantry, to their tenacity to land as their only means of subsistence, and to their want of education. Among those witnesses, were Mr. Blackburne, Mr. (now Baron) Foster, Mr. Griffith the government engineer, Mr. Bennet the Queen's counsel, Mr. Blacker chairman of Kilmainham, Major Warburton, Mr. Barrington crown solicitor for Munster, and Judge Day.

In Mr. Lewis's work on local disturbances in Ireland,* this evidence is fully detailed, as also that given before these committees, showing the numerous ejectments of the peasantry to be one of the undoubted causes of their peculiar crimes. There is a fact very deserving of notice, which seems to go far in connecting the two, as cause and effect. The law of this country and England, is in general the same, but ours has its peculiarities, which cause a great difference in the nature of our litigation and criminal prosecutions. Now, of these peculiarities, the law of ejectment for non-payment of rent, is in our civil jurisprudence far the most prominent, as the whiteboy acts are in our criminal code. The latter aggravate to a terrible degree, what the English law holds comparatively trifling transgressions. And including the Civil Bill Acts on the

* Lewis on local disturbances in Ireland, p. 39—92.

subject, there are in Ireland eight statutes, all enlarging the common law powers of the landlord against a tenant in arrear, while there is in England but one such enactment, 4th Geo. II. c. 28. Hence, in the latter country, the landlord has incalculably less ability to indulge harsh or avaricious feelings at the expense of the tenant, than he has in Ireland. Practical illustration of the connexion between these statutory peculiarities, abounds. The same assizes will often appal the public, by the most horrid agrarian outrages, and by an ejectment case scarcely less revolting. Both will be in course of trial, at the one moment, under the same roof. Even returns are not wanting, to give to ejectments as painful a prominence among our social anomalies, as crimes of violence possess. In 1833, there were brought in the superior courts, 328 ejectments, served upon 3395 defendants, in seven counties only, which, excepting one, were in extent and population below the average. This would imply, the whole number of such ejectments brought in Ireland, during that year, to be 1476, and of defendants served, 15,277. By a return from the clerks of the peace, of the civil bill ejectments, brought, in the same year, in 16 counties, or one half of Ireland, which appears in the supplement to the appendix of the Third Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of the Poor in Ireland, the number of such ejectments, was 1573, and of defendants against whom decrees issued, 4095. This return, of course, justifies the conclusion, that, in that year, in Ireland, 3146 ejectments were brought in the civil bill courts only, upon which decrees issued against 8190 defendants. These latter ejectments must have been all by landlord against tenant, as the assistant barristers then had jurisdiction only in such case. The probable deduction from both returns,* is, that the entire num-

* See note B, at the end, for both these returns in detail.

ber of ejectments, for Ireland in 1833, (which, be it marked, preceded the year that has been already surveyed as so fertile in crime,) was 4622, and of defendants served, or against whom decrees issued, 23,467; and as there were, at least, four persons in the family of each defendant, according to the census of 1831, the entire number, in the country, sought to be dispossessed, and of whom probably the greater part were expelled from their holdings, by force of law, in that year, amounted to 117,335, or one-seventieth of the entire population. Ejectments and agrarian outrages are, thus, seen to be proportionably prominent.

Quippe ubi fas verum atque nefas,

Tunc multæ scelerum facies, non ullus aratro

Dignus honos, squalent abductis arva colonis.

But the unprejudiced endeavour, to illustrate and explain our social anomalies, will not stop here. Unfortunately, inquiry will still further by example, and even by direct encouragement, connect the higher classes of this country with those vices, whose terrible outbreaks they are now so prompt to censure. The table of crimes from which we have just risen, displays in its foreground, those offences against the revenue, which are the fruitful parent of intemperance, and those crimes, which show in the peasantry the most shocking recklessness as to shedding blood. Now, the most prominent vices in the gay, but not very moral character of the higher orders of this country in the last century, were those, which thus exhibit themselves in the peasantry, of course in a more offensive form. These vices have, in fifty years, wholly descended from the higher regions of society to its lower classes; and this circumstance gives hope that, the evil example removed, they will shortly leave them also. Sir Jonah Barrington, in his lively volumes,* devotes an entire

* Personal Sketches, Vol. i. p. 64.

chapter to "Irish dissipation in 1778." Unfortunately, the actors in such drunken scenes, did not produce the moral effect of the intoxicated Helot. Their example has remained to infect the peasantry, while they and their debauches are now regarded by their own class with disgust. But this is not all. "It is incredible," he elsewhere adds,* "what a singular passion the Irish gentlemen, (though in general excellent tempered fellows,) had formerly for fighting each other, and then making up again. This national propensity for fighting and slaughtering, was almost universal." And, in proof of this, he adds, what may be called his statistics of duelling; 227 duels of that class only, which he names "memorable and official," occurred, he says, in his time: and of them, some are indeed comical. "A Baron of the Exchequer, (Metge,)" the words are his own, "fought his brother-in-law, and two others. The Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, (Patterson,) fought three country gentlemen, and wounded all of them. The Right Honorable George Ogle, a privy counsellor, fired eight shots at Barney Coyle a distiller, because he was a papist." Without being too straitlaced as to these social peculiarities, it is clear, that they must have gone far to deprave the country. It is painful to add, that the peasantry have even a heavier charge to bring against their superiors; that, of directly encouraging their disposition to personal violence. Every one has heard of Irish factions, and knows how they are connected with multiform crimes of violence and blood. In the evidence taken before the Commons' Committee in 1824, it appears, that these factions were encouraged by magistrates. Major Wilcocks knew one instance of it: Mr. Blackburne states, that the magistrates did not discourage them. While Mr. O'Driscoll, a barrister, and himself a magistrate, says "that

* Vol ii. p. 7.

there have been magistrates who had certain factions in the country which they support." Numerous other witnesses attested the same fact.

To this distressing analysis of crimes, and their causes, succeeds the gratifying contemplation of the means now actively at work to uproot them. It is delightful to think, that almost every circumstance pointed out by reason, or by the opinion of well informed men, as a cause of the peculiar crimes of this country, is changing more or less. These causes may be summed up as being, the loose and unsteady course of criminal justice, the misery of the people including the severe relation of landlord and tenant, and the uninstructed state of the peasantry. Since Lord Melbourne's ministry entered upon office, there have been enacted, upon their proposal or through their co-operation, nine statutes, all with the avowed object and certain result of making the administration of criminal justice, in its every part, more prompt and effectual. The enumeration of their titles will fully justify this conclusion. 5th & 6th Wm. IV. c. 48, an Act "for the better prevention and more speedy punishment of offences endangering the public peace in Ireland," empowers the Lord Lieutenant in council, to order "extraordinary courts of general sessions." 6th & 7th Wm. IV. c. 34, was "for the better administration of justice at petty sessions." 5th & 6th Wm. IV. c. 26, was "an Act for appointing convenient places for holding Assizes." Its provisions extend also to quarter sessions. By these Acts, almost every arm of our criminal judicature has had increased strength and facility given to it. 6th & 7th Wm. IV. c. 13, is the Act by which the constabulary force of this country, probably excelling the police of any nation in Europe, is constituted. 6th & 7th Wm. IV. c. 29, was "for improving the police in the district of the Dublin Metropolis." 1st & 2nd Vict. c. 116, was "to facilitate

advances for the support of county gaols." 1st & 2nd Vict. c. 6, was "to regulate the expenses of conveying prisoners." All these Acts directly promote the detection and safe detention of criminals. 1st & 2nd Vict. c. 99, was "for the more effectual levying of fines, penalties, and amerciaments." 6th & 7th Wm. IV. c. 39, continues the Acts "relating to the importation and keeping of arms and gunpowder," and to these statutory means of preventing and punishing crime is to be added, the appointment of prosecutors on behalf of the crown, at all the courts of quarter sessions in Ireland, first made by this government.

They appear, by the same test, to have been most active also for the physical improvement of the country. 6th & 7th Wm. IV. c. 75, "extends the jurisdiction, and regulates the proceedings of the civil bill courts in Ireland," and so far, that it may be said generally, a poor man can enforce every civil demand which he possibly can have, in a court, where his costs cannot, in almost all cases, exceed ten shillings, or, in the most expensive instance, £2, and to which the hazardous forms of pleading are entirely unknown. 6th & 7th Wm. IV. c. 55, was "to amend the laws relating to loan societies." There are in addition, the Act "for the improvement of the navigation of the river Shannon." (the 5th & 6th Wm. IV. c. 67,) which by its recital seems to have pledged parliament "that the expenditure attendant thereon, shall be, in the first instance, defrayed out of the public revenue, and that one half of the sum so advanced shall be a free grant:" and the two Acts "for the extension and promotion of public works," (6th and 7th Wm. IV. c. 108, and 7th Wm. IV. c. 21,) respectively granting £100,000, and £50,000, for the encouragement of private enterprise, where it is applied to works of general utility. There is, above all, 1st & 2nd Vict. c. 56, "for the relief of the des-

stitute poor." And let it be hoped, that the resolution of the House of Commons, adopted at the instance of Ministers, may be shortly consummated, by an Act for the advance of public money, for the construction of railroads in Ireland. Public opinion, probably, would not tolerate any legislative restriction of the powers of landlords. But Government have interfered, even here, on behalf of the people, and have warned the owners of the soil, "that property has its duties as well as its rights." It is, probably, by no means hopeless, that this powerful class, though hurt perhaps naturally by the suggestion, may soon have the good sense and feeling to act upon it universally.

But the unfailing cure, at least for these crimes, is the education of the people. They, if instructed, cannot but perceive that these atrocities paralyze the national strength, and examples crowd in, to demonstrate how education will purify the character of the country. Providence, in his merciful wisdom, has from the earliest periods of history arranged, that in proportion to the enlightenment of nations, should, in general, be their happiness and their strength; and has exhibited to the world, amidst all its revolutions, some chosen people as a striking example of this truth, in order to enforce upon the slow mind of human governments, the wise policy of universal education. Athens, within thirty years after its destruction by Xerxes, is seen with a territory not as large as one of our middle sized counties, and with a population of only 14,400 free citizens,* mistress of the Grecian seas, and imposing on the Persian King, the condition that his army shall not come within a day's march of them.† This fact ceases to be incredible, only when the historian tells us of this very period, that "meanwhile the progress of general educa-

* Plutarch—Life of Pericles. † Plutarch—Life of Cimon.

tion had been great and remarkable. The history of Athens became the history of the human mind; science and art, erudition and genius, all conspired to her rise, and the Athenian populace exhibited a people whom, whatever were their errors, the world can never see again." This truth, however, is for our purpose even more effectively instanced in modern history. In 1696, an Act was passed by the Scotch Parliament, which reciting "how prejudicial the want of schools hath been, and how beneficial the establishing and settling thereof in every parish will be;" as also, "that the providing of the said schools is a pious use, to which it shall be lawful to employ the vacant stipends," endowed a school in every parish, with part of what had been church property. "Thus the whole Scotch population," says an historian of that country,* "has been rescued for generations from the lamentable condition of ignorance, and is now distinguished among all other nations, for all the good results of knowledge, namely, sobriety, self-respect, and the power of bettering their worldly circumstances. The consequence has been, not a greater irksomeness under a lowly condition, as perhaps might be expected, but a greater power of enduring it; not a habit of insubordination to those in superior stations, but a tranquil sense of the propriety of the gradation of ranks." The reports of Mr. Coussin, "on public instruction in Prussia," and "on the state of education in Holland," have made known the diffusion and excellence of education in both countries. A late intelligent traveller in Holland,† thus describes the plan of instruction there, and its effects, as he himself saw both in the autumn of 1838:—"Instruction is given in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history of Hol-

* Chambers's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 144.

† Chambers's Edinburgh Journal.

land, and Bible history ; no religious instruction is given in the school. The Bible history comprises only facts, in the truth of which all parties agree. The law does not compel parents to send their children to a school of some kind, as is the case in Prussia. But the poor are not allowed any relief from the public funds, unless they send their children to the poor schools ; other persons above the condition of paupers, are desirous to have their children instructed, which will be done gratuitously if they please, so that in point of fact all are educated. This result is sensibly observed in the aspect of the Dutch towns, where you never see bands of loose and disorderly children in the street, such as offend the eye in almost every large town of Britain." But such is far from being the best or most remarkable consequence of education, upon the young poor of Holland. Their comparative innocence is astonishing. "I felt desirous of inspecting the great central prison at Rotterdam, for male juvenile offenders. Here, are confined all under eighteen years of age, who have been convicted of crime in Holland ; their entire number was 95." Now, by the return of the number of offenders bailed or committed in England and Wales, in 1835,* the number of male criminal offenders under sixteen years of age, was 2002, and as the proportion of convictions to committals was generally as two to three, there were convicted of crime in England and Wales, in that year, 1300 youths under sixteen years of age, nearly fourteen times as many, as all the male convicts under eighteen years of age in Holland, though the population is not quite six times as great. And the crime of the country generally is proportionably small. "The general habits of the Dutch are extremely staid and orderly : serious crimes, such as murder, housebreaking, and robbery,

* M'Culloch, 1 vol. p. 570.

are extremely rare, and other offences requiring judicial correction are exceedingly limited in number." It remains only to exemplify the impulse, which it is, perhaps, obvious, that increased education must give to political freedom. "I have," says Mr. de Tocqueville,* "noticed in a thousand passages of this work, how the general instruction of the people in America, tends to sustain their free institutions." Such, then, being the ascertained results of education to national character, what is its state among us as to the number instructed, as to the kind of instruction given, and as to the aptitude of the people for it? The Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of Schools in Ireland, calculated in 1812,† that the whole number of poor children then receiving education was 200,000, though their returns gave only 162,467. "The instruction," they add, "seldom extends beyond reading, writing, and the common rules of arithmetic. It frequently happens that their minds, instead of being improved by moral and religious education, are corrupted by books calculated to incite to lawless and profligate adventure, to cherish superstition, and to lead to dissension or disloyalty." By the return of the Rev. Mr. Carlile,‡ to the Commons' committee on education, 1837, of the number then on the rolls of the schools, under the Education Board, and that given to the Lords' committee, by the Rev. Mr. Dwyer,§ of the number then attending scriptural schools, it appears that they amounted altogether to 576,104. The Education Board, in their second Report, state the number of children in the country, requiring instruction, to be 1,140,000; so, that it appears, that one half of the children in Ireland, are receiving education in one or other of these

* *De la démocratie en Amérique*, Vol. ii. p. 235. † 14th Report.

‡ Minutes of Evidence, p. 591. § Minutes of Evidence, p. 1234.

See note C, at the end, for a summary of both returns.

schools alone. But its nature is not less worthy of note, than the number taught. "We have published," say the Commissioners of the Education Board, "five lesson books, which afford information on different subjects of education, in regular succession. We have, also, provided elementary books of arithmetic, book-keeping, trigonometry, geometry, and a series of reading and arithmetical tables." And there is weighty testimony, as to the excellence of these publications. "I think," says Mr. Ingham, an English member of parliament,* "that they are far superior to any school-books, that I have ever seen, and this has been so generally the persuasion of every one, that I know one schoolmaster of an extensive national school, who, at his own expense, has sent up and bought a set of them." The eagerness of the poor for instruction, is equally attested. "The desire on the part of the people," writes the inspector for Munster,† "to obtain education for their children is very great, and the children themselves fully participate in this desire." Another provincial inspector of the Education Board states, "with regard to the desire expressed for education, it is universal. Wherever I went, I was welcomed by the people, who manifested the most intense anxiety, to afford their children the blessings of a religious and moral education."

If the eye now glances from the lower orders of Ireland to its middling classes, the prospect is equally encouraging. Of course their discrepancy from those of the same rank in other countries, is less remarkable: but if they shew, in some degree, that listlessness and backwardness, which universally depress Ireland, they have many distinguishing virtues. They, of all sects and parties, are moral, and to a very remarkable degree charitable

* Minutes of Evidence before Lords' Committee, p. 801.

† Minutes of Evidence before Lords' Committee, p. 1407.

and religious. Their beneficence, in great measure, though they are limited both in number and in means, has hitherto supported the immense mass of pauperism amongst us. No statesman labouring for the tranquillity and restoration of a country, but must be pleased to find it thoroughly Christian. And Ireland is so; there is no country in Europe, where religious doubt and infidelity are, in all ranks, so rare, it may be said, so completely unknown. Religious forbearance and toleration too, prevail remarkably amongst all, with the unfortunate exception of our powerful anti-Irish party. The immense number of Protestants, who side with the nation, of course cannot but be tolerant. And the Catholics of the class of which we are speaking, are not less so. It would be difficult to cite a single instance, in the long and bitter war which has raged amongst us, where at a Catholic political meeting, a sentiment has been uttered offensive to the purely religious feelings, or reflecting upon the creed of those of a different faith. It would be impossible to point out a resolution of such a complexion, adopted by a public meeting of Catholics.

Such are the simple, strongly marked, and, in some respects, jarring elements, of which society in Ireland is formed. The first observation, which they suggest, is, how inferior her social, is to her political condition.—With laws and civil institutions at no great distance from those of England, and therefore probably on the whole, as perfect as in any other country of Europe, society is immature and backward to a degree far beyond almost any of these nations. The flippant remark is frequent, that the lower orders in Ireland are not fit for freedom. But the assertion is not accurate, and is, at best, far from grasping the whole truth. In general, the social condi-

tion of Ireland is greatly below the measure of her laws and political institutions ; but there is no part of it, which more lags behind their spirit and that of the century in which we live, than does our anti-national party. If, to our humiliation, thirteen hundred years must be travelled back in the history of Europe, to illustrate our anomalous social condition, the parallel which we shall find to it, is no where so striking as in regard of this party. “ After the destruction of the Roman empire,” writes Sismondi,* “ which dragged down ancient civilization in its fall, society exhibited only two classes, the conquerors and the conquered. The former placed their glory in being feared : the latter had no longer protection to expect, government was formed in no degree for their advantage ; they had, in fine, no tie to society. Such, during a long time after the fall of the Roman empire, was the condition of almost all the nations of Europe. The only lesson, which we can learn from it, is, at all risks to prevent its return. Useful history does not begin until the time when the conqueror and conquered, dwelling on the same soil, became melted down into the one people. This fusion of the conquerors and the conquered, has been more or less rapid in the different countries of Europe.”

Nor has Ireland been blind to this humbling difference between her social and political condition. It is her sense of it, which has made her attach such importance to the continuance of Lord Melbourne’s ministry in office. Some ingenious theorists among the English liberals, have scoffed at her apparent preference of men to measures. But the nation was guided herein by a wise instinct. It felt itself to be below the measure of its laws, and that a good government was necessary to raise it to their standard. A paternal hand was required to guide its

* Histoire de la renaissance de la liberté en Italie.

first slow and tottering steps ; but it knew its own strength, and that they must, very soon, become rapid strides. In a short time it will, if so aided, attain a station manifestly out of proportion to any government but what is good, with an intellectual and material strength, which will enable it to judge itself what laws are best for it, and surely to carry them, save perhaps, when they clash with some other great imperial interest. At present, from the peculiar constitution and temper of parliament, it is never with reference to the interests of the empire, that the legislative wants of Ireland are weighed, but they are uniformly decided on, whenever the claims and advantages of our anti-Irish party are supposed to be in question, only as they affect it. Hence, our acts of parliament since the relief bill, have in all cases, where this party has had an interest, been a system of checks and compromises, by which only a little is taken from them, and very much is denied to the nation. No wonder then, that it has for the present withdrawn its interest from the legislature, and centred it entirely upon the executive. There, at least, it has seen no balancing or hesitation. The Government has acted uniformly and steadily upon two principles essential to the comfort of Ireland. The first has been the improvement of the national character ; the second is, the exclusion from administrative power of our anti-national party. Their pretensions and conduct are, on their very surface, so inconsistent with the welfare of the country, that this exclusion became indispensable. It is impossible in any degree to humour them, and at the same time to save Ireland. Their total political rejection, or what would be indeed desirable, their own voluntary fusion into the mass of the people, is the only alternative which the Irish nation, or a government that means well to it, can admit of in their regard. Either course, as has been shown, would lead

to their rapid extinguishment, and it, while their principles remain unchanged, is evidently indispensable to the regeneration of the country.

Nor would this be, then, the only nation where the extinction of parties, and a good executive government, have thrown open hopes which before seemed denied, and have changed disaffection and distress into close union and great prosperity. Above all, England cannot but believe with the most undoubting faith, that such must be the result. The history of her relations with Wales and Scotland, has in great part been the same as with us. In both those countries, a long continued state of separate and somewhat hostile independence, was ended by an incorporating union with her. But that union proved quite ineffective, until she adopted towards the lesser country, a system of rule unwaveringly indulgent, and (if the expression may be used) national. No reader of English history but must have been struck by the fact, that while the reign of every monarch of the Plantagenet line is full of allusion to Wales, there is not, after the reign of Henry VIII. a single reference to that country. After that time it becomes so completely parcel and part of England, that history can make no separate mention of it. In 1534, the 25th year of that Monarch's reign, "the union of England and Wales was completed, by giving to that principality all the benefit of the English laws."* And in two years afterwards, the historian adds, "further progress was made in completing the union of England and Wales." It is instructive to see how; for these naked outlines have been filled up by a master's hand. "The care of that country," says Mr. Burke,† "was put into the hands of Lords Marchers, a government of a very singular kind, a strange heterogeneous

* Hume's History of England, 4th vol., p. 137.

† Speech on conciliation with America.

monster, something between hostility and government. The manners of the Welsh people followed the genius of their government; the people were ferocious, restive, savage, and uncultivated, sometimes composed, but never pacified. Wales rid England like an incubus; it was an unprofitable and an oppressive burden. An Englishman, travelling in that country, could not go six yards from the high road without being murdered. The march of the human mind is slow; it was not discovered until after 200 years, that by an eternal law Providence hath decreed vexation to violence and poverty to rapine. Your ancestors did, however, at length open their eyes to the ill husbandry of injustice. Accordingly, in the 27th year of Henry VIII. the course was entirely altered. From that moment, as by a charm, the tumults subsided, obedience was restored, and peace, order, and civilization, followed in the train of liberty."

This a striking example; but that of Scotland is conclusive. Her condition is now the very reverse of ours; but until a certain period in her history, the resemblance of her political and social miseries to those of this country, will be found perfect and truly wonderful. The more this sameness of the two countries, in almost every aspect, is inquired into, the more it will appear. Our object can be, to trace it only in their political state, and consequent peculiarities of social condition, and chiefly in regard of their union with England. But a few instances will show, that it extends far even beyond these limits. The establishment of a national system of education there, as well as here, has been mentioned. The clergy of the people of Scotland, while the episcopal church was there dominant, are thus described:—"The clergy of that day were respectable at all times from their

* Sir Walter Scott's Tales of a Grandfather, 2nd Series.

character. They were endeared to the people by the purity of their lives, by the learning possessed by some, and the powerful talents of others; above all, perhaps, by the willingness with which they submitted to poverty and penalties, rather than betray the cause which they considered sacred. They often endangered their own lives to put an end to the feuds and frays which occurred in their bounds." The mendicancy and rack rents of Ireland are, now, its peculiar misfortune, at least in the British empire. According to the third Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of the Poor in Ireland, above 2,000,000 of its population are for thirty weeks in the year in a state of destitution. The statement is deemed exaggerated, but at all events, it found its parallel in Scotland. "There are," writes Fletcher, of Saltoun,* "at this day in Scotland (besides a great many poor families meanly provided for by the church boxes) 200,000 people begging from door to door." Mr. M'Culloch states the population of that country to have been then about 1,000,000. The former writer adds, "The causes of the present poverty and misery of the commonalty of Scotland are many; yet, were I to assign their principal and original source, I should place it in the letting of our lands at so excessive a rate, as makes the tenant poorer than his servant."

But the identity in the political circumstances of the two countries, until the sudden change in the state of Scotland, is complete. The main features of the history of both nations were;—first, long political oppression by England, aggravated by religious persecution; next, a rebellion suppressed with sanguinary violence; and, as if not the minutest circumstance in the fortunes of the two could be dissimilar, we find the memorable cruelty of the Orange

* Discourse concerning the affairs of Scotland, 1698

yeomanry, to have had its precedent in Scotland. "The Government therefore made an arrangement to call out the Highland clans. It is easy to imagine the havoc and destruction which ensued. A multitude not accustomed to discipline, were let loose among those, whom they were taught to regard as enemies to their king and their religion."* Lastly, in both countries an incorporating union took place with England. That of Scotland, will be considered in detail. It will present, up to a certain point, a sameness, which is truly wonderful, with the like event here. Both unions will be seen to have been effected in the same manner. Both were for a long time utterly useless to England, and mischievous to the trade and manufactures of the smaller country. The social condition of the lower classes, during that time, will appear, in almost every respect, the same. And the contemplation of Scotland will show further, how a kind and beneficent system of rule raised her "as by a charm," from unhappiness and distress like ours, to her present condition of content and prosperity. "When the articles of Union," says a Scotch historian,† "were laid before parliament, they produced a burst of indignation over the whole country. The wish of Scotland was for a federative, not for an incorporating union. Every class of persons had their own peculiar objections to it. Yet notwithstanding the opposition of the whole people, a majority was obtained in parliament. A full half of the shires, and burghs, and a majority of the nobility, were brought over to give their votes. The work, in short, was accomplished by bribery. The Duke of Queensbury, received the title of an English Duke, while many of the commissioners were also advanced to similar honours.

* Hume's History of England, vol. viii. p. 60.

† Chambers's History of Scotland, p. 157.

It is curious to reflect, that a measure tending perhaps more than any other Act of any other parliament, to the prosperity and happiness of the country, should be brought about by the foulest means, and that if the legislature had been any thing approaching to a representation of the people, it could never have been effected." Perhaps it was natural, that a measure so accomplished, should for a long time yield only poisonous fruits; it continued to do so for more than forty years. "Such obstacles," says Sir Walter Scott,* "were thrown in the way of the benefits which the union was calculated to produce, as to interpose a longer interval of years between the date of the treaty, and the natural advantages arising out of it, than the time spent by the Jews in the wilderness, ere they attained the promised land. In both cases, the frowardness and passions of men, rejected the blessings which Providence held out to them." The consequence, during that time, was, depression to the manufactures and agriculture of Scotland. "The union in 1707," writes Mr. Chalmers, in his account of North Britain,† "put an end to commercial rivalry, by permitting the Scotch a participation with the English in their mercantile projects; but it was long of little benefit to those who were not prepared to receive its influences. The year 1750, has been assigned as the true epoch of manufacturing advance from deplorable feebleness to real improvement." And as to agriculture, he adds‡—"In vain were treatises published to teach husbandmen their duties; in vain were societies formed for instructing the farmers. The husbandmen had derived no stocks from their fathers, they had no permanent leases, and they were dispirited by insecurity, and degraded by want.

* Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*.

† Vol. ii. p. 43. ‡ Vol. ii. p. 243.

Almost one-half of the eighteenth century had elapsed, before the vigorous practice of improved husbandry was introduced." These two last extracts, will prepare us to find the lower orders of Scotland, then almost wholly agricultural, in a state, tallying, nearly in every respect, with the present condition of the same class in this country. "As low down as the year 1750," adds this Author,* "the farm-houses were mere hovels, having an open hearth and fire-place in the middle of the floor; the dunghill at the door, the cattle starving, and the people wretched. There were no fallows, no green crops, no artificial grass, no carts or waggons, no straw-yards." But the identity in this respect is witnessed even more fully. In an account of the parish of Tongland in Kirkcudbrightshire, as it was in the year 1730, supplied by its minister, to Sir John Sinclair's statistical work on Scotland,† we learn, "that the men wore coats made of a mixture of black and white wool as it came from the sheep. Their houses were the most miserable hovels, built of stone and turf, without mortar. In such houses when they kindled a fire, they lived in a constant cloud of smoke, enough to suffocate them, had they not been habituated to it from infancy. They lived in a coarse and dirty manner, and ate of the meanest food. A single farm was let in runrig among a number of tenants, which caused them to live in a constant state of warfare and animosity. Their mode of agriculture was uncommonly stupid in every stage of its operation. The women carried out dung in creels upon their backs, and the men filled the creels, and lifted them on their shoulders." The portraits agree, in another feature:—"The country therefore," says Sir Walter Scott,‡ "was exposed to all the

* Vol. iii. p. 475. † Vol. ix. p. 324.

‡ Tales of a Grandfather.

inconveniences of an over population. Often, the humanity of individual proprietors bestowed much trouble and expense, in providing means to enable those inhabitants, who were necessarily ejected from their ancient possessions, with new modes of employment. But many other proprietors had neither the means, nor disposition to await with patience the result of these experiments. It is, however, a change which has taken place, and has had its crisis." If Scotland was happily free from our agrarian atrocities, the same consummate judge of the social condition of his country in the last century, distinctly states the reason why it was so.* "The nature of the engagements between the proprietor and cultivator of the ground, rendered the situation of the latter, one of great hardship. Nevertheless, though the Scottish lairds had the means of oppression in their hands, a judicious perception of their own interest prevented them from abusing their rights to the injury of the people. There were fewer instances of oppression or ill usage, than might have been expected from a system radically bad, and which, if the proprietors had been more rapacious, and the estates committed to the management of a mere factor or middleman, who was to make the most of it, would have led to a degree of distress, which never appears to have taken place in Scotland." Nor was that country, during this distressful interval, untroubled by party spirit. "The principal cause," adds Sir Walter Scott, "which made it stationary in its advance towards improvement, was the malevolent influence of political party." Yet this melancholy and touching scene of national misery, unequalled perhaps in the history of any other country but our own, in a few years passes entirely out of sight, and gives place to a national prosperity not less wonderful.

* Tales of a Grandfather.

But how was this? "The attention of Government," says the history of Scotland,* "was most effectually roused to the condition of Scotland, if not in the hope of rendering it positively useful, at least with the view of preventing it from doing any harm. It was seen by the English, that though the Scotch were poor, idle, and repulsive, in almost every point of view, yet they were able to do infinite injury to the richer country, which lay exposed beside them, if not to cause a complete revolution in the state. They, therefore, found it necessary to devise some means, by which Scotland might be put in a fair way, of equalising itself in wealth and civilization with England, an object thought to have been secured by the Union, but which hitherto had been found as far from reality as ever." These scattered facts, so interesting and demonstrative, are grouped and summed up in a contemporary document of great historical value and interest. It is a Report for the year 1752,† of a society for the improvement of the town of Edinburgh, signed by five Judges, by the Lord Provost and twelve of the town council, by the dean of faculty and two other barristers. The testimony of such a document cannot be gainsaid. After briefly sketching the previous history of the country, it thus proceeds:—"The Revolution opened to us a fairer prospect; liberty was ascertained, and many excellent laws enacted. But the genius and manners of a people are not to be changed by laws alone. The union of the two kingdoms was an event equally beneficial to both kingdoms. All its advantages, however, for many years, were not fully understood, or properly cultivated. The pride of an independent kingdom, and our deep-rooted enmity to England, turned the popular current

* Chambers's History of Scotland, vol ii. p. 224.

† Scots' Magazine, 1752.

against a measure, which has now become essential to our very being as a nation. Hence, the arts of industry which prevailed in England, made in this country but a slow progress. Our manufactures were little attended to. The dependance of our tenants, their racked rents, short leases, and small stocks, all conspired to prevent the improvement of our husbandry. The trade which the union opened to us with the colonies, was at first of little advantage, as we had then no home commodities of our own to give in exchange for those which we imported. But since the year 1746, a most surprising revolution has happened in the affairs of this country. The whole system of our trade, husbandry, and manufactures, which had hitherto proceeded only by slow degrees, now began to advance with such a rapid and general progression, as almost exceeds the bounds of probability. They are no longer the detached efforts of Aberdeen, of Glasgow, of Dumfries, or of any single town, but it is the united force of the whole nation, which seems at length to be exerting itself." And the prosperity of Scotland, which was thus brought about by a change of government, from harshness and neglect, to conciliation and active sympathy, upon the part of the greater country to the less, has, under the latter system, been continually advancing. "At the peace of 1815," writes her historian,* "this country fully participated in the general prosperity of the Empire. Her capital had become the most beautiful city in the world. Her principal manufacturing towns had doubled in population and employment. Her ports had experienced, even a greater increase of trade. A canal, *at the expense of about two millions of public money*, had been formed across the Highlands; roads and bridges of the most approved construction were every where to be found. Not

* Chambers's History of Scotland, vol. ii.

the least popular disturbance had been known in the country for twenty years, and men looked back to the rebellion as an age of romance, the very idea of domestic war having become strange amongst them."

But the force of this induction to convince England, that she ought to govern this country indulgently, extends further even than these very striking illustrations have unfolded it. They representing the union with England, as an event most beneficial to Scotland, yet show that it produced no advantages, until the genial influence of a good executive government, warmed them into life and fruitfulness. But even those, (and such there are,) who maintain that her union with England, injured Scotland, instead of benefiting her, assert, that her great prosperity is owing entirely to good government. Thus, all authorities seem to be of accord, that while an union exists between a greater and a smaller country, it is indispensable for their common interests, that the former should rule the latter with a gentle and helping hand. In the debates in the English House of Commons, on the union of Ireland with Great Britain, Mr. (now Lord) Grey, was, among the opponents of that measure, the most forward and particular, in combatting the induction drawn in favour of it from Scotch history. "Their grand source of arguments," he said,* "is the experience of the benefits derived from the union with Scotland. This connexion between the union and prosperity of Scotland, is not very easy to discover. It is a fact, that the trade of Scotland, in many places actually decayed after the union, and the linen trade in particular. And from the whole history of that period, it is evident that the effect of the union was unfavourable to the repose and tranquillity of the state. It was an additional subject of discontent, to a people already labouring

* Cobbett's Party Debates, vol. xxxv. p. 68.

under many disadvantages of internal government and regulation. Until the real cause of evil was removed, until the grievances of Scotland were remedied, no progress was made towards the establishment of tranquillity, and to the advancement of commerce and manufactures. Such will be the fate of Ireland, if the union be adopted without applying a cure to the internal defects which detain that country in a state of distraction. Until the grievances of Ireland are done away, no progress will be made in securing the public tranquillity, or in promoting the extension of commerce and of wealth. The manner in which that country has been governed for some years, has been impolitic and cruel in the extreme. Let the system be changed, and the dangers will disappear."

This mass of authorities makes it as certain almost as any thing can be, that a good executive government, such as Ireland now demands, was indispensable to bring about the wonderful change, which has been shown in the state of Scotland. Nothing but the unreasonableness of England, can retard an alteration as rapid, and, probably, as brilliant in our unhappy condition. The assurance of union and of peace, now, offers itself to her, at an easy price; if rejected, it may become unattainable at any sacrifice. The Reform bill has brought about, that the executive government of the empire, shall be the reflection of the electoral will. It may be taken for granted, that a great majority of the representatives of this country, and of Scotland, will support no Ministry, which will not govern Ireland as that now in office has done. Hence, it is only by a preponderance approaching almost to unanimity in the English mind, of dislike or indifference to this country, that "those principles which have of late years guided the executive government of Ireland," can be supplanted, by a system of policy in her regard, adverse to her wishes and interests. This system, if

decidedly of the Orange colour, would make it impossible to preserve peace in Ireland; and, even if it disclaimed that obnoxious complexion, it would, still, stand in need of as much good fortune as prudence, to enable it to escape the danger of disturbing the connexion between the two countries. The weight of presumption would be against any ministry, which, for the maintenance of such a system, would displace that now in office. Historical recollections, and, with more reason, the events of the last nine years, would predispose Ireland against it; and, if thus prepossessed, she detected in it the least symptom of an inclination, to pause or even loiter in the march of improvement, still more to countenance or employ any party, above all that which is anti-national, her course would, at once, be taken. Her whole people, disappointed but not discouraged, would, probably then, embrace with hope, as many of them, even now, regard with complacency, another plan for national regeneration and safety. There would be little risk in affirming, that, in such an event, it would be likely to succeed; while despondency, under all the actual circumstances of the two countries, would be even more accountable, than disgraceful. These, however, are subjects of reflection, which exist, as yet, only in speculation, and are, still, providentially without the pressure of necessity, to urge them into universal notice and favour. Surely every friend of peace will lend his aid, that they may always continue so! and that the disappointment of other and less far-fetched hopes, may never force them upon the Irish nation, as essential to its safety and welfare!

...of the Orange colour, would make it impossible
to have peace in Ireland; and, even if it did
not, it would still stand in the way
of any good measure as proposed, to enable it to
escape the danger of disturbing the connection between the
two countries. The weight of presumption would be
against it, which, for the maintenance of any
system, and distance that now in office. History
teaches us, with more reason, the events of the
last two years would probably stand against it, and
it is not proposed to be done in the least
of an intention to give or even to let in the way
of improvement, but to be a continuance of empty
party, above all that which is anti-national, but course
would, at once, be taken. The whole people, dis-
appointed but not discouraged, would, probably, then, con-
tinue with hope, as many, even now, regard with
confidence, another plan of national regeneration and
reform. There would be no more in it, than, in
such an event, it would be likely to succeed; while the
policy, under all the actual circumstances of the two
countries, would be even more successful, than the
present. There, however, we are in a position, which
is, as yet, only in speculation, and still, pro-
visionally, without the present of need, to give them
into universal notice and action. Surely every friend of
peace will find his aid, that they may also be
and that the disappointment of other and
hopes may never force them upon the Irish, as
essential to the safety and welfare of the whole
of the British Empire, and to the peace and
of the world.

Houses of the Oireachtas

NOTE B. Page 41.

No. 1.—Return of Ejectments brought in the superior courts, with the number of defendants served, from 1833 to 1838, both inclusive, in the following Counties :—

| Counties. | 1833. | | 1834. | | 1835. | | 1836. | | 1837. | | 1838. | | Total of Ejectments. | Total number served. | Population |
|----------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------|
| | Ejectments. | Number served. | Ejectments. | Persons served. | Ejectments. | Persons served. | Ejectments. | Persons served. | Ejectments. | Persons served. | Ejectments. | Persons served. | | | |
| Tipperary.... | 117 | 1338 | 195 | 1817 | 175 | 1958 | 205 | 2167 | 180 | 1543 | 138 | 1475 | 1010 | 10,298 | 402,563 |
| Carlow | 33 | 237 | 40 | 241 | 61 | 324 | 27 | 252 | 23 | 136 | 19 | 168 | 203 | 1,358 | 81,988 |
| Longford | 30 | 282 | 23 | 341 | 36 | 110 | 48 | 244 | 34 | 273 | 24 | 177 | 195 | 1,427 | 112,558 |
| Queen's Co.... | 45 | 494 | 37 | 527 | 32 | 363 | 42 | 443 | 53 | 371 | 33 | 242 | 242 | 2,440 | 145,515 |
| King's Co.... | 28 | 255 | 22 | 222 | 42 | 264 | 31 | 211 | 26 | 257 | 27 | 284 | 176 | 1,493 | 144,225 |
| Sligo | 33 | 575 | 36 | 596 | 34 | 316 | 43 | 266 | 32 | 340 | 33 | 448 | 211 | 2,361 | 171,765 |
| Westmeath.... | 42 | 214 | 37 | 303 | 47 | 578 | 44 | 398 | 38 | 219 | 31 | 287 | 239 | 1,999 | 136,872 |

N.B.—This return has been supplied by the kindness of a friend. It was, in part, cited by Lord Morpeth in the House of Commons, on Mr. Shaw's motion. The number of defendants served in each county, was not then, but has since been, ascertained, and, as the author has been assured, with the greatest accuracy.

NOTES.

NOTE A. *Page 38.*

The latest number of the *Dublin Review*, in an article entitled, "Comparative Statistics of Irish Crimes," gives a careful analysis of the Parliamentary Returns of crime in the two countries, in the years 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837. They fully sustain the conclusions in the text, as to the character of crimes in Ireland. An abstract is subjoined of the Returns for the year 1837.

| | Ireland. | England and Wales. |
|--|----------|--------------------|
| Total number of convictions | 9556 | 17,090 |
| Punished by imprisonment for six months and under | 6186 | 10,258 |
| By more than six months imprisonment | 3370 | 6,832 |
| Sentenced to death | 154 | 438 |
| To transportation for life | 266 | 636 |
| To transportation for seven years | 818 | 2,592 |
| Larceny, cases of | 2664 | 10,409 |
| House-breaking | 16 | 403 |
| Burglary | 62 | 232 |
| Manslaughter | 154 | 89 |
| Assaults | 2204 | 408 |

NOTE B. Page 41, continued.

No. 2.—Return made to the Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of the Poor in Ireland, by the Clerks of the Peace in the following Counties, of the number of Civil Bill Ejectments brought, and of Defendants against whom Decrees issued, from 1828 to 1833, both inclusive.

| Counties. | 1828. | | 1829. | | 1830. | | 1831. | | 1832. | | 1833. | | Total of Ejectments. | Total of Defendants. |
|----------------|-----------------------|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | Number of Ejectments. | Defendants against whom decrees issued. | Ejectments. | Defendants. | Ejectments. | Defendants. | Ejectments. | Defendants. | Ejectments. | Defendants. | Ejectments. | Defendants. | | |
| Mayo..... | 28 | 91 | 100 | 266 | 129 | 380 | 119 | 187 | 223 | 868 | 161 | 754 | 750 | 2,546 |
| Sligo..... | 68 | 135 | 83 | 154 | 112 | 195 | 80 | 160 | 56 | 108 | 72 | 144 | 471 | 896 |
| Carlow..... | 33 | 71 | 29 | 80 | 23 | 73 | 37 | 103 | 27 | 71 | 71 | 155 | 220 | 553 |
| Kilkenny..... | 148 | 498 | 128 | 359 | 157 | 504 | 75 | 194 | 60 | 165 | 75 | 209 | 643 | 1,929 |
| King's County. | 52 | 164 | 51 | 123 | 57 | 160 | 69 | 165 | 52 | 106 | 56 | 122 | 337 | 840 |
| Longford..... | 12 | 31 | 13 | 30 | 38 | 108 | 37 | 108 | 29 | 91 | 37 | 101 | 166 | 469 |
| Louth..... | 63 | 116 | 51 | 139 | 31 | 62 | 39 | 68 | 46 | 87 | 20 | 52 | 250 | 624 |
| Meath..... | 127 | 312 | 107 | 234 | 59 | 156 | 50 | 114 | 50 | 150 | 68 | 176 | 461 | 1,142 |
| Queen's Co.... | 82 | 230 | 100 | 204 | 97 | 257 | 71 | 208 | 62 | 194 | 85 | 255 | 497 | 1,348 |
| Clare..... | 124 | 209 | 121 | 275 | 115 | 230 | 76 | 198 | 90 | 217 | 129 | 395 | 655 | 1,604 |
| Cork..... | 283 | 450 | 210 | 351 | 158 | 243 | 248 | 356 | 115 | 125 | 203 | 219 | 1,217 | 1,744 |
| Cavan..... | 156 | 589 | 212 | 553 | 191 | 496 | 213 | 634 | 171 | 627 | 177 | 459 | 1,120 | 3,328 |
| Donegal..... | 97 | 269 | 118 | 362 | 141 | 426 | 132 | 359 | 129 | 309 | 53 | 163 | 670 | 1,888 |
| Down.. .. | 186 | 243 | 138 | 274 | 149 | 328 | 123 | 231 | 177 | 406 | 151 | 344 | 924 | 1,826 |
| Fermanagh.... | 78 | 168 | 62 | 145 | 90 | 208 | 86 | 305 | 81 | 209 | 79 | 189 | 476 | 1,224 |
| Londonderry... | 126 | 267 | 108 | 231 | 146 | 392 | 198 | 433 | 254 | 579 | 136 | 358 | 968 | 2,260 |

NOTE C. Page 49.

No. 1.—*Summary of Mr. Carlile's amended Return of the number of Children, distinguishing Protestants from Catholics, in attendance on the National Schools, in 1837.*—Minutes of Evidence before Lords' Committee, Appendix, No. 5.

N.B.—The numbers in this amended return are somewhat less than in the return given in to the Commons' Committee, and cited in the text.

| | Protestant. | Roman Catholic. |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Ulster | 14,628 | 22,455 |
| Munster | 150 | 19,009 |
| Leinster | 578 | 34,945 |
| Connaught | 277 | 14,186 |
| Total..... | 15,633 | 90,595 |

N.B.—By the fifth Report of the Commissioners of National Education, published within the present month, the number of Children attending their Schools, is stated to be 169,548, an increase of greatly more than one-half on the above return.

No. 2.—Abstract of the return of the number of Children attending Scriptural Schools, not in connexion with the Education Board, in the year 1836, as furnished to the Lords' Committee by the Rev. George Dwyer.—Minutes of Evidence, p. 1234.

| 1st. Return of the number of Scholars in attendance at the Schools of the following Societies, giving combined instruction to Protestants and Catholics, and distinguishing each. | Protestant. | Catholic. | Total. |
|---|-------------|-----------|---------|
| *London Hibernian..... | 48,160 | 29,602 | 77,762 |
| Board of Erasmus Smith.... | 6,494 | 3,188 | 9,682 |
| Incorporated Society..... | 165 | 60 | 225 |
| Society for Discountenancing Vice..... | 10,014 | 3,772 | 13,786 |
| 2nd. Return of the number of Scholars in attendance at the Schools of the following Societies, giving combined instruction to Catholics and Protestants, but not distinguishing the number of each. | | | |
| *London Hibernian Society..... | | | 37,561 |
| Sunday School Society..... | | | 218,976 |
| Kildare-place Society..... | | | 84,500 |
| 3rd. Total of the number of Children at the Schools of the above-named Societies, which are not connected with the National Board ... | | | 442,492 |

* Thus repeated in the original return.