

THE
Union Programme
FOR
1880.

CONSTRUCTIVE,
NOT DESTRUCTIVE,
IRISH LEGISLATION.

NON, Divide et Impera; SED,
Unito et Imperabis.

Houses of the Oireachtas

NON, Divide et Impera; SED,
Unito et Imperabis.

THE IRISH PROGRAMME
FOR THE COMING SESSION.

NOT DESTRUCTIVE, BUT
CONSTRUCTIVE LEGISLATION,
FOR
THE UNION AND THE EMPIRE.

Creant Solitudinem; Vocant Pacem.

At Tu! Provincia, Ploras.

THESE Suggestions have been more or less ventilated for the last few weeks ; but their publication has been, half-designedly, deferred until after the Opening of Parliament. The Reticence, or meagreness, of the Queen's Speech at least leaves Room for considering any rational proposals ; possibly, was so intended. What, then, have Irishmen to say for themselves, and for their country ? What Real Remedy, that is, as distinguished from Criticism and Complaint ?

Well, here is One Chapter of the Old, Old Story ; and set, it is believed, to the Music of the Times. Let those Hear, we pray, who have the power to Help.

They are not a Levelling Policy ; but are intended for a Growing one. We don't believe in "levels." Strictly speaking, there is not, so far as we know, one single level in all creation. But All Creation Grows, and is "being-Caused-to-Grow"—this is its Nature and Definition—Physically, Psychically, Spiritually ; till it finds Jacob's Ladder, and climbs up the Invisible.

Common Levels, however, as men call them, are extremely useful :—(1) as Foundation, or bases, whereon to plant or build ; and (2) as Steps or Stages, whereby to climb, construct, develop, and display. Levelling-down is, sometimes, needful for the first ; and levelling-up is, generally, as useful for the second. But the value of both is Temporary ; and is measured by that Utility. We have had enough of some of them in Ireland ; let us now Use them, or try to use them, for Better Things.

SKETCH OF A BILL [No. 1]

*For Preparing Local and Provincial Measures for the
Imperial Parliament.*

Whereas the Growth of the Empire, and the diversity and complication of its interests, impose on Parliament an increasing Difficulty in dealing with its Details; especially in distant, local, and provincial matters; and it is alike inconvenient for those interested in such Wants, to attend in London in furtherance of their Proposals; and it is expedient that, if possible, these difficulties be relieved:

THEREFORE it is enacted that, One Month before the Termination of each Session, PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONS shall be constituted—consisting, for Ireland, of 15 Irish, 10 English, and 5 Scottish Members of either House of Parliament; for Scotland, of 6 Scottish, 4 English, and 2 Irish Members; and for England, of 10 English, 5 Irish, 3 Scottish, and 2 Welsh—to examine into and Prepare such Proposed Measures for the House.

And that said Commissions shall continue their labours during each Parliamentary Recess:—Dividing themselves into as many Sub-Committees as they find convenient; holding Courts of Inquiry in different places; examining Witnesses; eliciting Local Information and Advice; and then discussing all the proposed Measures in Common; and finally embodying their Recommendations and Decisions in a Report to Parliament.

And the formal Recommendation of such Report shall relieve any Proposal from farther preliminary Expenses, or Parliamentary Delay; and be equivalent to a First Reading in either House of Parliament.

SKETCH OF A BILL [No. 2]

*For Providing Irish Volunteers, Irish Guards, and Royal
Residence in Ireland.*

1. **Whereas** it is expedient to assimilate the Condition and harmonize the Sentiments of Her Majesty's English, Irish, and Scottish Subjects; to equalize their Rights and Duties; and to assign to All their just Share in the Honor and Protection of the Empire.

2. It is THEREFORE enacted that there shall be now embodied—

A. An IRISH VOLUNTEER Force, parallel with that of the Sister Kingdoms ; consisting of—

a. Cavalry—in Four Regiments ; One raised in, and named after, each of the Four Provinces in Ireland ; each County supplying one or more Troops or Squadrons to the Regiment of its Province ; and each Regiment being accompanied by at least one Battery of Flying Artillery, and one Company of Transport Corps.

b. Grenadiers and Riflemen—Eight Regiments ; One of each Force for each Province ; with First, Second, or Third Battalions, as may be found convenient.

c. Engineers — and
d. Naval and Coast } One Regiment of each Force ; with Double or
Artillery— } Treble Companies from each Province. And

B. Four permanent Regiments of IRISH GUARDS ; One for each Province ; Two of Cavalry and Two of Grenadiers ; to be permanently recruited from said Volunteer Force.

[Or Six.—(1) The Faugh-a-Ballaughs, or Duke of Connaught's Own Hussars ; (2) The Leinster Dragoons, or Tara Lancers ; (3) and (4) The Tyrone and Tipperary Grenadiers ; (5) and (6) The Limerick and Derry Riflemen.]

3. And Whereas such Volunteer Service would be Expensive ; and the care of Horses, Boats, Forts, Complicated Implements, and Arms of Precision, would entail more training and attention than could justly be expected from any large number of Volunteers :—it is Therefore enacted that each Member of said Force who is wealthy, and who may decline pay or allowances for himself, shall be entitled to introduce into the Force, and into his own Regiment and Company, one or more of his friends, neighbours, or dependents, who shall receive such Pay and Allowances as to the Commander-in-Chief and Queen in Council may seem expedient :—such Pay, however, not being issued at short periods, but laid up in the Regimental Savings Bank, and drawn yearly, or at longer intervals, at the Colonel's discretion.

4. And Whereas it is time that Party Feuds in Ireland should cease to agitate : it is Therefore enacted that an essential and prominent portion of the Facings and Insignia of said Irish Volunteers and Guards, and of every Regiment of the same, shall be of ORANGE AND GREEN INTERTWINED ; and that the Pennon or Standard of the Force shall be a [light orange, or] Golden Harp on a Sea-Green Ground ; the Harp supporting a Crown, surmounted by St. Patrick's Cross ; its Band wreathed with Shamrocks, encircling, in front, a single Thistle and single Rose, with their Stems Intertwined ; the Motto of both Pennon and Force being—UNITO ET IMPERABIS ; and all the said Insignia being combined, for the Irish Guards, with those of the Royal Standard.

5. And it is farther enacted that Killiney Demesne and Hill shall be purchased for a Royal Residence; and that a Royal, but Private, Harbour shall be constructed there; which shall be also the Central Rendezvous and Depot of the Fourth Division of Irish Volunteers—the Naval and Coast Force.

These two little measures were suggested in the Spring of 1878, at the crisis of the Eastern complications, when the Cabinet was extremely busy, but the Parliament was not so. And both proposals have made some progress since.

The first is obviously intended not only to relieve the Business of the House, but to remove or mitigate the very real, and very often very aggravating, WANT, which underlies all Repeal or Home Rule Agitations. Those classes and districts which have *either* failed or succeeded in obtaining from Parliament, Relief for most serious and acknowledged Grievance, will at least wish well to the proposal; and only those will dislike it who trade on our misfortunes, and on the mutual ignorances, prejudices, and credulities of these Semi-United Kingdoms. Alike the Government, the Parliament, the Press, and the Public, require an honest and rather searching Scrutiny, by a Capable Tribunal, both of those Proposals which are, and those which are not, brought before them.

The Volunteer proposal is on the whole an Education Measure:—

a. In Loyalty, Mutual Respect and Self-Respect: and those who can observe [vide “the Times” Letters] the effect produced at once on the distrust, divisions, discontent, and almost disaffection, of even the Upper *Indian* Mind; by the simple procedure of summoning a few Indian Regiments to the Front—to face, in Europe or anywhere, the enemies of their Empress and their Home—will easily understand what *we* think, and what we feel, on such subjects as the Irish Volunteers. No Wise Statesman, no Good Man, will disregard such sentiments.

b. In Habits of Order and Self-Command; and, higher up, in giving a Practical-Scientific turn to our Upper Education. It would be eminently a *Scientific* Force, and a Nursery of instructed Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers for the Empire; not only in its Engineering, Artillery, and Coast Force—the nucleus of which would be our University Engineering Schools and Boat and Yacht Clubs; but also in the Depots, at least, of *all* the Regiments—which should be associated with the Branch Colleges of The Medical Institute, and combined with Forges and Workshops of those Necessaries which are alike the *Materiel* of War and Peace. This would be Expensive! Yes, but if fairly managed, would largely repay its cost. Good and Needful Things are cheap, and bad and unnecessary things are dear, at almost any price. Every shilling of such outlay should, in Ireland, be rapidly reproductive.

They are now combined with *three* other Proposals, long thought over, and long urged—a Road and Railroad, and some Education, Measures—alike needful, and, it is believed, alike certain to be efficient, in developing the two Staple Industries of Ireland—Agriculture and Education. We are not a nation of large or of small Shopkeepers; we have not the Means for either. Nor can we supply much Coal, or Steel, or Cotton Cloth; but we can supply Men and Women—softly and simply nourished, kindly, cheerful, teachable; with every willingness for *any* work, and some aptitudes for Higher. This is what God intended us to send out upon the World; and here, as elsewhere, *Natura non, nisi parendo, Vincitur.*

Not “Ireland for the Irish;” but THE WORLD for the Irish: if we learn to know, and do, our Duty there.

As before, 20 copies of *all* these Suggestions are sent to the Government; six each, to Lord Hartington, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Plunket, and Mr. Shaw; one each, to every Irish Member, and to a very few others.

Providence almost obliges this to be made “an Irish Session.” The Empire is relieved abroad; it is depressed at home; distressed in Ireland. Here we have reached a serious crisis; perhaps, as *we* always hope, a turning point. Happily, the misleading bubbles have collapsed; and all are willing to consider and accept whatever promises to do good. An Experienced Parliament, then, and a Strong Government *have* the opportunity that has been often longed for:—Are they Adequate to it? Let us Hope again.

As one contribution, these old suggestions, modified to fit the time, are again earnestly commended. They amount to Material Roads and Railroads for our Material Resources; Higher roads and railroads to develop and utilize our Higher. Are these not needful? Without them, What Else *can*, naturally, come? But these are large Machineries; and must be wisely planned, and carefully applied. How often have we seen a Noble Engine, with a Noble Freight, thrown off the rails and worse than lost—by only one wrong pull of the Pointsman!

Over Good and Great Occasions, social and national, undiscerned and lost, CHRIST Himself wept once: and, no doubt, HE does so still.

HOMO SUM: ECCE: FLENS FILIUS, CETERIS IMPERATURUS.

Thy Kingdom Come!

SKETCH OF A BILL [No. 3]

For the Purchase and Consolidation of Irish Railways, and for improving the Communications of the Country generally.

1. **Whereas** the Material Resources of Ireland are mainly Agricultural; and Whereas many causes—such as the Action of Free Trade, a succession of Scanty Harvests, and the continued Failure of the Potato Crop—have seriously depressed those interests, especially in the remoter and poorer districts, and rendered necessary some Relief and Assistance :

2. And **WHEREAS** the chief Want of Agriculture, and first Condition of its Prosperity, is Easy Communication with the Centres of Consumption—Good Roads and Railroads, whereby its varied and bulky Produce can be *freshly* and *cheaply* brought to Market, and advantageously exchanged—And Whereas the Irish Roads and Railroads are seriously deficient, and their working and improvement are as seriously impeded by jealousies, prejudices, and mistakes :

3. **THEREFORE** it is enacted that, with the sanction of Parliament and the powers thereby conferred, Her Majesty's Government shall at once purchase the existing Irish Railways, with a view to their Consolidation and Improvement; and shall appoint a Staff of Officers and Board of Management to take charge thereof. And the details of such Purchase and Appointment shall be as stated in Schedule A.

4. And it is further enacted that—at least for the first 20 years—the *principle* of such Management shall be, That Government shall be contented with a clear profit of *three per cent.* on its Expenditure; and shall devote all further profits of its working to the Improvement of the System and the Development of its traffic and transport facilities.

5. And that, in addition to such Railway Staff and Board of Management, a **HIGHER BOARD** shall at once be instituted, to oversee and care the Communications of the Country generally; and in particular (a) To consider all proposed Extensions or Alterations of its Railways, Tramways, Canals, and Telegraphs; (b) To examine the Common Roads of the Country, made and unmade, and, in combination with the local Authorities, see to their completion; and, especially, (c) To give attention to the Remoter and Poorer Districts, and take care that they are properly connected with the Central Markets, Harbours, and Coast-lines; and in all these and such like respects, to give what advice and assistance may be in their power; as further directed under Schedule B.

6. And both the Railway Board and said Upper Board shall annually Report their Proceedings to Her Majesty's Government, and to both Houses of Parliament.

A SUGGESTION FOR SCHEDULE A.

Particular attention shall be paid to the development of Parcel Traffic, with as simple arrangements and as cheap rates as possible—*e.g.*, to begin with—

- a. Several Receiving Offices to be open in all large towns, and one at every Railway Station, or Post Office.
- b. Ordinary or Dry Parcels, such as Books, Seeds, Clothes, Groceries, to be sent by Passenger Trains, at the following prices :—

Weight. lbs.	Distance 10 Miles.	Distance 30 Miles.	Distance 60 Miles.	Distance 100 Miles.	Over 100 Miles.
Up to 1	1d	1d	1½d	1½d	2d
„ 5	1	1½	2	2½	3
„ 10	1½	2	2½	3	3½
„ 20	2	2½	3	3½	4

Heavier Parcels by Goods Trains at Goods Prices.

- c. Prepaid Parcels to be delivered within a radius of half a-mile round each Receiving Office at ½d, and of a mile at 1d, for each 5 lbs.
- d. The safe carriage and delivery of each Parcel may be insured at the Receiving Offices, at a very moderate premium.
- e. To each Parcel shall be affixed a ticket or label stating its number, date, weight, and carriage and insurance cost, and a counterpart of said ticket delivered to the sender, who may attach it to, and send it with, a common Postage Card.
- f. The sender of any Parcel may, at the same time, send a telegram respecting it, at half the usual rates.
- g. Fresh Fishery and Agricultural Produce, such as Fresh Sea or River Fish or Shell Fish, or Fresh Butter, Milk, Eggs, Vegetables, Fruit, Poultry, Meat, or Bread, if packed in proper boxes, tins, or baskets, shall be sent by the Express or Quick Trains, and at the lowest possible cost.

SUGGESTIONS FOR SCHEDULE B.

For instance, The Certified Approval of this Higher Board might relieve any Proposal from Parliamentary Delay, and Preliminary and Promotion Expenses :—a very serious matter in Ireland.

Again, Its Recommendation might be a Guide to Grand Juries, and a Direction to the Board of Works.

The Board might consist of Three Paid, and Six Unpaid, Members ; two-thirds to be a quorum.

SKETCH OF A BILL [No. 4]

*For remedying certain inequalities arising from the Irish Church Acts,
and for promoting Educational Interests in Ireland.*

A

MINOR INCUMBENTS AND CURATES ASSISTANT.

1. **Whereas** the Irish People desire and require Religious and Moral as well as Material Education and Improvement; and it is expedient to further such aims; and it was no part of the intention of Recent Legislative Acts to impede or injure them, but only to remove a Great Unfairness which did impede them:

2. And **WHEREAS** a Surplus Fund will accrue, after satisfying the personal interests provided for by said Acts; a portion of which has already been applied to Educational purposes, and it is expedient to go further in the same direction. But **Whereas** certain unfairnesses and severities have arisen in the application of said Acts—and especially in neglecting the professional *prospects* of the Minor Clergy—and it is expedient that these should first be rectified:

3. **THEREFORE** it is enacted that, as some compensation for the injury thus inflicted, the incomes of all Curates or Incumbents of the Irish Church who were, at the time of the passing of said Act, or who are now, engaged [at least in country places] either in Education or the Cure of Souls, shall be increased, out of said Surplus Fund, in the following proportions—that is to say, all such incomes under and up to £100 a year to be increased £100 per cent.; all from £100 to £200 a year to be increased by 60 per cent.; and all from £200 to £300 a year by 30 per cent., per annum.

4. But all Recipients of such incomes who have ceased, or shall cease, to reside in Ireland, or who, residing in Ireland, and not being incapacitated by age or infirmity, shall cease to be engaged either in Education or the Cure of Soul, shall therefrom and thereby have forfeited such increase.

B

THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

5. And **Whereas** it was never the intention of the Legislature to disestablish or disendow Trinity College or the University of Dublin, but on the contrary to enlarge and invigorate them; and a further Act was passed to that effect. And **Whereas** Trinity College and the University of Dublin have responded to these Acts by throwing open all their Endowments, Prizes, Advantages, and positions of Emolument and Trust, to all Subjects of Her Majesty without distinction,

6. And Whereas such intentions of the Legislature and the University are seriously thwarted, and their action impeded and deranged, by an injury inflicted on Trinity College, through the Church Act aforesaid, in the destruction of its Collegiate Patronage; whereby not only the prestige and value of its Fellowships are lowered, but also the Number of Elections to Fellowships—a much more important thing, as this is the chief Wheel in its Educational Machinery—is seriously decreased.

7. And Whereas it is expedient that such, its Machinery, should be repaired and energised, and its Results made more immediately available to the public; and that therefore said Collegiate Patronage, so far as it tends directly to promote these ends, should be restored.

8. THEREFORE it is enacted that the Commuted Incomes of the *twenty-one* Livings, hitherto belonging to and vested in the Corporation of Trinity College, shall *not* be Capitalised; or withdrawn into any Advowson Fund or other Compensation Scheme; but shall pass directly from the funds of the Church Temporalities Commission into the College Chest; and shall henceforth be expended as follows—that is to say, The Irish Church having now done its best to rearrange its Temporalities, and re-endow its Parishes, let a sufficient number of the best endowed and most important of these Parishes be selected by the Church Representative Body, in places remote from Dublin or from any city now possessing University or Cathedral advantages—such as those held by the College in Sligo, Enniskillen, or Omagh—and let the Funds aforesaid be expended in *doubling the incomes* of these so selected Parishes, in return for their Patronage and Advowson. Which Patronage shall then again vest in the Corporation of Trinity College, and be exercised by its Provost and Senior Fellows as aforesaid.

9. And WHEREAS the very Liberality of the University in throwing open all its prizes and positions to public competition, irrespective of Religious Denomination, might and must seriously interfere with the said intentions of the Legislature and University in this respect—and with the welfare and efficiency of the College, and this proposed renovation of its Machinery—by diminishing the number of Fellows properly qualified for, or desirous of, such Preferments; and Whereas it is also, for many and grave reasons, expedient that, if not the number of Fellows absolutely, yet the number of Elections to Fellowship should be much increased; and that an Annual Fellowship Examination should be always held, and never intermitted, at each of which one or more Fellows shall be always duly elected.

10. THEREFORE it is enacted that, on and after the year of our Lord 1882, there shall always be held such Annual Examination—whether or not there be any vacancy existing in the body of Fellows from natural causes, as death or resignation,—and that, through and upon such Examination, there shall always be elected, in addition to any Fellows who may be required to fill up such natural vacancies, ONE NEW FELLOW; on the same conditions as the other Fellows, and holding precisely the same position and privileges, with the exception of these two: (1.) He shall not be a Tutor, unless and

until co-opted as such by the Body of Tutors as next prescribed; and (2) he shall hold his Fellowship *for TEN years only*; but with this further condition that, according as vacancies do occur in the body of Life Fellows, those Decennial Fellows whose term of Fellowship has not expired shall succeed to such vacancies; and shall be co-opted, each in his order of collegiate standing, without any further examination or conditions whatsoever, into the body of Life Fellows and Tutors, and shall fully share and enjoy all their privileges and position.

11. And such Decennial Fellows shall receive each a salary of £100 a year, in addition to the salaries of such Collegiate Offices, and the Fees for such Collegiate Services, as they may be called on to discharge. And the funds for such payment of £100 a year to each shall be supplied—*one-half* from the College Chest, and *one-half* from the Church Surplus Fund.

12. And WHEREAS it is expedient that other industrious and distinguished Students of the University, especially if in narrow circumstances, should, after Graduation, receive some Collegiate Help in making their way into the Professions or other occupations open to them:—it is THEREFORE enacted that, after the year 1879, no more University Studentships shall be filled up; but that, in lieu thereof, and in enlargement of their idea and intent, the following DEGREE SCHOLARSHIPS be instituted, commencing in 1880—

Ten Scholarships yearly of £50 a year each, tenable for *five* years; and
Ten Scholarships yearly of £30 a year each, tenable for *three* years.

To be awarded by the Board of Trinity College and the University Council to the most deserving students who have taken their degree in each year, under such regulations as shall from time to time to the Board and Council seem desirable. The funds to be supplied—*one-third* from the College Chest, and *two-thirds* from the Church Surplus Fund.

13. And WHEREAS it is expedient that the General Education of the country should be in closer connection with the Universities, and directed and encouraged thereby, chiefly in the way of Entrance Scholarships or Exhibitions, and especially for those who are engaged in Education—

14. It is THEREFORE enacted, that in addition to all Sizarships, Scholarships, and Exhibitions, now existing, or which may hereafter be created in Trinity College by private or public benevolence, there shall now be instituted the following MATRICULATION SCHOLARSHIPS and EXHIBITIONS—

Ten Scholarships yearly of £40 a year each, tenable for *four* years;
Ten Exhibitions yearly of £30 a year each, tenable for *three* years; and
Twenty Exhibitions yearly of £20 a year each, tenable for *two* years.

To be awarded to the most deserving students, *male or female*, who have Matriculated in each year, as tested by the Entrance Examinations; under such regulations as to the Board of College and the University Council

may now, or from time to time, appear desirable; but in the spirit of the following principles—that is to say,

- a. All students to be admitted to compete, and to obtain the “honor” of Election to such Scholarship or Exhibition, and to receive a Certificate accordingly; but no Fellow-Commoner or Wealthy Student shall be actually elected, or shall enjoy its emoluments; nor shall such *prima facie* Election and Certificate displace any poorer student from final Election to and enjoyment thereof, but shall be deemed “honorary” only.
- b. A respectable pass mark in Classics being always deemed indispensable, a considerable range of other subjects, such as Mathematics, Natural Science, and Modern Languages, and, possibly, in some of the Finer Arts, such as Drawing, Music, Architecture, should be allowable and encouraged.
- c. Those students who are *bona fide* employed in Education, either privately or in public schools, and especially in National Schools or other Schools for the Poor, should be allowed a serious advantage over other students not so employed, as by a considerable percentage being added to their examination marks; under such regulations, to be published from time to time, as to the Collegiate Authorities, after consultation with the Boards of Intermediate and National Education, may seem advisable.

15. And the funds for the payment of such Matriculation Scholarships and Exhibitions shall be supplied—*one-fourth* out of the College Chest, and *three-fourths*, together with any other necessary expenses of their institution, out of the Church Surplus Fund.

C

NATIONAL AND INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION SYSTEMS.

16. And **Whereas** it is expedient that the Schools of the Irish National Education System should be *graduated* into Primary and Secondary; and that the Secondary Schools should admit and contain an Intermediate Element, or the Rudiments of Upper Education, to be gradually imparted; and it is expedient that, for this and other purposes, the Administrative Department of that system should be invigorated, and more closely connected with the Legislative Functions of the Board.

17. It is THEREFORE enacted that such Graduation of the Schools and Introduction of an Intermediate Element shall be made with all convenient despatch and care; and that Two Paid Commissioners shall be added to the Board, as Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the several Committees into which the Board may see fit to divide its Legislative Functions; and also as, along with the present Resident Commissioner, permanent Heads of the Working or Executive Departments, to assist in carrying out such changes, and in the working of the System generally.

18. And for similar reasons it is expedient and is enacted that One Paid Commissioner be added to the Board of Intermediate Education.

D [DEVELOPED IN BILL No. 5.]

MEDICAL EDUCATION, AND THE OTHER UNIVERSITIES IN IRELAND.

19. And **Whereas** it is desirable that the various Medical Schools of Dublin and of Ireland should be harmoniously co-ordinated, and greater Tutorial and other Educational advantages secured to their Students; and also that the different Medical Degrees and Qualifications of Practitioners should be rendered more distinct, authoritative, and intelligible to the public; and that in other ways Medical Education be improved and raised, and the Profession regulated, especially in their connexion with the Universities—

20. It is **THEREFORE** enacted that a **COMMISSION OF INQUIRY** shall issue, which shall **Examine** into all these and kindred matters, and **Report** thereon to Her Majesty's Government, and to both Houses of Parliament.

21. And the same Commission shall also **inquire** how far the different Universities themselves might with advantage be co-ordinated, and placed in closer connexion with the other Educational Institutions of the Kingdom, and shall **Report** accordingly.

E

THE DIVINITY SCHOOL.

22. And **Whereas** by the Act aforesaid not only was the Irish Church Disestablished, but their Minor Endowments were withdrawn from other Denominations also; yet so as to leave some provision for their Divinity Schools, while no such provision was made for the future Education of the Disestablished Clergy.

23. And **WHEREAS** the University of Dublin, through its Theological Faculty and Divinity School, has hitherto discharged this function for the Irish Church; and It and its Divinity School are still willing to discharge it, provided their efficiency and independence are duly guaranteed.

24. It is **THEREFORE** enacted, that the Regius Professor of Divinity, and the other University Professors and Assistants, may and shall continue to do the work of the Divinity School, as heretofore; at the discretion and under the control of the Board of College and the University Council; in the interests of Virtue and Religion.

25. And that the Appointment of said Professors and Assistants shall continue in the Board and Council as heretofore:—with this farther proviso, that is to say, As soon as, and from the time that, *either* a numerical Majority of the Junior Fellows, or a numerical *one-third* of the Senior Fellows, have ceased to be professed members of the Irish Church, a **VETO** on (1) the appointment of all Professors or Assistants engaged, or to be engaged, in said work of the Divinity School; and (2) on any **Fundamental or Constitutional**

Changes in the School itself; shall revert to, and vest in, the Representative Body of the Irish Church; and may be exercised, at the instance and request of that Body, by *either* the Primate of all Ireland, the Archbishop of Dublin, or any Visitor of the University.

26. And it is further enacted that the whole of the present salary of the Regius Professor of Divinity, and also the Original or Statutable part or parts of the salary of Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity, and of all other Professors and Assistants so engaged in the work of the Divinity School, shall continue to be paid out of the College Chest, as heretofore; *but* that the portion of the present salary of Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity which is now paid out of *Decrements*, together with all recent additions to the salaries of the other said Professors and Assistants, shall revert to the College Chest, to be used for the General Purposes of the University; and that, in lieu thereof, and in order to promote the greater efficiency of the School, and the larger and better Education of those attending it, the following salaries be paid out of the Church Surplus Fund; that is to say—

- (a) To Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity, £900 a-year.
- (b) To Ten Assistant Lecturers in Divinity, whether they be Fellows or not, £100 a-year each.
- (c) To the best-learned and most deserving Students of each year, the following Scholarships and Exhibitions:—

To the Senior Class,—*one* Scholarship of £50 a-year, *one* of £40, and *three* of £30 a-year each, all tenable for *three* years.

To the Junior Class,—*two* Exhibitions of £40 a-year each, *two* of £30 each, and *six* of £20 each, all tenable for *four* years; which may be held simultaneously with the Scholarships of the upper year, provided that, in each case, the Examiners of *both* years concur in a recommendation to that effect.

27. And be it enacted that the following additional Professorships, with salaries of £200 a-year each, paid out of the Church Surplus, be instituted in the University, and in special connexion with its Divinity School:—

- (1) A Professor of Other Oriental Languages and Literature, and with a special present reference to their Transliteration;—“other,” that is, than Hebrew, Arabic, and Sanskrit, already existing.
- (2) A Professor of the General History of Religion—that is, of the origin, growth, and influences of other Religious Systems, besides those contemplated by the existing “Professorship of Ecclesiastical History.”
- (3) A Professor of Missionary Work and History, especially since the Reformation; and
- (4) A Professor of Pastoral Theology, especially in reference to Lay Co-operation and Co-ordination.

These, as all other Professors, being appointed by the Board and Council; and the Prelections of them all, like those of the other University Professors, and, so far as consists with Collegiate Discipline, their Lectures also, being open, not only to all Students of the University, but to the General Public.

28. And that Prizes, up to, but not exceeding, £50 in each subject, obtainable by any Matriculated Student, may be awarded yearly; upon Examinations before a Court, consisting of (1) The Professor, in his own Subject, (2) the Regius Professor of Divinity, and (3) the Senior Lecturer for the year; either or both of which last named Officers may, however, at his own discretion, appoint a Deputy, from among the Fellows or other Members of the University; on whom shall then devolve, for that occasion, the whole duties and responsibilities of his Nominator. Said Prizes to be paid out of the Church Fund; but the usual Examiners' Fees, and all other Expenses of the Examinations, being defrayed out of the College Chest.

29. And WHEREAS the chief and most influential Prizes of any University School are not those immediately obtainable within the School itself, but those Professional Distinctions to which it naturally leads; and Whereas the same destruction of Patronage, which deadens and deranges the Central Machinery of the University, also inflicts special injury on the Divinity School; and militates against the just and careful Education of the Clergy; to the detriment of the Community at large:—which injuries it is expedient to prevent or remove.

30. THEREFORE it is enacted further, that the Commuted Incomes of the *twelve* additional Livings, assigned to Trinity College by the Act of 1836, shall also *not* be Capitalized; but shall pass directly from the funds of the Church Temporalities Commissioners into the College Chest, under the joint Trusteeship of the Board of College and the Church Representative Body; and shall be expended in doubling the incomes of a *second series* of Livings, selected in like manner by the Church Representative Body, in concert with the Parishes themselves, and in like return for their Advowson or Right of Patronage.

31. Which Right of Patronage shall be exercised, as occasion arises, in the following manner—that is to say, Immediately on the occurrence of a vacancy in any such Parish, its Churchwardens shall notify the same to the Bishop of the Diocese, and also to the Registrar of Trinity College, who shall signify the same to the Board. Then, within three calendar months of the reception of such notice, the Provost and Senior Fellows shall offer the said Benefice, in succession, to the Regius Professor of Divinity, to Archbishop King's Lecturer, and to all the other Professors and Assistants in the Divinity School who are in Holy Orders in the Irish Church, whether they be Fellows or not, and in their order of standing on the College Books; and should any of these accept the Benefice, shall nominate and appoint him in the usual manner. But should they all decline its acceptance, the Provost shall notify the same to the Regius Professor of Divinity, who shall at once take counsel with his fellow-professors and assistants, and

solicit their information and advice. And shall then, having fully informed himself, and within fourteen days of his having received the Provost's intimation, on his own mature and sole responsibility, nominate to the Benefice some former Distinguished Student of the Divinity School, and shall signify the same to the Provost and to his Nominee. Should this gentleman accept the Benefice, the Provost and Senior Fellows shall appoint him in the usual manner. But should he also decline its acceptance, or should, from any cause, accidental or otherwise, the whole period of Four Calendar Months elapse, from the time of the Notification to the Registrar aforesaid, before such appointment has taken place, then, and for that occasion, the right of Presentation shall lapse from the College and revert to the Bishop of the Diocese, as directed by the Act aforesaid.

32. And be it further enacted that no two College Livings, either of the first or of the second series, shall be held by any one person simultaneously; nor shall any one of them be held concurrently with any other Collegiate Office, Appointment, or Preferment whatever, except after, and in accordance with, a formal deliberation of the Board of Trinity College, and their express decision, recorded in their Books.

"MINOR INCUMBENTS.

"1. The Church Commissioners, when estimating the incomes of the Clergy, made a serious mistake by omitting their professional *prospects*.

"2. This may have made little difference to such as had reached the Upper Grades of the Profession; but it is, manifestly, a huge unfairness to the Junior Grades—such as the Curates and small Incumbents: to say nothing of Divinity Students—for, in point of fact, it was by these prospects that, like the junior members of any other great Established Service, they were mainly paid;—as is a well-known truism in Social Economics.

"3. Suppose, for example, any other great Profession or "interest" were Disestablished to-morrow, whether Legal, Military, Medical, Manufacturing, Commercial, or Educational—would the remuneration of the junior members be justly measured by the actual average gains of, say, their first five or ten years of service?—The very supposition is absurd.

"4. And much more so, obviously, in the case of Clergymen—whose preliminary training is singularly difficult and expensive; and who, once entering the Profession, are virtually pledged to it for life.

"5. This Synod, therefore, respectfully calls on the Church Temporalities Commissioners and the Government to review and repair this mistake, and to restore, to those injured by it, fitting compensation.

"6. It also respectfully requests the Noblemen and Dignitaries of this Synod to constitute themselves a Committee and Deputation to press this matter on the Authorities."

[Brought before the Synod of Derry and Raphoe in 1879.]

SKETCH OF A BILL [No. 5]

For Completing the Irish Education Machinery, and Distributing the Remainder of the Church Surplus Fund.

A

THE NEW QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY.

1. **Whereas** the Resources of Ireland are mainly Agricultural; and **WHEREAS** such occupation, in a moist and variable climate, affords much Leisure for reflection and intellectual culture; and the Irish People have always utilized their opportunities in this respect, and been long and widely known as earnest Missionaries of Learning and Religion; and it is expedient that such aptitudes be farther utilized; and with this intent the Intermediate Education and other Acts have been lately passed, and portions of the Church Surplus Fund appropriated; and it is expedient that farther such Steps be taken and such Efforts harmonized:

2. **THEREFORE**, it is enacted that the **NEW QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY**, contemplated by the Act of last Session, shall now be constituted; and shall consist of Visitors, a Council, a Senate, and Affiliated Colleges, as described here and in the Schedules of this Act—that is to say,

- a. The **VISITORS** shall be (1) The Duke of Leinster, (2) a Chancellor, and (3) a Vice Chancellor, both appointed by the Queen in Council.
- b. The **COUNCIL** shall consist of (1) the President, or, in his absence, the Vice-President, (2) *one* Member elected by the Fellows, and (3) *one* Member elected by the other Registered Members, of *each* of the Affiliated Colleges.
- c. The **SENATE** shall consist of all the Registered Members of all said Colleges who have taken out the Degree of Master of Arts, or any Higher Degree.
- d. The **AFFILIATED COLLEGES** shall be (1) the *Three Queen's Colleges* of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, in this order; and (2) any other Colleges which may, now or at any time, in pursuance of this Act, be Instituted and Affiliated.

3. The said three Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway shall now be Re-instituted, and all other such Colleges shall be Instituted, on the Fellowship or Tutorial, as distinguished from the Professorial, System:—that is, the Professors in Arts shall not be limited, each to his own subject; but shall be able to Co-operate, and shall co operate and assist each other, in the *general Work* of the College, its Government, Instruction, Examinations, and Tutorial Discipline.

4. All the present Professors in Arts of said Colleges shall be, and are hereby, appointed Fellows of the same, and of the New Queen's University; but all subsequent Fellows shall be appointed by Examination. And each year, commencing with 1882, the Council of said University shall hold a Fellowship Examination; in such subjects, in such way, and with the aid of such Examiners, as may to the said Council, with the *unanimous* approbation of the Visitors, seem advisable; and through and upon such examination there shall always be elected at least One Fellow.

5. For the present, the number of Fellows in each College shall be—in Belfast and Cork, *Three* Senior and *Six* Junior Fellows each; and in Galway, *Two* Senior and *Four* Junior Fellows. But these numbers may be increased, in decennial periods, in the proportion of *one* Senior and *two* Junior Fellows for each increase of *thirty* students who have matriculated yearly, on an average, for the preceding decennial period, and of whom *five-sixths* have proceeded to a Degree in Arts:—such Fellows being all Fellows for life of their respective Colleges and of the New Queen's University; and the President and Vice-President of each being included as *ex-officio* Senior Fellows of the same. And when this maximum number has been filled up, all future Fellows shall be elected *for Ten years only*; but with the farther right of being co-opted, each in his order, without further examination or conditions, into the Body of Life Fellows, as vacancies occur.

6. The Senior Fellows of each College, together with the two Senior in standing of its Junior Fellows, shall constitute for each its COLLEGE BOARD; and shall regulate and appoint all matters relating to the Studies, Examinations, and Discipline of each, subject to the Control of the University Council. And the Boards and Council, with the approbation of the Visitors, shall digest such Regulations into COLLEGE STATUTES, to be submitted, for Her Sanction, to the Queen in Council.

7. But the Course in Arts in ALL the Colleges of the New Queen's University shall be PARALLEL with that in Trinity College, Dublin; that is, it shall be a Four Years' Course; with Three Terms in each year; an Examination in the subjects of each term; and the Subjects shall be of Equal Difficulty and Value with those in Trinity. And in All Irish Universities the Courses and Examinations for the *three* following Examinations—(1) for the A.B. Degree, (2) for the Half-Degree, or Little-Go, and (3) for Matriculation—and for Honors at *each* of the Three—shall be IDENTICAL. And to secure this Parallelism and Identity, an UPPER UNIVERSITY COUNCIL, consisting of Seven Members—namely, (1) The President of the Dublin University Council, (2) The President of the New Queen's University Council, (3) and (4) One other Member deputed by each Council, (5) The Senior Lecturer of Trinity College, Dublin, for the time being, (6) an Upper, and (7) and Under Minister of Education, to be appointed by the Crown—shall sit in Dublin, as often as they find it needful; shall consider and *advise* of said Parallelism; and shall absolutely appoint the Courses and Examiners for the said Three Identical Examinations.

8. And the said Upper and Under Ministers of Education shall, immediately on their appointment, be also additional and *ex-officio* Members of

- (a) Both University Councils aforesaid ;
- (b) The National and Intermediate Education Boards, and all other Government Boards of Education in Ireland ; and
- (c) The Educational Committee of the Privy Council.

9. Collegiate Residence is to be *encouraged* in all the Colleges, by the competing excellence of their Lectures, Instruction, and Tutorial Discipline, but must not be made Compulsory for a Degree in Arts : and any Student, Male or Female, may appear at Matriculation, Term, or Degree, Examinations, and may pass, or may obtain Honors, Exhibitions, or Scholarships, at the same, whether he or she have attended Lectures or not. But in any of the Special Schools or Faculties of Medicine, Engineering, Law, or Theology, attendance on Lectures may be required as the condition of any Diploma or Degree, at the discretion of the University Authorities.

10. The Salaries of the Present Officers of the Queen's Colleges shall continue as before, unless they shall severally accede to such New Arrangement as the College Boards and University Council may adopt. And in order to facilitate such Arrangement, each Junior Fellow thus acceding, and each Decennial Fellow, shall receive a salary of £100 a-year from the Church Surplus Fund ; all other Collegiate Moneys, from whatever source, flowing into the respective College Chests, and being thence distributed according to the Statutes.

11. And from the same Church Surplus Fund shall be paid the following Scholarships and Exhibitions :—

- One Scholarship yearly of £50 a year, tenable for *five* years ;
- One Exhibition yearly of £30 a year, tenable for *three* years,
For every 20 students who have Graduated in Arts ; and
- One Scholarship yearly of £40 a year, tenable for *four* years ;
- One Exhibition yearly of £30 a year, tenable for *three* years ;
- Two Exhibitions yearly of £20 a year each, tenable for *two* years,
For every 30 students who have Matriculated in each year.

But to retain such Matriculation Prizes each Scholar must obtain at least one *first* class, and each Exhibitioner at least one *high* second class Distinction in each year. And in awarding any such Degree or Matriculation Prizes, a considerable advantage in the marks, not exceeding one-fourth, shall be allowed to all Students who are *bona fide* engaged in Teaching, in National Schools or any other Schools for the Poor. And all other Government Scholarships and Exhibitions shall cease, and their income be diverted to the respective College Chests ; those of Private Endowment continuing as before.

12. And it is farther enacted that The New Queen's University shall, immediately on its Institution, be entitled to send One Member, and immediately on its Completion by the Affiliation of St. Patrick's College and the Medical

Institute, be entitled to send Two Members, to the House of Commons, to represent the University and its dependent interests in the Imperial Parliament :—Its Constituency being—

- (a) All its Fellows, Professors, and Lecturers as such ;
- (b) All members entitled to sit in its University Senate ; and
- (c) All Holders of the Scholarships and Exhibitions instituted by this Act.

And further enacted that (1) The Upper Minister of Education aforesaid, (2) The Chancellor of Dublin University, and (3) The Chancellor of The New Queen's University, shall, if not Peers in their own right, be entitled to sit as Life Peers in the House of Lords, and shall be summoned accordingly.

B

ST. PATRICK'S COLLEGE, OR THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY.

13. And **Whereas** Trinity College has hitherto been, eminently, a Protestant Institution ; and is likely, in however liberal and comprehensive a spirit administered, still to continue so. And Whereas the Queen's Colleges also have not proved acceptable to Her Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects, chiefly from the want of a sufficiently religious tone, and of definite religious discipline and care ; and Her said Roman Catholic Subjects have striven to establish a more Congenial University, and have desired to connect it with the University of Dublin, or to obtain for it Independent Recognition and Advantages :

14. It is **THEREFORE** enacted that, Should the Authorities of the Catholic University elect to reconstitute their College—in its College Board, Senior and Junior and Decennial Fellows, Courses and Examinations in Arts—in a manner similar to Trinity College and the New Queen's Colleges ; and should they then apply for its Affiliation with either the University of Dublin or the New Queen's University, such Application shall be favourably entertained ; and it may be affiliated with either or with both—being allowed (a) a due Representation on the University Councils, (b) a number of Fellowships proportioned to its Students, and increasing accordingly, (c) the like Salaries to said Fellows out of the Church Surplus Fund, and (d) the like Scholarships and Exhibitions, both at Matriculation and Degree, from the same Fund. Then, by virtue of such double connexion, its Graduates may compete for, and obtain, if they can, Fellowships and Decennial Fellowships in either University ; while, subject to the Parallelism and Identity aforesaid, and the control of the Council, its College Board might regulate its own Discipline and Duties at their own discretion.

15. And it is farther enacted that should the Cities of Limerick or Derry, or any other place in Ireland, desire the like advantages of an Affiliated College, and attest the earnestness of that desire by an adequate Contribution to the Expense thereof ; its Application also to the Council of the New Queen's University will be favourably entertained, in accordance with the Principles and Precedents of this Act.

THE MEDICAL INSTITUTE, AND NATURAL SCIENCE EDUCATION.

16. And **Whereas** it is expedient that the different Medical Institutions of the Kingdom should be co-ordinated, and the value of their Diplomas and Certificates ascertained and graduated, and rendered Authoritative and Distinct; and also, that the different Medical Schools of Dublin and the Country should be harmonized and regulated, and greater Tutorial and other Advantages secured to their Students; and also, that Medical Education generally should be improved, and the various Hospitals and Infirmaries of of the Country utilized for that purpose; and also, that the various and important Natural Sciences, which underlie Medical Education, should be more generally studied and better understood:

17. THEREFORE it is enacted that the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, and the other Medical Schools aforesaid, shall be re-constituted into a ROYAL COLLEGE OF MEDICINE OR MEDICAL INSTITUTE; which shall have a Double Affiliation with the Two Universities of Ireland, and an adequate Representation in each Council. And that said College or Institute shall consist of (1) a President and Vice-President, who shall each resign his private practice and devote himself wholly to the Management and Working of the Institution; (2) of *Five* other Senior and *Fourteen* Junior Life-Fellows, and Ten Decennial Fellows; who may all retain their private practice and their other Medical Appointments, so far as consists with the discharge of their Collegiate Duties. At first All the said Senior and Junior Fellows to be appointed by the Queen in Council; but the Decennial and all future Fellows by Examination; and each Decennial Fellow to be co-opted, in his order, into the Body of Life-Fellows, as vacancies occur.

18. The Senior Fellows—with as many of the Juniors as may be summoned in their order, *pro hac vice*, to supply occasional vacancies—shall constitute its COLLEGE BOARD; and shall regulate all its Studies, Examinations, Duties, and Discipline, except its Arts' Course; and shall hold annually, on and after 1882, a Fellowship Examination, in such subjects, in such manner, and by the aid of such Examiners, as it shall deem expedient, with the approval of the Upper University Council. But all Candidates for Fellowship at such Examination must have first taken out a Degree in Arts in either Irish University; and all Matriculated Students of the Medical College must first have Matriculated in Arts in some College of the same; and such Students must also continue their Education in Arts, so far as to *pass* One Term-Examination yearly in such College; but each may be exempted from passing any other Examinations in Arts, upon production from his Tutor of a Certificate of Good Progress in Medicine.

19. And it is farther enacted that Associate or Branch Schools of said Royal College of Medicine shall be established in the Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway; and may be established in Limerick, Sligo, Derry, Drogheda, Waterford, Athlone, or any large towns or other places in Ireland

where Hospitals, Infirmaries, and such like facilities exist ; under such conditions as to the Board of the Medical Institute and to the Upper University Council, with the approval of the Visitors of *both* Universities, may seem fit. And those Fellows or Lecturers of said Queen's Colleges who take part in the Medical Instruction, and the Professors or Lecturers in the other Branch Colleges, may be appointed by said Board and Council ASSOCIATE FELLOWS of said Medical Institute, on such conditions, and with or without Examination, as to said Board, Council, and Visitors may seem fit.

20. And the Professors or Lecturers in such Branch Institutions shall not only impart careful instruction in Surgery and Medicine to the Matriculated Students in their vicinity ; but shall do their best to Prepare Students for Matriculation ; especially in those Natural Sciences which underlie the Theory and Practice of Medicine—such as Chemistry, Physiology, Botany, Comparative Anatomy, Zoology, Geology, and the Polar Sciences—and shall labour to diffuse Solid and Progressive Information on such Subjects generally.

21. And to the Officers of the Medical Institute the following Salaries shall be paid :—

- a. To the President and Vice-President—£1500, and £1200, a-year, respectively ; and to the other Senior Fellows £300 a year each :—*one-half* in all cases out of the Church Surplus Fund, and *half* from other Public or Private Sources.
- b. To every Junior and Decennial Fellow—£100 a year ; all out of the Church Surplus Fund.
- c. To every Associate Fellow—in the proportion of *one* to each *ten* Matriculated Students—also £100 a year ; *one-half* from the Church Surplus Fund, and half from Local Sources.
- d. To distinguished Students—Scholarships and Exhibitions, both at Matriculation and Degree Examinations, but especially in the “Natural” and “Medical” Departments thereof, of the same value as in the other Colleges, and in the same proportion to the number of Students—*all* from the Church Surplus Fund.

The details of these as of other matters to be regulated by the College Board, with the approbation of the Upper University Council ; and all regulations to be digested, from time to time, with the approbation of the Visitors, into Statutes, and then presented, for Sanction, to the Queen in Council.

22. And the Council of the New Queen's University shall present annually to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland a Report of its proceedings, embodying a Report from each of its Affiliated Colleges ; and the Upper University Council shall present a like Report, quinquennially, commencing with the year 1882.

THE RESIDUE OF THE CHURCH SURPLUS FUND.

23. And ~~Whereas~~ the aforesaid Payments will have seriously reduced the Church Surplus Fund; and it is not desirable to withdraw any more of it from its primary purpose and the original intention of its Contributors—namely, the Direct Cultivation of Virtue and Religion:

24. And WHEREAS the different Churches in Ireland have been, and are, doing their best to provide for these purposes, each in its own way, by Voluntary Contributions. And Whereas such Voluntary Efforts are well adapted to supply the wants of Large Towns and rich and populous neighbourhoods; and do in fact supply them; but are wretchedly inadequate to the wants of Country Districts, with a poor and scattered population:

25. THEREFORE it is enacted that all the Residue of the said Church Surplus shall be disposed of as follows:—that is to say, Let a list of 500 Parishes in Ireland, the poorest and most remote from large towns, be furnished to Her Majesty's Church Temporalities Commissioners; and let the funds remaining in their hands be then divided equally between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Incumbents of the same. But if there be two or more Protestant Denominations in any such Parish, with each a Church, Congregation, and Stated Services, then the Protestant moiety shall be divided between them, in such proportions as to the said Church Temporalities Commissioners shall seem just.

26. And the Method and other details of such payment shall also be decided on by the Church Temporalities Commissioners, with the approbation of the Queen in Council. [The enactment of Bill 4 A. being borne in mind.]

Schedule A relating to the Constitution of the University,—Schedule B might contain these, or some such, *Definitions* ;—

1. The Course in Arts shall consist of—
 - a. Ancient and Modern Languages and Literature; and with a special present reference to their Orthography and Transliteration;
 - b. Mathematical, Natural, Physical, and Physiologic Science;
 - c. Logical, Mental, Moral, and Historic Science :—including
 - d. Economic, Political, and Religious Science :—Each Student naming, at Matriculation, his Religious Denomination; Its Authorized Formularies being treated universally with Respect; and Instruction imparted in them, so far as Collegiate Facilities exist.
2. The Order of said Subjects—*a, b, c, d*—shall also be the order of their Relative Importance in the Four Successive Years of the Arts' Course.
3. And a certain Progress in All said Subjects shall be deemed essential to Every Student; at the discretion of the College Authorities.
4. "Schools for the Poor" are "Any Schools in which Her Majesty's Irish Subjects generally can, without professed violation of conscience, obtain a Primary English Education for 5s a quarter."

There is now appended to these Proposals one of many former Tentatives in the same direction—THE TYRONE ADDRESSES. They embody what is known in Ireland as “Lord Mayo’s Policy” :—An attempt to grapple with our real Wants which was rudely overborne by a rush of Quasi-Enlightenment, and an utterly one-sided and mistaken, and as utterly selfish, “Liberality.”

Perhaps we have learned something from it, and are wiser now.

It will be remarked also that the First Address speaks too hopefully on Education. The National Board, who had, from quasi-enlightened views, first neglected, and then taught themselves to oppose, the real wishes, wants, and aptitudes of the Irish People; now, rather suddenly, on some well-directed Public Pressure being applied, changed their minds; promised all they ought; and made a serious endeavour to keep their word. Lord Mayo, also, thoroughly examined and understood the matter; and gave us his strenuous and warm support.

But then the rush of pretended Liberality came; which would fain level us all, up or down, to the condition of the English poor, or “people,” and their supposed capacity for *non*-Education. Whereupon, the Board—kind, excellent, and patriotic gentlemen; but “busy men,” who have only too much of “everything else” to do; [and, besides, a Board, as such, has no *Conscientia*, no continuous, consecutive, comprehensive, commanding, *consciousness* of what even its own best-taught “members” are about]—forgot their good resolutions; and continued, amid all kinds of popular shams and shouting, to fritter away the Educational Life-Blood of the Nation; until the RESULT, as Lord Cairns was obliged to describe it, with the complete consent and endorsement of the Lords, was simply “horrifying!” “astounding!” “deplorable!” “incredible!!!”—Incredible—to Whom?

Will He cure it? We shall see. No doubt, he meant, and means it, with all his heart. But, as past experience shows, it is very easy to make mistakes, and very serious ones, on Irish National Education.

Both Addresses, obviously, were intended to educate the public mind, and to confront or disarm the *odium theologium* which Statesmen have such cause to fear. In Ireland, we succeeded perfectly in our aim. Indeed, we were all ourselves surprised at the kind reception accorded to the First Address; even by two Bodies whence earnest opposition was expected—The Presbyterian Synods, and the Orange Lodges, of Ireland. But Subsequent Legislation roused our passions; and has left us angry, disappointed, and discontented—with only too much cause. Let us Try again.

THE TYRONE ADDRESSES.

No. 1.

*To His Excellency JAMES, Marquis of Abercorn, K.G., &c., &c.,
Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

As Irishmen and inhabitants of Tyrone, we were gratified to find, last autumn, that you had accepted the cares and dignities of the Vice-Regal office. We knew that this was a vast accession of trouble to you and to your family, with no great corresponding advantage; so we understood it to mean that you were anxious to render your best public services to a cause which surely needs them—the ruling of Ireland at a crisis-time, and the possible solution of Irish difficulties. Your Excellency must know these well: few have a larger interest in their being set at rest, and few would receive more cordial support from all sections of your countrymen. When you came down to Baronscourt, shortly after your appointment, all the local addresses to your Excellency were conceived in this spirit, and we were thankful to remark that in this spirit they were all responded to. You even took pains to notice in your replies that you had never made difference between man and man, except on the ground of personal or family deserts, and had always striven to heal those large suspicions and divisions which separate Irishmen from one another.

There are few who would not gladly help to realize this aspiration; and as other sections of the Empire do not well understand our Irish sentiments or Irish grievances, we will venture to express them to your Excellency in the audience of the public; knowing that you will recognise them fully, and hoping that the British nation and the Imperial Parliament and Throne may listen to them kindly, and lay them seriously to heart.

There are FIVE POINTS on which we feel sensibly the want of better government, and which we are satisfied every county in Ireland feels as keenly as Tyrone. We would gladly associate their rectification, or at least a resolute attempt at it, with your Excellency's Vice-Royalty and the name of Baronscourt.

I. The *first* of them, indeed, has already been virtually settled. But, as its details are not yet complete, and may need guardianship and pains, we shall state it briefly. It is that of INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION. Every decent family among our Northern yeomen—indeed, every decent family in Ireland—used to have the not very distant relative who had made his way, by dint of learning and good conduct, to the upper-middle or *upper* ranks of life; who always pointed the ambition, and very often supplied the means, for younger members to follow in his steps. When there was occasion lately to count the numbers supplied to the professions, since 1800, by one of our country parishes alone, we and others were startled at the sum. By some mismanagement of the Education Grant all this branch of upper Irish Industry

became gradually circumscribed—in small towns and country places lost—and it is only now that the Commissioners have had courage to apply the simple and effective remedy, which, we have no doubt, the Government will sanction. To Board and Government, therefore, and to all who have helped to influence their decision, we tender through your Excellency our cordial thanks. The boon is not very showy or expensive, yet it is far from unimportant to a nation which has no great coal-field or gold-field, or commercial opening; which has indeed little access to honour or emolument except that Golden Vein of a bright intelligence, and not unreligious ambition, with which Heaven has endowed us largely. We trust this natural aptitude may now be developed more successfully than ever, to our own and to the general good.

II. Our *second* point is also homely, and also, we believe, far advanced towards solution; for we hear the Government have placed it positively in their programme—A JUST LANDLORD AND TENANT LAW. On this also, therefore, we need say little. We only deprecate any pretentious or complicated measure, which might foster groundless hopes, or pestiferous litigation between those who should be friends. Let it be made a clear principle in Common Law that the Tenant has a lien upon *Unexhausted Improvements*, with a liberal interpretation of both words in the Tenant's favour; so that he who buries or blasts the rocks, clears, fences, plants, or breaks in the waste, builds the cottage or the house, banks off the river or the sea, or reclaims the mountain or morass, shall be entitled to an equitable share of the benefit he confers on land and landlord, and thus encouraged to do his duty to his family and his farm. The principle, once fixed in law, would soon fix itself in the mind and habits of the people, and supersede those faulty or criminal expedients which the want of such a principle engenders.

III. Our *third* point also has been much discussed, and is, we hope, receiving due attention; that of IRISH RAILROADS—hopelessly entangled and mismanaged as they are, cut up among a number of small opposing companies, each more selfish and shortsighted than the other, and almost all alike annoying and oppressing the public, while ruining themselves. And here, too, the principle seems plain. *Let Government buy them all*, as we believe it has the power to do on equitable terms; *let it lend no money to any one of them*. If you do the latter, your assistance will probably be jobbed, will certainly be believed to be so; will surely disappoint, and probably disgrace your good intentions, as Government interference in Irish commercial speculation has done before. Whereas, to buy and organize them all, as Government alone has power to do, would, above all other measures, develop the material and social resources of the kingdom; would cohere with military and police arrangements, and the public comfort and convenience; would probably pay, as the Post Office pays; and would strengthen Imperial as distinguished from partial and less generous interest, both in Ireland and ELSEWHERE.

Two points remain, more serious and more exciting; indeed no Irishman can trust himself to speak on either with sufficient calmness—on the one

subject our feelings are too intense and agitated; on the other, too sensitive and proud. Yet we must speak them out as best we can; let the calmer and the wiser judge. The first is—

IV. THE UNFAIRNESS OF OUR CHURCH RELATIONS—an unfairness as blighting and injurious to the favoured classes as it is galling to the oppressed, and thoroughly distorting and perverting to the best sentiments and relations of both. All the world points its finger at this anomaly; public attention has been fixed on it; and all men feel that it can last no longer. It is easier for the great party with which your Excellency acts than for any other great party in the State to deal with such a question. And as power has now been thrown on you, unexpected and unsought, the conjuncture itself seems plainly to demand your best attempt at its solution. And what shall the solution be?—Two alternatives are open. Either (1) disendow all, or (2) to the existing endowments of the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches add a suitable provision for the Clergy of the Roman Catholic majority. The former plan will find some favour with Doctrinaires and Quakers, with debaters at small clubs, and talkers in large towns; the latter will cohere with the known wants of the people, with the traditional policies of the Empire, and with the habits and judgments of every nation in Europe, and every Church in Christendom. We cannot doubt, therefore, to what point all deliberations will converge. And where shall the funds be found? We cannot reckon this part of the question to be serious. Even in Ireland, mismanaged as it has been, impoverished as it is, the funds could readily be found, and found without injustice. Or if, in some sense of larger justice, the Empire were at once to rest its burthen on the Consolidated Fund, it is quite possible that a contented and more prosperous Ireland might speedily return to the Imperial Exchequer twenty shillings, or far more than twenty shillings, to the pound. This, then, is not the difficulty; it lies nearer home in the honest, conscientious objection which long centuries of religious strife have taught perhaps to *both* sides, and the *odium theologicum* which might deter or crush the attempt to pass it by. But there are surely those who are able, and whose duty it is at such a conjuncture, to confront this difficulty in the realms of earnest thought, and to bear their necessary and not ignoble part in removing this curse from Ireland—this offence from Christendom. We call, through your Excellency, on the Universities and Central Synods to instruct the public conscience, that, however important may be those minor points which separate the great sections of Christ's Church from each other, yet, in the eyes of the State at least, the weightier matters of the law—Justice, and Mercy, and simple Faith—should be the first attended to.

V. We have arrived at our *last* point: and it might be first, for it is marked and prominent, and might prove easy and agreeable to solve. And it is the one, besides, for which we rely most on your Excellency personally, and on your Excellency's family, to work out the solution—ROYAL RESIDENCE IN IRELAND. This one, like the last, is a "sentimental grievance," it is true; but it is not the less real on that account; for, in Ireland, we *have* sentiments, and we are fain to cherish them, as being by no means the inferior

portion of ourselves. The Irish sentiment of loyalty to the Sovereign has always been deep and fresh, and generous and strong, and—always unrequited. By former dynasties it was habitually traded on, betrayed and trampled; by the present dynasty it has been contemptuously ignored; nay, even, perhaps, its opposite, through sad mistrust, supposed. It is not common for Irishmen to talk of this, but they do not mark it or digest it less. As an Irish nobleman, Lord Abercorn, yourself must feel it sometimes; and if you do not, we do. For, as we said, the fact is patent, and we cannot shut our eyes to it. Other parts of the Empire, or parts outside the Empire, are sunned and caressed by Royalty; the part where reverence and love for the very footsteps of the King is a native gift, an enthusiasm, almost a religion, is distrusted or forgotten. The Irish peasant, dwelling on an ideal picture among his beautiful traditions, almost hymns—Blessings for ever on One who relied On Erin's honour and Erin's pride. He may cherish his ideal: no actual Royal Lady has ever trusted Him. But times may change. Perhaps now a Royal Lady might—a Royal Lady who will one day be Queen; and whose Fair Face, though never seen in Ireland yet, is as familiar as that ideal picture to every cottage in the land. Invite to Ireland, we respectfully suggest to your Excellencies, the Prince and PRINCESS of Wales. Should they graciously accept your invitation—show the City of Dublin to its Earl and Countess—carry them to Baronscourt and elsewhere—show them our hills, and plains, and lakes, and rivers, our country and our people. Possibly they may choose some place among us where they may, at least occasionally, dwell. Where, when more important interests do not detain them, they may be at home sometimes with our hearts, and learn somewhat of our Irish sentiments, and prove them pure and true. Your Excellency and your family, if any could, might surely facilitate this happy reversal of a nation's keenfelt wrong, and attach us more cordially than we ever have been, or ever can be otherwise, to that great growing Empire with which our destinies are bound.

These, may it please your Excellency, are our five points. Others are often spoken of, but some are partial, some doubtful, some Utopian, and some before or behind their time. These, perhaps, will approve themselves to your Excellency as being timely, just, and probably or certainly effective; and, if so, we trust that you and your Government will make them yours. Commending them, therefore, to your Excellency, and to all who have power in any degree to aid them or obstruct, and to ONE above us all, Who knows, and cares, and judges all, and is not far from each,

We remain, your Excellency's faithful Friends and Servants,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 2.

To His Excellency JOHN POYNTZ, Earl Spencer, K.G., &c., &c.,
 Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

SHORTLY after your Predecessor's accession to office, believing in the prevalence of a very general desire that the Empire should deal kindly and carefully with Irish affairs, we ventured to solicit his attention to some measures which were thought most needful. We suggested five:—A better class of Public Instruction; a better Landlord and Tenant Law; Government Purchase and Organisation of Irish Railroads; the Recognition and Endowment of the Roman Catholic Clergy; and Royal Residence in Ireland.

These suggestions seemed to fall in with the views of Government, and, notwithstanding the pressure of the Reform Bills, steps were taken in regard to each. Lower Education and Railways were submitted to Commissions; on Upper Education, and on Land, legislation was attempted; the Irish people have been intensely gratified by a visit of our future King and Queen, and by the hope that they intend an occasional abode among us; and the Church question, on being opened, immediately attracted large attention and is, in fact, the question of the day.

We profoundly believe in the good-will of the Empire, and of the leading Statesmen of all parties, towards our not very prosperous or contented kingdom. But it is not easy for an Empire to legislate, especially through popular forms, for a section of itself which is scarcely homogeneous with the rest, not having yet reached the same stage of social and political advance; and, as there seems danger of hasty and mistaken legislation at present, we trust your Excellency will listen kindly to the wishes of an average Irish county on the subject.

We respectfully enclose our former Address; on most of its points we need not repeat ourselves.

In respect to *Railways*, we again deprecate any partial measure, which would only lead to jobbing and permanent derangements; whereas a complete and balanced measure could be made equitable throughout, and would be a vast and abiding benefit.

The *Land Question* still asserts its gravity; and its essence obviously lies in *tenure*. Land-tenure is a composite thing. The landlord owns "the land"—that is, (1) the land in a state of nature; and (2) if he have made, inherited, or purchased the improvements on it, he also owns the improvements. But generally in Ireland it is the tenant who "improves"—who drains, fences, clears, plants, builds, and mellows the rude surface by laborious tillage. He naturally supposes himself to have some right in those improvements—a right which local custom does recognise, more or less, but which, generally, the law does not. We respectfully submit that it ought; especially at a time when our old semi-feudal relations are rudely broken up, and the land is

jobbed and traded on by those who regard, too often, no rights except their legal ones. A tenant's natural inducement to improvements, and compensation for them, lies in tenure—i. e. in his own enjoyment of them for a number of years varying with their difficulty and their value. When such enjoyment is interfered with by ejection, a legal claim should lie for liberal money compensation—to be adjudicated on, where the sum is large, by the Superior Courts, with or without a jury: when the sum is small, by the Assistant Barrister, *without a jury*, but with the aid of a professional expert.

On *Education* and the *Church* we desire to speak more fully.

The proposed grant of a Charter to the Catholic University was refused by Parliament—wisely, as we believe. No one can regret that Government should go to the utmost verge of propriety in striving to meet the wishes of the Roman Catholic Clergy; but it is clear that the Empire will insist on some less sectarian solution of its University perplexities. The time has surely come when (ample provision being made for the security and dignity of the different Divinity Schools) the highest educational advantages of the Empire should be boldly thrown open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects—especially to Irish Roman Catholics; this would surely tend to their, and to the general good.

But of what great use, we respectfully repeat, are University advantages, if the people, or even the *elite* of the people, be deprived of the means of reaching them?—if the intermediate links which should connect them with primary or general instruction, and enable the industrious and worthy to climb towards them, be persistently destroyed? And this is what has happened. Government is liberal to Upper Education in Ireland, and liberal to Lower; but, by the unexpected action of the latter, it has annihilated, over the bulk of the country, the Intermediate Education which should connect these two extremes, and render both prolific. By this defect our Education machinery, as a whole, is paralysed, and the Government liberality at each extreme frustrated; its Colleges languish or die for want of pupils, and its Primary Education, being made a finality instead of a step to something higher, is despised, and neglected by the people. This has arisen, no doubt, from faults of administration; and the Commissioners of National Education, having become sensible of this, have matured plans by which it can be effectively remedied, at little or no additional expense to the Exchequer—simply, by encouraging an intermediate element (chiefly ancient and modern languages) to combine itself, wherever it is locally required, with their primary instruction. We trust this remedial action may not be longer delayed. The University question, as such, is interesting, no doubt, to our doctrinaires and hierarchies, and our few upper thousands; but it is the means of reaching them, or rather of reaching *towards them*, which is of importance to the people, and which renders themselves influential, as directive institutions, on the mind and industry of the nation.

The Parochial Clergyman of the Established Church has long felt his position most unsatisfactory. A local centre, no doubt, of kindness and re-

finement, but, for want of rude appliances, ineffective as the minister to a semi-civilized people. Without an imposing ceremonial, and without a systematic discipline, enforcible either by law or superstition, his careful doctrine and kind advice could directly influence but a minority at best. It is creditable to the Majority, under such circumstances, that they have themselves supplied the deficiency, by multiplying additional teachers who *can* influence them; and who, with all their faults, have trained and do train them to virtue and religion in the name of Christ. Whether they would have felt their want, and supplied it, to anything like the same extent, were it not for the mild light sustained in their midst by the powers that be, is more than doubtful. And it is not doubtful that both their teachers and themselves are vastly more influenced, and beneficially, by the indirect action of that sustained light, than many of themselves suppose. However this be, they have now grown up to some considerable degree of civilization and reflection; are earnestly attached to their own forms and clergy; and feel the exclusive privileges of the Anglican Church to be offensive and unfair. In such case it is clear that, even for Religion's sake, Government should remove the unfairness and offence. And the natural mode is, surely, to destroy the *exclusiveness* of those privileges; by extending them to the other clergy, who have proved themselves, through now many generations, acceptable to the bulk of the people; and who, if often rudely, and often in the form of antagonism, yet really, and, on the whole, effectively, have supplemented the action of the hitherto Established Church. This remedy, however unsatisfactory to high ecclesiastical pretensions on both sides, and to other forms of the sectarian spirit, has always commended itself to our leading statesmen of all parties, from Chatham downwards; and, as befitting the large and Christian temper of the Empire, and demanded by her exigencies, we can scarcely doubt will ultimately be adopted.

Meantime, we are threatened with Disestablishment, Disendowment, Voluntaryism, and such-like strange and violent legislation. We cannot believe that these threats mean much more, even on the lips which utter them, than the supposed necessary preliminary to such a permanent settlement as we have sketched; and which, indeed, was formally proposed by Mr. Gladstone himself not many years ago. Whether such rude clearing of the ground be necessary or not depends, of course, on the wisdom and moderation of those outside, rather than of those inside, the Parliament. But it may be pertinent in us, through your Excellency, respectfully to remind the dwellers in large towns, and their representatives—

I. That there is a vast difference between town and country, and that what is well suited to the one may be utterly unsuited for the other. Towns are active-minded and rich, and can procure generally whatever they desire; and they do possess, in fact, multifarious means of social culture—which, from incessant intercourse, are highly influential even on those who do not directly use them: whereas the country is sluggish, poor, and sparsely-habited, and generally possesses no means of social culture except the school-house and

the church. To interrupt or impair these were, therefore, a vastly graver injury to the country than to the town.

II. That Voluntaryism is well suited for towns, and may fairly be relied on to supply their common wants; as indeed it virtually does at present. Belfast, for instance, with over 100,000 inhabitants, has only one parish church: Liverpool, with half-a-million, has only two;—all the rest being supplied, and well supplied, by voluntary effort. And so with other large towns, and rich and populous neighbourhoods. Whereas it is totally different with poor and sparsely-peopled districts, like the most of Ireland. Such never have been, and never can be, cultivated by mere voluntary efforts. Even early Christianity, in the mouth of Apostles and their immediate followers, made no impression for centuries on any portion of the ancient world, except the towns. Until the powers that be “established” Christianity, and made local provision for it, the villagers still continued “pagans,” and the heathmen “heathens.” And so it would be again.

We trust, therefore, to witness legislation better adapted for Ireland, and more consonant to the traditional policies, the growing needs, and true Christian spirit of the Empire. Let whatever changes are thought needful be made in the Anglican Establishment; let the scanty provision for the Scottish Church in Ireland be sensibly increased in amount and dignity; and let the Roman Clergy, who labour for the bulk of the people, meet an honourable recognition, and a fair *parochial* and episcopal endowment. The Irish people deeply need, throughout their common life, the restraints, the direction, the sustainment of religion; and it is not meet that those who, in any communion, administer such functions should be mean, ignorant, or narrow. The State, then, should foster the religious influences, and strive that the people and their clergy should advance together. It may even rejoice in the healthy emulation of its different sections, while removing their grounds of just offence. And all these may learn, if only from the State's Example, a truer Catholicity, and the Unity which is not of the form or letter, but of the Spirit and pervading Life—namely, that we are all, churches as well as individuals, whether we discern it so or not, Members of each other, have a living interest in each other's welfare, and must suffer from each other's diseases or defects. Palpably, the different forms of Christianity among us minister to different classes or grades of knowledge, sentiment, or culture; and it is by that which every function and joint supplies that the whole Body of Christ grows up towards its destined perfectness, “making increase of itself in Love.”

Earnestly commending these considerations to your Excellency and your Government,

We are, with profound respect and loyalty,
&c., &c., &c.