

IRELAND

UNDER

LORD MULGRAVE.





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“ To threats the stubborn rebel oft is hard,  
 Wrapped in his crimes, against the storm prepared;  
 But when the milder beams of mercy play,  
 He melts, and throws his cumbrous cloak away.”—DRYDEN.

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IRELAND, for the first time, affords a prospect which Englishmen may contemplate, not only without self-reproach, but with a feeling of lively satisfaction.

In reviewing this happy change, the first observation that occurs to us is, that it is almost entirely the work of the Executive. The extraordinary advances which the Irish people have made in order and civilization since the accession of the present Ministry to office are almost exclusively to be ascribed to a wise and well intentioned government, understanding the wants of the country, parentally anxious to relieve them, and steadily exerting all the powers at its command, to promote the improvement of a people, who are the creditors of England to a vast amount of redress and justice.

A few Irish bills, containing some useful provisions of a minor description, were passed by the Legislature



in the course of the last session ; but the fate of the great measures is notorious. Had the Tithe Bill, and the Corporation Reform Bill—the one offering an adjustment of the momentous question of the Church, upon a principle alike calculated to promote the interests of Protestantism, and gratify the just desires of the nation ; the other merely proposing to assimilate the municipal establishments of Ireland with those of the other members of the empire—been suffered to become law, the government would have had many facilities for carrying its pacificatory policy into effect. The spirit of the public institutions would have co-operated with its efforts, instead of counteracting them : the great springs of discontent would have been dried up ; the great causes of disturbance removed : there would have been all the advantage that accrues to the Magistrate when his exertions for the public welfare are seconded by the Lawgiver.

It pleased, however, the dominant party in the House of Lords to throw the Administration in Ireland entirely upon its own resources. Perhaps the course pursued by that assembly is to be accounted for by the old family connection, which Mr. Moore has noticed, between the Rocks of Ireland and the Wrongheads of England ; perhaps it was desired that the experiment of justice in Irish government should be tried under every disadvantage, to make the efficacy of that novel principle the more conspicuous. The Tithe Bill was



defeated; the Corporation Bill met the same fate: two sessions went over, and not an Irish grievance was redressed, or a single cause of exasperation removed by the Legislature. Nor was this all, or even the worst; it is little to say, that the petitions of the people were rejected—they were spurned. Neither the plain reasonableness of the Corporation Bill, nor the extreme moderation of the Tithe Bill obtained them so much as a patient audience, or a gracious denial. The people of Ireland were pronounced unfit for British institutions; denied the benefit of the common air of political existence breathed by Englishmen and Scotchmen; proscribed as Catholics, in the teeth of the Act of Emancipation—and as Irishmen, in the teeth of the Act of Union.

Under circumstances like these, the government of Ireland was an arduous enterprise. To tranquilize the country, with all the causes of disturbance in activity,—to hush the demand for a domestic Parliament, with the spirit of Lord Lyndhurst's anathema directing the whole Irish policy of one estate of the realm,—these were the objects to be effected. The Rockite was to be subdued—the abuses of the tithe system flourishing; the Orangeman controlled—in the possession of his strong holds; the Repealer silenced—in the full force of his argument. These were difficult undertakings; but they have been executed. Society, which was on the brink of disorganization when Lord Mul-



grave went to Ireland, has been restored to the blessings of order ; the law, which was despised in the north, hated in the south, and every where bearded, has been established in its authority ; the Union, which had no advocates, has now no opponents. And this has been done without resort to domiciliary visits or courts-martial ; without so much as the employment of the sterner powers of the law at the disposal of the Administration.

It is desirable to exhibit the results of the new system upon which Irish affairs have been conducted for the last eighteen months, by the best evidence the case admits of, and we therefore commence by laying before the reader the following extracts from the charges delivered by the Judges of Assize last summer to the grand juries of some of the most Catholic and once the most turbulent of the Irish counties.

The first case is that of Kilkenny—the county where, in the secretaryship of Lord Stanley, agrarian outrage was so prevalent that it formed the pretext for the introduction of the Coercion Bill. Its condition, under the dispensation of Lord Mulgrave, we learn from the mouth of Baron Penefather—

“ He addressed the Grand Jury briefly, and said there was no offence in the calendar requiring particular observation from him.”

Chief Justice Doherty used similar language to the Grand Jury of the city—

“ He had nothing more to say than to congratulate them upon



the state of the calendar, which contained only four, he might rather say *three and a half*, cases for trial."

Baron Penefather again in Wexford—

"He was happy to inform them that little was to be done in the criminal department of their duties. *If the calendar faithfully represented the state of the county, it afforded him matter of congratulation, for it was really surprising to see a county of such extent so free from crime.*"

Judge Johnson at the Assizes of Kildare said—

"The light state of your calendar scarcely requires an observation from me, with the exception of one or two cases, which particularly call for attention and accuracy in the investigation."

At Maryborough Assizes (Queen's County), the same Judge observed—

"He had cast his eye over the calendar, and had to congratulate the county on its exceeding lightness."

Judge Burton at Sligo—

"He congratulated the Grand Jury on the tranquil state of the county, as shown by the lightness of the calendar. In amount, the offences were not more than might reasonably be expected in a county of such extent; and, with respect to quality, he was glad to find there was not a single case of murder."

Baron Foster in Clare—

"I am happy to congratulate you upon the great diminution of crime which has taken place in this county, compared with former periods. The total number on the calendar is 37. The number is inconsiderable; and though there are crimes of some enormity on it, still not one appears to partake of an insurrectionary character. There are some cases of homicide; the other crimes are incidental to every state of society."

The same Judge to the Grand Jury of the city of Limerick—

"I am happy to inform you the calendar is exceedingly light.



The crimes for trial are only of such a nature as may be found in every, even the best regulated stages of society, and particularly amid the population of a densely inhabited city."

Judge Perrin congratulated the Grand Jury of the county of Limerick—

"On the reduced state of the calendar, which was evidence of the peaceable state of their county. There was no case on the calendar demanding particular remark from him."

Baron Sir W. Smith to the Grand Jury of the county of Carlow—

"Gentlemen of the Grand Jury—I have here to deal with some cases of a grave description, remaining undisposed of since the last assizes. With these, however, you have no concern: a former grand jury having found the bills which sent these cases to be tried. As for the part of the calendar with which you *will* have to deal, it cannot be called numerous, and I hope will not prove heavy. On the contrary, I congratulate you on the prospect of its being light;—for the lightness of a calendar is in general a proper subject of congratulation; though unfortunately there may be, as there have been, times and circumstances, where this lightness will not indicate the absence of offence—but the prevalence of intimidation, confederacy, and connivance. I hope this is not the case of the county in which I am. I hope, or at least I wish, that it may contain within it no associations but such as the law warrants—such as tend to support and to maintain the constitution."

At Louth Assizes, the Chief Baron—

"It gave him great satisfaction to observe that the calendar was so very small, when compared with former years, the number of indictments being but twenty-three; and, with the exception of two of these, the crimes were not of that lawless character which tended to the disturbance of the peace of the county."

At the Down Assizes, Chief Justice Bushe—



“ Congratulated the grand jury on the extreme lightness of the calendar, which presented a subject of lively congratulation to all the lovers of peace and good order.”

What the state of the country was, when Lord Haddington left it, is fresh in the public recollection:—here is its condition under his successor; here are the effects of little more than a year of a Government founded upon the principles of justice and confidence.

It is to be remarked, how much the value of some of these judicial testimonies is enhanced by the circumstance that they are, upon the face of them, extorted compliments. The tributes of Baron Penfather and the late Baron Smith to the tranquillization of Wexford and Carlow are inestimable in this way; but in truth, with the exception of the charge of Judge Perrin, they may all be considered as the unwilling admissions of political opponents—happy, no doubt, as men of humane feeling, to witness the decrease of crime, and the advance of order, but, as men of decidedly Tory principles, reluctant to admit the effects of a popular Administration.

To the suppression of riots at public fairs, and of that large class of outrages arising from the hereditary quarrels of those local “factions,” which (unconnected with political feelings) have disgraced for centuries the southern parts of Ireland, the present Government has applied itself with laudable diligence, and proportionate success. It is not possible to overrate the importance of the steps that have been



taken to repress such perilous disorders. Not to speak of the obstruction to agricultural business—although this alone was an evil of the most serious nature—these periodical sanguinary encounters brutalized the population, and generated that indifference to human life which is the certain mark of a savage people. The ferocity bred in this nursery was not confined to the exploits of a market-day; it became the peasant's character, and was easily transferred to questions of a broader interest than those at stake between Gows and Magpies. The White-feet were in their origin no more than a "faction;" the public fairs were the first scenes of their atrocities; and it was not until they had completed their training in hostilities against a rival clan, that they began to pay their savage attention to ecclesiastical affairs, and questions of real property. The knowledge of the truth, that every resort to physical force is a diminution of popular power, indisposed the Tory rulers of Ireland to take any proceedings to eradicate these barbarous habits. They left the task to the men now in office; and they did well; the Administration that would effect a change in national manners, must be an object of national affection. With what success Lord Mulgrave's government has devoted itself to the undertaking will appear from the following illustrations of the state of several counties, where the brutal customs we speak of were most inveterate, and where circumstances have been most adverse to the progress of reformation.

We have seen the testimony of the Judge of



Assize to the improved state of the county of Kilkenny :—let us now hear the evidence of the Assistant Barrister at the quarter sessions held in the beginning of the present month (January), merely premising that these courts take cognizance of far the greater part of the crimes that have so unhappily characterized the neglected peasantry of Ireland.

“ Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, the few observations which I shall have the honour to address to you on *the great and signal diminution of crime, and the improvement of the state* of this county, are as gratifying to me as the facts are creditable to the county itself. Since I had the honour to be appointed chairman of this county, I have had, at each succeeding session, to congratulate you upon a sensible diminution of crime, and the improvement of your social condition. On the last occasion I had the satisfaction to notice, that, although the number of indictments was apparently large, amounting to 129, yet the offences were in point of quality very trivial, and might for the most part have been disposed of at petty sessions, and not, unnecessarily, sent here for trial. But, cheering as the condition of the county of Kilkenny then was, its present state is still more so, *crime having not only been diminished but almost extinguished*. I find at present 54 cases to be sent before you, few, if any, partaking of any character of guilt that might not be found to exist in the most peaceful and orderly state of society, and most of which might have been, with great respect to the magisterial authorities, as I before stated, decided at petty sessions. Out of these 54, there are 19 cases of assault, *all of a minor character*; the rest are all petty larceny and trifling cases, which also ought to have been disposed of at petty sessions.”

It appears, however, that the reigning vice of the agricultural population has entirely disappeared in



this once "merry" county. We again quote the charge :

" In conclusion, I have again to congratulate you, gentlemen, on the peaceful state of your county, and the pleasing prospects which that state presents. It is a subject of additional satisfaction to me to state, and particularly worthy of remark, *that there is not one case of riot at fair or market triable at these sessions.*

\* \* \* \*

*I again repeat with the most pleasurable feelings of satisfaction, that this county, distinguished heretofore for great turbulence, and, I may add, crime, has become one of the most peaceable counties in Ireland."*

In Limerick we are enabled to compare the criminal calendar at the January sessions of 1833, with the criminal calendar at the January sessions of 1837. What is the result? At Rathkeale, in 1833, the Chairman was engaged for six days successively, in trying cases of riots at fairs and fights of rival factions. At the same place, at the last sessions, the court was not occupied for an equal number of hours, and the cases for trial were all cases of petty larceny.

Tipperary exhibits the same gratifying phenomena.—Tipperary!—a name identified with brawl and hubbub—the head-quarters of turbulence—where anarchy was almost an institution—where the rioter and the incendiary considered the interference of the law an infringement of vested right—where the Rockite, in his wild tribunal, held pleas of land familiarly as the Common Bench, and arbitrated questions of tithes with all the rigour of the Exchequer, without the same formalities of pro-



cess.—Here, even in Tipperary, the working of the new dispensation is manifest: the firm administration of the laws by a Government in whose hands they are seen and felt to be means of promoting the welfare of the people — instruments of protection, not of vengeance—has been attended with a degree of success surpassing all calculation. This county, beyond any other in Ireland, had been disfigured by disorders of the most atrocious kind. When Lord Mulgrave came into office, its state may be conjectured from the fact, that his Lordship was called upon by a numerous meeting of magistrates, not many months after his arrival, to place it under the extraordinary powers of the Peace Preservation Act. The application was refused. Other and milder methods of pacification were resorted to. Observe with what result. It appears from returns, referred to in a published charge, delivered by the Chairman of this county, last summer, at Nenagh, that between the 27th of January and 26th of June, 1836, twenty-six fairs were held in the Cashel district (the most insubordinate part of the county), and that no fights or riots occurred at any of them. In the Nenagh district, it appears further that nine principal fairs had been holden since the month of April 1836, without the occurrence of a single “faction fight.”

In fact, a constable quartered at Clonmel, applied recently for a situation in the police establishment in Dublin, upon the ground that the county had



become so quiet, that an enterprising policeman had no opportunity to distinguish himself.

Tipperary is deeply indebted for this remarkable improvement to the personal exertions of Lord Mulgrave. He visited the disturbed districts, and claimed in person the co-operation of the well-disposed of all classes in his exertions to restore order. In his reply to the address of the county, he said,—

“ The real object I have in view in calling your attention to the present state of particular districts of the county of Tipperary is, that you should convey to those thousands of sturdy yeomanry who participated in the expression of personal attachment to myself, which I have this day heard from you, my anxious desire that they should co-operate cordially with the government, in which they profess deserved confidence, in removing from Tipperary the attempted stigma with which a few evil doers can yet afflict their thriving and beautiful county;—let them but give me their active support in bringing to punishment these lawless banditti, and depend upon it I will do my duty by them.”

The seed fell on a good soil : out of this address grew associations, composed of the farmers, liberal gentry, and Roman Catholic clergy, to aid the government in maintaining order, and bringing the violators of the law to punishment. The inhabitants of the districts of Cashel, Thurles, and all the principal towns, responded with alacrity to an appeal so seasonably made to their public spirit, and formed societies which were soon in full activity, and produced the most salutary results. Upon Lord Mulgrave's second visit to the county, the people of



the towns of Cashel and Tipperary bore the strongest testimony to the success of the measures adopted in conformity to his suggestions\*. And a striking evidence of the extent to which this organization was carried, and of the efficiency with which a method of pacification, so unlike those of Sir George Carew, Lord Stanley, or Sir Henry Hardinge, was prosecuted, will be found in the Report of the Secretaries of the Tipperary Society†.

We have dwelt particularly upon the cessation of faction-fights, but it is not in this class of offences only that the country exhibits the results of the regenerative principles now at work. We see the same happy defalcation under every head of the criminal calendar, and we see it most strikingly in those crimes which are, in their real nature, no more than the fierce struggles for justice of a people who never until now found protection in law, or sympathy in government.

\* See *Addresses to the Earl of Mulgrave, with his Excellency's Answers*, pp. 246 and 249. These documents, collected and published by W. F. Wakeman, Dublin, are valuable illustrations of the genius of the present Irish government, and proofs of the depth to which it has struck its roots into the heart of the nation. The addresses breathe gratitude and confidence: the answers of the viceroy show his thorough understanding of his position, and a mind imbued with the true spirit of government. Let us particularly invite attention to the addresses of the counties of Tipperary and Limerick, and of the inhabitants of Cashel and Mallow. Extracts from the Mallow address and Lord Mulgrave's reply will be found in an Appendix.

† See Appendix (A).



The following is a return (by the clerk of the peace) of the number of “persons named in the “different indictments at the Nenagh and Cashel “General Quarter Sessions, in January 1836 and “January 1837.” It exhibits an astonishing decrease of crown business.

OFFENCES.	January 1836.	January 1837.
Riot. . . . .	262	65
Assaults. . . . .	194	123
Rescue. . . . .	153	57
Grievous Assaults. . . . .	172	84
Forcible Possession . . . . .	24	15

Want of space alone prevents us from giving similar details for every county; the decrease is universal, and has been testified by all the assistant barristers in their observations to the Grand Juries at Quarter Sessions.

We shall only trouble the reader with one document more. There is before us a table for all Ireland, of offences “reported to the Constabulary “Office as having occurred during the month of “December 1836.” The return (which is signed “J. S. Kennedy, Inspector General”) gives also the offences reported in the corresponding month of the preceding year. We extract the offences of a violent and insurrectionary character, to show the decline of ferocious and lawless habits :—



OFFENCES.	December 1835.	December 1836.
Assault on Police. . . . .	19	6
Aggravated Assaults . . . .	141	90
Common Assaults . . . . .	854	144
Cutting and Maiming . . . .	11	3
Robbery of Arms . . . . .	38	19
Appearing Armed . . . . .	19	6
Riots . . . . .	89	18
Threatening Notices. . . . .	49	24
Attacking Houses . . . . .	77	10
Resistance to legal process. .	90	3
Illegal Meetings. . . . .	13	1

The reader will particularly remark in this table, the astonishing decrease under the heads of assaults, riots, attacking houses, and resistance to legal process\*.

The Government that has effected the mighty change in the state of Ireland, of which the foregoing facts are such striking evidence, challenges the support of men of all classes. We only lay down an axiom when we say that the best Administration for every order of society in Ireland is that which—making life and property secure, furthering civilization, and exalting the character of the country in universal opinion—establishes the primary conditions of general welfare, and removes the main impediments to a development of

\* In a recent number of the *Limerick Chronicle*, an Orange journal, we find the following admission: "According to the accounts received from all parts of the country, resistance to the law is virtually at an end."



the natural capabilities and resources of the island. Which of the social divisions is interested in agrarian disturbance? Is it profitable to the landed proprietor — the manufacturer — the farmer — the labourer? No! Their common interest is public tranquillity; and the Government that has made the most unruly district in Ireland as quiet as the most orderly English shire, is their common benefactor. Were there room for a distinction, one would say that the classes that have the largest masses of property at stake are proportionally concerned to support the men under whom the cause of order has been so victorious. The position of the Irish gentry, who are actively opposed to Lord Mulgrave's Administration, is a false one; for what interests have they so vital, as those which that Administration has so efficiently promoted, and which its overthrow would place in most imminent hazard? At present their rents are paid, and they see the value of their estates rising in the market. Let the extinguished flame of prædial agitation be rekindled, and how long would they continue in possession of these advantages? In this class, therefore, we should say, the Government that has reduced to subjection the most obdurate insurgent of the Galtees, ought to find its staunchest supporters. With all the devotion of the Tory gentlemen of Ireland to the principles of their party, they are attentive also to the improvement of their fortunes; and in the prospect of a cabinet, headed by Lord Lyndhurst, or swayed by the spirit of his



declared policy, they can see nothing but a gratification of their spleen, at the expense of their pockets. This consideration, it is notorious, had no small influence in deciding the late contest for the representation of Longford. Many prominent Tories of that county—one of the citadels of Toryism in Ireland—supported the popular candidate, and mainly contributed to make his majority so triumphant. The next general election will show that the visible and tangible results of good government have, in every part of the country, effected like conversions.

The particular measures taken by the Government for the effectual suppression of local disturbances, deserve some brief notice: they show the minute diligence with which the present rulers of Ireland have laboured to reclaim the waste.

The effective employment of the constabulary force is a feature peculiar to this Administration. Under former governments, the Irish police had the generic fault of Irish establishments:—when it worked at all, it worked the wrong way. Indeed, the kind of service to be expected from the force was so notorious, that it was seldom employed, when the public peace stood most in need of protection. This was in Tory times. The change that has taken place, since the destinies of the country have been in better keeping, is remarkable. The police are now under orders to attend every fair



and market in their respective districts: it is their imperative duty to interfere in all riots and disturbances; to apprehend the ringleaders; to give evidence against them upon trial. *Now* the Irish constable is a peace-officer. How is the alteration to be accounted for? The instrument is the same, but it is in other hands! The body is still, in composition, what Mr. Goulburn made, and Lord Mulgrave found it:—still, properly speaking, it is a partisan force—a sectarian establishment\*. Indeed, on the accession of the present Government to power, the vice was still more heinous: Orangeism prevailed extensively in this, as in other departments of the public service; the force appointed to preserve public peace was engaged in confederacy against public liberty. A convenient tool for the work of pacification! No Government less energetic, could have kept such a force in controul; no Government less popular, could have made it available for the objects of its institution. Acting under the directions of Sir Henry Hardinge, or Sir

\* A principle remedial of this vast abuse is now, however, in operation. One of the measures beneficial to Ireland, which found its way last session by some strange adventure into the statute book, divests the magistracy of the patronage of the police department, and thus removes the cause of its present orange, or exclusively Protestant composition. A valuable clause in this Act obliges all individuals appointed to places under it, to declare upon oath that they are wholly unconnected (and will so continue while in the force) with any secret society whatsoever, except that of Freemasons.



William Gosset, it was no more than an Orange yeomanry in green uniform; acting under the commands of Lord Morpeth, or Mr. Drummond, it already begins to be looked on as a National Guard. When we recollect the light in which the police were considered in most parts of Ireland, not two years ago, and remember the odious duties in which they have been engaged for the last twelvemonth, under the authority of the Court of Exchequer, it will be owned that this is no trivial revolution of feeling, and no slight evidence of the mild but powerful dominion which the present Administration has gained over a people, whose affections were believed to be irrecoverably alienated from British Government.

The Government saw clearly the importance of strictly confining the police force to its legitimate uses—here its temper and firmness were tried severely. It had been usual in Ireland to employ both police and soldiery in effecting distresses. The clergy used them as proctors, and the landlords as their bailiffs, or “drivers.” This practice was against law; it was one which the people of England would not tolerate for an hour; it involved, as every body knows, Lord Haddington’s administration in the frightful business at Rathcormack; and we need not add how little events of that hue have raised the character or promoted even the secular interests of the clergy. The rage of the Tories, nevertheless, when the Government declared



its resolution to discontinue it, knew no bounds. They stormed the Castle with insolent applications, abused the Lord Lieutenant and the Secretary daily and nightly in their journals, and held them up to public odium, (even in places where misrepresentation and ribaldry are least seemly,) as conspirators against the rights of the clergy—although to protect those rights the Government had spared no pains, and although the obstacles to their enforcement arose from no other cause than the factious rejection of Lord Morpeth's protective and munificent measure. After a protracted endeavour to bully the Castle into the employment of the police on distraining expeditions, the writ of rebellion was resorted to.

This took the police out of the hands of the Government, and placed them at the disposal of certain commissioners of the Court of Exchequer; men of the lowest description, armed with the most violent powers, amounting even to the right of *breaking open houses by night*, for the apprehension of tithe defaulters. The atrocities perpetrated under the orders of these officers, could not have failed, under a Tory administration, to have goaded the peasantry into insurrection. Indeed, had not the Castle seasonably interposed, so far as to prohibit the police from nocturnal excursions, the public peace could scarcely have escaped violation even with all the influence possessed by the Government over the people. The extent to which the



peasantry were worried under this process, (which has since proved to have been irregularly issued!) may be judged from the fact that, in the first half year of the tithe campaign in the Equity Exchequer, there were issued from that Court, 286 writs of rebellion, against probably 2000 persons\*. The counties of Kildare, Limerick, Kilkenny, and Tipperary, were those which were principally harassed; yet we have seen the extraordinary progress which peaceful habits have made, notwithstanding; and we have seen particularly the decrease of crimes of violence, and of resistance to legal process.

The appointment of Crown Solicitors to the Courts of Quarter Sessions was an excellent measure. There is now in every county in Ireland an officer responsible for bringing the perpetrators of outrage to justice. The apprehension of offenders having been provided for by the due disposition and efficient management of the police, it only remained to make prosecution and punishment equally certain; and this has been accomplished by means of this new functionary, whose business it is to indict the rioter, or stone-thrower, before the Assistant Barrister at the next sitting of his court; and we shall now hear no more of that disgraceful system of

\* A return has been made to the House of Commons of the number of tithe suits instituted between January 1835 and June 1836. In that short space nearly 400 declarations were filed in the Law Courts, and 1552 bills filed in Equity; some of them against more than 200 persons. Not fewer than 15,000 persons were brought into the Exchequer as defendants in those six months.



compromise, which formerly prevailed at quarter-sessions, even in the most aggravated cases of riot and outrage, as if there was no distinction between a common assault committed by individual upon individual, and the most ruffianly description of violence perpetrated by faction upon faction, always sanguinary, often murderous, and throwing whole districts into consternation.

It is worthy of remark, as one effect of the creation of this new office in the local courts, that many crimes of a serious character, perpetrated before the present government came into power, and left unprosecuted through the gross abuses which then prevailed, have been brought within the last year under the cognizance of the law ; and the striking proof which this has afforded that the energies of the public tribunals have been thoroughly awakened, has been productive of better results than even the most vigorous prosecution of recent offenders. In consequence of these and other exertions to repair the defects of the past mal-administration of the law, the criminal calendar for 1836 is, in many counties, an unfair standard of the diminution of crime, and of the advances which order has made under the present government. Of a given number of offences committed, the number of instances in which the offenders were brought to punishment has been considerably greater in Lord Mulgrave's lieutenancy than in the times of any of his predecessors ; and, as we have seen, he has vindicated the law in numerous cases beside, devised to



him by Lord Haddington's short but mischievous Administration.

The pacificatory efforts of the Government have been nearly as successful with the Orangemen of the North as with the Rockites of the South; and, here too, the energetic but temperate administration of the existing laws has proved adequate to enforce order without the aid of measures foreign to the constitution. The Procession Act was no longer permitted to remain a dead letter; but the first rioters prosecuted under it at the spring assizes of 1836 were treated with signal generosity and lenity: the law officers of the crown were directed to accept promises of future peaceable behaviour, and to content themselves with convictions, without pressing for the punishments of the offenders. It was hoped that a clemency so unmerited would have placed these deluded factionaries under an honourable obligation to forbear from their tumultuous proceedings on the next party anniversary. In this expectation, however, the government was disappointed. Upon the 12th of the following July, they returned with increased violence to their insubordinate practices: it then became necessary to move the greater part of the military force of the country into Ulster; and by the exertions of the stipendiary magistracy several hundred insurgents were brought to justice. In Monaghan true bills were found against sixty-seven, and in Armagh against two hundred orangemen, charged with riot and unlawful assembling. Of



these about a hundred are now abroad upon bail. The remainder were brought to trial at the Assizes immediately after the riots, the greater number were found guilty, and mercy having been tried in vain, the law was suffered to take its course, and sentences of various terms of imprisonment were passed upon the culprits. The effect has been a striking vindication of the law against a description of outrage which had hitherto mocked or eluded its authority. Since last summer there has been scarcely any disturbance in Ulster. Tyrone is as quiet as Tipperary. The November festival of the gunpowder-plot passed without the usual explosion\*.

The manner in which the Viceroy has exercised the royal prerogative of pardon, has been with singular indecency assailed by the leaders of this party which has had the largest share of his Excellency's clemency. Lord Mulgrave, however, wisely considers mercy a part of justice; and, as long as his mode of administering justice produces the fruits of peace and improvement, he can afford to smile at the cavils of more important personages than Lord Charleville, and say, with Molière,

*"Ils critiquent mes pièces, tant mieux; Dieu me garde d'en faire jamais qui leur plaise! ce seroit une mauvaise affaire pour moi."*

\* The government has been much aided in the suppression, or rather prevention, of riots, in all parts of the country, by the valuable provisions of the "Spirit Licensing" Act (passed last session), enabling magistrates, or constables, to arrest any person found intoxicated in any street or public place. There is a penalty



The prerogative of mercy has been used by this Government, like its other powers, with the soundest discretion and the strictest impartiality. The conduct of the culprit has in every case been investigated by reference to the keepers and inspectors of prisons, and Tommy Downshire in the North has been treated with as kind consideration as Captain Starlight in the South.

But it is asked, "what reforms have been effected by this Government?" The question has been answered. We have shown the best of all reforms, that of the state of society—of the manners of the people; the decrease of crime; the growth of order. These reforms, however, are but the effect of others; they flow from a reformed administration of justice; from a reformed distribution of patronage; in a word, from a general reformation in the mode of administering the affairs of the country.

We have already noticed a most important improvement in the administration of law in the Local Courts. Another change introduced with the happiest effects, was in the system of selecting juries in criminal trials. Under the present Government the Irish people have had, for the first time, an unchallenged, unsuspected jury. The privilege possessed by the Crown, of ordering jurors to "stand by" was exercised in Tory times for the purpose of five shillings, or the alternative of twenty-four hours imprisonment. How did this escape Lord Lyndhurst?



of clearing the jury-box of every individual known, or conjectured, to harbour a popular sympathy or a liberal opinion. A case has been mentioned where a brother of Judge Perrin was challenged, for no reason but his relationship to that eminent person. How largely such a practice must have contributed to the discredit of public justice, will easily be conceived. Of course, like other abuses, it was said to be essential to the very existence of society. Well—it has been exploded; and the only change in the condition of society is a signal, palpable improvement. The results of two assizes have vindicated the change, which, it is worthy of notice, was introduced by a Popish Attorney General. Let Mr. Blackburn “crack us this nut now.”

And during the last year there have been liberal Sheriffs! It has been the rule of the Government—we shall not insult the good sense of the reader by stopping to defend it—to admit no person connected with a secret or exclusive society into any public employment. In the choice of Sheriffs, this rule was adhered to rigorously. Had the routine been followed, the Sheriffs of last year would have been, in the majority of bailiwicks, the Grand Masters, or Grand Secretaries, of Orange Lodges. Such were the individuals who “flamed in the forehead” of the judges’ lists. The only choice left to the Lord-Lieutenant, in eleven counties, was between orange and purple, or lighter and darker shades of the same seditious colour. The Tories exulted



at the prospect of another year of packed juries—the *posse comitatus* in the greater part of the country at their disposal—and all the other advantages derivable from an Orange shrievalty. But this was a point that touched the life of Lord Mulgrave's policy: he was not the man to suffer a Tory trick, or an official etiquette, to frustrate the grand scheme of his administration. Nor was he the man to be scared by clamour from the line of his duty. The clamour was prodigious when he passed over the judicial returns, and appointed liberal gentlemen; but a Government established in the hearts of seven millions of men, is not to be shaken by tongue-battery.

This transaction exemplifies the difficulties which this Government has had to combat in quarters where (engaged in the maintenance of public order) it might reasonably have expected support rather than opposition. This year it has had a similar difficulty to contend with; the circumstances are fresh in the public recollection, and we need not relate them; suffice it to observe, how distinctly these and other like incidents, indicate one of the most formidable dangers to be apprehended from the restoration of the Tories to power—Orangeism would then be the road to a higher place than a sheriff's office, to a place where (to borrow the language of Mr. Woulfe, in his late admirable speech to his constituents), "it is horrible to think of its existence."



The judicial appointments of this Government have been admirable. The services it has rendered Ireland in this department it is impossible to estimate too highly. When Lord Mulgrave commenced his administration, the character of the bench was prostrate, and with it the best pillar of order had fallen. The notion prevailed that the majority of the judges in all the courts, from the highest jurisdiction to the lowest, not only retained the feelings of the party to whose long and disastrous sway they owed their elevation, but were not uninfluenced by those feelings in the discharge of their judicial functions. In some cases this notion was combined with an irreverent opinion of the legal learning and experience of the arbiters of men's lives, properties, and liberties. In a word, there was a deep impression that former governments had evinced in their judicial preferments criminal carelessness on a point of sacred importance, and had looked upon private worth and professional ability, as qualifications, seemly indeed in a judge, but by no means absolutely indispensable. Such was the state of the public mind; and it signified little whether or not the facts supported the opinion; for in public justice the "*videri*" is as important as the "*esse*;" the waters must be lucid to be healing.

Every law appointment that has taken place in Ireland for the last eighteen months has tended to remedy this vast evil. In other departments ex-



ceptionable promotions may inadvertently have been made ; but there has not been a single advancement to the bench, except upon the ground of fitness.

The elevation of such men as Mr. Perrin, Mr. O'Loghlen, and Mr. Richards, was the right of their stations at the bar, and only an inadequate reward of their professional merits and public services. The most violent portion of the Tory press allowed that the ermine was never better bestowed than upon Mr. O'Loghlen, although a Catholic. The *Standard* considered his appointment one that would do honour to Sir Robert Peel.

It has happened, fortunately for the best interests of Ireland, that the Lord Lieutenant has had a greater number of the county-chairmanships at his disposal than commonly fall vacant in the same space of time. The importance of these offices is immense. The Assistant Barrister or Chairman is emphatically the judge of the people. He presides in three courts—a Civil Bill Court, a Criminal Court, a Registry Court—influencing to an incalculable extent public property, order, and liberty. Principally from these officers do the provinces take their estimate of the laws and their administration ; yet former Viceroys appointed them with less regard to qualification than they showed in the choice of their Gentlemen at Large. Every public interest felt this fatal levity. The rights of the poor were undefended ; the authority of the law feebly



and partially supported ; the just weight of the popular party materially impaired. The appointments, therefore, of six or seven assistant barristers, combining legal knowledge with irreproachable character and liberal principle, have been inestimable benefits to Ireland.

But the Orangemen make a notable objection to the legal promotions of this Government—Lord Mulgrave's appointees are partisans ! The charge is a falsehood. The Lord Lieutenant has not, it is quite true, appointed the enemies of his administration ; he has marked and profited by the errors of the preceding Whig lieutenancies ; but it is equally certain that he has raised no man to a judicial station whose politics have been disgraced by violence, or who has maintained popular principles with a factious spirit. The partisanship of the objects of his favour has been a steady and dispassionate devotion to national interests in preference to Orange—no more !

And shall it be said that the favour of the people, acquired by diligence and zeal in their service, is disqualification for public employment ? This was not the opinion of Burke.

“ Before men are put forward,” remarks that great writer, “ into the great trusts of the state, they ought, by their conduct, to have obtained such a degree of estimation in their country, as may be some sort of pledge and security to the public, that they will not abuse those trusts. It is no



“ mean security for a proper use of power, that a  
 “ man has shown by the general tenor of his  
 “ actions that the affection, the good opinion, the  
 “ confidence of his fellow-citizens, have been  
 “ among the principal objects of his life; and  
 “ that he has owed none of the gradations of his  
 “ power, or fortune, to a settled contempt, or  
 “ occasional forfeiture of their esteem\*.”

The only department where the powers of the government have not been exerted to the complete satisfaction of the country, is that of the unpaid Magistracy. Some popular appointments have been made; the Commission has been purged of some gross delinquents; and the Petty Sessions' Courts have been improved; but a more vigorous and sustained correction is loudly called for. In the meantime the public peace is dependent upon the activity of the stipendiary Magistrates, who alone co-operate cheerfully with the Government, and are consequently pursued with the unremitting animosity of the Tories. The appointments to these offices have been assailed upon the usual ground. The supporters of the Administration have been preferred to its enemies.

The determination to admit no Orangeman to office—a principle sanctioned by the unanimous vote of the House of Commons—is wrested into a charge

\* “ *Thoughts on the Present Discontents.*”



of a design to place all the power of the country in the hands of the Roman Catholics—What is the fact? The fact is, that in all the higher departments, considerably more Protestants than Catholics have been promoted. Look at the Castle. Lord Morpeth and Mr. Drummond are as staunch Protestants as they are enlightened men and able public servants. The gentleman who fills so efficiently the place of first Clerk in the Secretary's office is a Protestant. The place of Counsel to the Lord Lieutenant was given to Mr. Brady, a Protestant lawyer of the first reputation. Of the three great judicial situations of which the chief governor has had the disposal, two have been conferred upon members of the established church. Of seven assistant barristers nominated, four are believers in the thirty-nine articles. In all, there have been thirteen judicial appointments, of which nine have fallen to the "persecuted" followers of Luther. There have been two lord-lieutenants of counties appointed, both orthodox. We have before us a list of fifteen stipendiary magistrates chosen by this Government, and nine of the number are members of the same "proscribed" persuasion.

The question comes to this:—are the Catholics to have nothing? To what end have they been emancipated, if the door opened by the Legislature is to be slapped in their face by the Executive? When Lord Mulgrave went over to Ireland, he found admission the theory, and exclusion the



practice. Not a Catholic wore the ermine. There were but four Catholic assistant barristers. There was but one Catholic stipendiary magistrate in a list of twenty-four. Now what is Lord Mulgrave's crime? He has carried the law into effect, as was the bounden duty of the King's Lieutenant. And what is the demand of the Orange lords, who made so seasonable a demonstration of their spirit a few days ago at the Mansion-house in Dublin? Simply that the Government should act in the teeth of the declared will of Parliament, and limit to a sect—scarcely a tenth of the nation—ALL the offices and emoluments of the state!

It is curious to notice the amount of power at this moment in the possession of the party which has the effrontery to complain of the operation of "*a practical penal code*," and to call upon the English people for "*protection*." The following tables show that, in the principal public departments, Protestantism may safely be left to *protect* itself, if the way to protect a creed is to heap offices and emoluments upon those who profess it.

Let us first take the department of the law. It appears that, of sixty-five of the chief offices, the Catholics enjoy the exorbitant number of fourteen, and the Protestants only fifty-two!



	<i>P.</i>	<i>C.</i>
The Lord Chancellor . . .	1	
The Twelve Judges . . .	12	
The Master of the Rolls		1
Judges of the Court of Insolvent Debtors . . .	1	1
Judge of the Bankruptcy Court . . . . .	1	
Judge of the Admiralty Court . . . . .	1	
Chief Remembrancer . . .		1
Second Remembrancer . .	1	
Masters in Chancery . . .	4	
Attorney General . . . .		1
Solicitor General . . . .	1	
Four Sergeants at Law . .	3	1
Counsel to the Lord Lieutenant . . . . .		1
Thirty-two Assistant Barristers . . . . .	24	8
Registering Barristers for the City of Dublin . . . . .	1	
Prothonotaries of K.B. and C.P. . . . .	2	
Accountant General . . . .	1	
	52	14

*Secondly*, observe the distribution in the magisterial department.



	P.	C.
Thirty-two Lords Lieutenants of Counties . . .	30	2
Thirty-nine Stipendiary Magistrates . . . . .	33	6

The almost exclusive Protestantism of the unpaid magistracy is notorious.

*Thirdly*, see the composition of the constabulary.

	P.	C.
Inspector General . . . .	1	
Two Deputies . . . . .	2	
Four Provincial Inspectors	3	1
Chief Clerk . . . . .	1	
Thirty-six Sub-inspectors .	32	4
188 Chief Constables . . .	158	30
Eighteen Paymasters . . .	15	3
	212	38

So much may suffice to show the defenceless state of Protestantism, and with what severity the “practical penal code” operates.

Equally preposterous is another attack upon this Administration, founded upon the few symptoms of social derangement still lingering in the country. The experiment of justice is said to have failed, because in little more than eighteen months it has not made an Eden, where the Tories left a wilderness; because in less than two years it has not obliterated



every print of the mis-government of six centuries ; because the Dublin Gazette still offers a reward for the discovery of the perpetrator of an agrarian outrage\* ! Unquestionably the present Administration has wrought no miracles. No witchcraft has been used, unless justice may be so called. It is not said that the change which the parental system of Government has made in the state of Ireland is complete ; it is enough to say that it is general ; and if turbulence has not universally given way to order, whether this is the fault of the government which has done so much, or of the party which has toiled incessantly to prevent it from doing any thing, let reason and candour decide.

\* This topic is admirably handled in the Address of the County of Limerick. In the avidity with which the Tories snatch at every trace of "savagery" not yet "deracinated," there is not only the worst logic, but the worst feeling. How poignantly did Lord Mulgrave rebuke the latter, in the following passage of his answer :—

"You state most truly, that the improvements so widely felt and so generally acknowledged in the condition of the people, and in their willing obedience to constituted authority, is not to be controverted by partial excesses, which we may still occasionally deplore in particular districts, arising from causes to which, as you state, every society must at all times be subject ; *one could only pity the perverted feelings of any person who would cherish individual instances of this description, and endeavour on such grounds to perpetuate the stigma of their country, lest credit should collaterally be given to government for a progressive improvement resting on the authority of the ministers of the law, and willingly testified from the seats of justice.*"



Lord Mulgrave has not been two years at the head of the Irish Executive; and all his efforts to tranquillize, have been met with redoubled exertions to disturb. His administration has had none of the ordinary supports. A spirit of active hostility to his policy reigns in all those institutions and establishments, to which governments commonly look for assistance—where, at least, they expect neutrality. Beneath the scowl of the peerage, under the displeasure of the ermine, without much succour from the pulpit,—the extensive social improvement of Ireland has been effected. A government in such circumstances, had it merely prevented the increase of crime—merely kept insubordination in control—merely held society together—would have given proof of no vulgar ability. That such a government has not only averted anarchy, but confirmed order—not only stayed the course of deterioration, but effected immense improvement—is evidence that its powers have been exercised with consummate skill; and demonstrates further, that the tendencies of the Irish people to peace and civilization, are as strong as they have been commonly considered feeble—that the country has followed cheerfully and steadily, the first leaders that have conducted it into the ways of order—and that the people of England have only to maintain the present enlightened sway, to accomplish, in a few years, the complete regeneration of Ireland,



and gather in that full harvest of which they have already at their feet the golden specimens.

It is difficult to determine upon which side of the channel Lord Mulgrave's government ought to meet the more fervent support. The Reformers of England seem to be as deeply indebted to it, as their Irish fellow-citizens who more immediately enjoy its benefits. The whole weight of Ireland is now, for the first time, in the scale of Reform. Hence it is that the batteries of opposition play so hotly upon the Irish branch of the Administration. The Tories see a vast and unprecedented confederacy brought into the field by the system that has amalgamated the sentiments and prospects of the friends of liberty in the two islands. Their interests were safe, as long as violent and capricious governments alienated the affections of Ireland, and divided the great stream of popular feeling into two channels. As long as agrarian crimes and outrages prevailed extensively in Ireland—as long as the Rockite ran his career of riot—as long as the columns of the public journals were filled with evidences of a state of society unknown in England, and, by a people accustomed to the quiet tenor of public justice, and unfamiliar with predial disturbances, not to be thought of without horror—so long there was an obstacle almost insuperable to the junction that was necessary to the common cause. The notion was studiously impressed upon the English mind,



that agrarian outrage was inseparably connected with political agitation; the people of England were led to believe that they could not fraternize with their fellow countrymen in Ireland, without sanctioning the disorders, and participating in the crimes, that deformed and disgraced that country. Nor was this all. The same misgovernment that drove the peasantry into secret combination, compelled the middle classes of the people (too enlightened to have recourse to violent methods of obtaining their rights) to take measures for their protection, in which it was idle to dream that they could ever meet with any extensive support from the Reformers of Great Britain. The project of Repeal was easily represented (although its advocates had no such purpose) as a scheme for the dismemberment of the empire; and thus the Tories were furnished with a second argument to prevent what they so much dreaded—the formation of a liberal party combining the whole moral power of the empire.

This great and invaluable combination has taken place, for the obstacles to it have been removed. Where now is the Rockite? Where now is the Repealer? The government of Lord Mulgrave by an equally firm and mild administration of justice, making the law respectable and truly formidable, has suppressed agrarian disturbance; and has hushed the “Wild Irish Cry” for a domestic legislature, by the assurance which



its wise measures and its parental spirit have given, that, in the words of the inhabitants of Mallow, "English statesmen, sent by, and representing fairly the people of England, would do ample justice to this long-afflicted country\*."

One thing only is now wanting—that the spirit of the Executive should pass into the Legislature. Good government is much, but it is not all. Ireland must have just laws and just establishments. The majority of her people are Catholic; and to that fact her institutions must be accommodated. She is a member of the empire, and she is entitled to perfect equality with the other members.

It is the bounden duty of the English people to insist upon the full and speedy redress of the grievances of Ireland. England is deeply concerned in the peace of Ireland; let it be her care to establish it upon the solid basis of beneficent laws and popular institutions; upon the grounds of education for the ignorant—relief for the distressed—an equal participation by every member of the community, without religious distinction, in civil advantages and rights. The foundations of public tranquillity ought to be deeper than the accident of a wise Administration; they should be

\* See Appendix (B). The Address of the town of Mallow illustrates so strikingly the mode in which Lord Mulgrave's administration has operated upon the feeling of the Irish people, with respect to the question of Repeal, that we think it right to direct the reader's attention strongly to it.



laid in the statute book ; they should exist in the establishments of the country. Next, let it be recollected, that every Irish abuse is a fortress in the hands of the common enemy, and that the secret of the resistance made to the demands of Ireland is the knowledge that in the continuance of Tory ascendancy in that country consists the last chance of Tory influence in England. Again, if the English people think it their advantage to maintain the Union, let them see that the conditions, upon which Ireland entered into the compact, are fulfilled. English honour was pledged, in that arrangement, to the free admission of the Irish people into all the liberties of British citizens : nearly forty years have elapsed, and that pledge remains to be redeemed. Further, if the progress of Reform in England and Scotland is indebted for its most important victories to the support of the popular party in the sister country, let that support be fairly requited ; let exertion be returned for exertion—zeal for zeal—sacrifice for sacrifice. Moreover, be it not forgotten that reparation is due to Ireland for centuries of wrong. And, finally, the arguments of policy and justice are reinforced by considerations of religion ; for, were there no other grounds to support the claims of Ireland to the vigorous aid of England, we should call upon the English people, as a Protestant nation, to reform the vast abuse of tithes ; to throw the doors of the municipal establishments open ; to abolish all that is intolerant



and proscriptive ;—because what is inconsistent with peace is at variance with religion ; and, because the deplorable consequences of the old system of monopoly and exclusion, are manifest in the scanty residue of Protestantism that survives to illustrate the mistakes and follies of our fathers.



## APPENDIX (A).

The Secretaries of the Tipperary Society, in making their first report, feel considerable pleasure in being able to congratulate the county on the alacrity that has been generally evinced in forming this moral combination, for maintaining the supremacy of the laws, and suppressing that disposition to agrarian outrage and factious riot, so disgraceful and degrading to the character of this county, and so fatal and pernicious to the best interests of its inhabitants.

From the reports already furnished to the Secretaries, it appears that in 24 parishes in this county, the great majority of the Clergy, Gentry, and Farmers, have enrolled themselves Members of the Society, and formed Local Committees for the especial care of their respective districts. These parishes were generally heretofore the most disturbed by agrarian outrages, and the prevalence of factious riots; but since the extension of the Society to these parts, a manifest improvement has taken place, and a rapidly increasing disposition is evinced by the people to respect and obey the laws, and to discountenance and banish from among them the habitual violators of the peace.

The recent fairs in this county, though in some few instances very much disturbed, have, with these exceptions, passed off without those sanguinary conflicts between opposing parties, which were so frequent in their recurrence but a short time since: and though this fortunate change must in a great measure be ascribed to the vigorous and judicious application of the laws (by our invaluable County Chairman, Mr. Howley,) to offences of this nature, still that growing attachment to peace and good order, which the Society has been mainly instrumental in calling forth, has powerfully contributed to give to punishment that moral



effect, without which, infliction of the penalty of the laws can never fully attain its salutary object.

The Secretaries have also reason to believe, that agrarian outrages, heretofore so prevalent in a portion of this county, have considerably decreased within the last few months, and though they have to deplore the recent commission of crime of peculiar atrocity, in a parish to which the Society has not yet been extended, they feel they can safely congratulate the advocates of good order in this county, on the paucity of these outrages for the last six months, compared with their prevalence during any equal portion of time, for a considerable number of years.

From an attentive consideration of these several facts, the Secretaries feel [what they conceive to be a well-grounded hope] that a period has arrived from whence may be dated the establishment of a more improved state of society in Tipperary—and are convinced that a continuance of that liberal and enlightened system of government it is now their good fortune to possess, with the pure, the impartial, the unsuspected administration of justice, and the steady and active co-operation of the well-disposed portion of the community in maintaining the supremacy of the laws, cannot fail in a short time completely to remove that stigma which has been cast upon the character of the county, and to afford that perfect security to property and to life, so indispensable to the growth of a nation, and so requisite to the development of those vast resources this county is universally acknowledged to possess.

EDMOND POWER. }  
JOHN GRENE Jun. } Secretaries.



## APPENDIX (B).

*Extracts from the Address of the Inhabitants of the Town of Mallow, and the surrounding districts, to Lord Mulgrave.*

“ We stand before you in number amounting to over one hundred thousand ; and the greater part of us avow ourselves as having belonged to that political party in this country who advocated the Repeal of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, in the eager pursuit of which we dismissed, or aided in dismissing from the representation of this great county and borough in parliament, individuals, who, on other public questions, were entitled to our respect and confidence.

“ As Irishmen, the love of our own country is paramount in our breasts ; and we could not behold, without grief and indignation, the wide-spread poverty, discontent, and misery (the effects of long established oppression and misrule), which have afflicted the land.

“ We thought that the only remedy that could be devised for such evils, was a recurrence to a domestic legislature, where the laws would emanate from our countrymen, under the control of the opinions and feelings prevailing in Ireland.

“ But the experience we have had of your Excellency's wise, just, and paternal government, carrying into effect the liberal and enlightened principles of His Majesty's present advisers, has taught us otherwise, and we now acknowledge that English statesmen sent by, and fairly representing the people of England, would do ample justice to this long afflicted country.

“ From the hope that we entertain, and on the condition that the principles indicated by your Excellency's government will be carried into effect ; namely, of having the inhabitants of this country rank in the eye of the law on terms of perfect equality with the British people, we tender to your Excellency our solemn abjuration of the question of the Repeal of the Legislative Union,



and of every other question calculated to produce an alienation of feeling between the inhabitants of Great Britain and those of Ireland.

“ We seek for equality with the British people, common interests, and reciprocity of benefits, and to be legislated for as a part of Great Britain : with less, we never can be content.”

The reply of the Lord Lieutenant contained the following passages :

“ You do me but justice in believing me to be your sincere friend, and in that sincerity it is I tell you, that my decided opposition to the Repeal of the Union is founded upon, and in exact proportion to, my love for Ireland herself.

“ But the very essence of a true Union must be perfect equality on all subjects of legislation ; to be treated, as you justly express, in all respects as a part of Great Britain.”

FINIS.







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