

THEN AND NOW



I R E L A N D

IN

1886 AND 1892

PUBLISHED BY  
THE LIBERAL UNION OF IRELAND  
45, DAME-STREET, DUBLIN

JUNE, 1892



Houses of the Oireachtas

THEN AND NOW

---

I R E L A N D

IN

1886 & 1892

---

PUBLISHED BY  
THE LIBERAL UNION OF IRELAND  
45, DAME-STREET, DUBLIN

---

*JUNE, 1892*







## PREFATORY NOTE.

---

THIS Pamphlet is divided into two parts. The first part refers to the state of disorder in Ireland with which the Unionist Government had to deal when they came into power in 1886, and the eminent success which has attended their efforts to restore peace and personal liberty.

The second part shows the great improvement which has taken place in the material condition of Ireland during the last six years.





## PART I.

---

### SOCIAL ORDER.

---

THE state of Ireland, when Mr. Balfour was appointed Chief Secretary, in March, 1887, was such as to impose a severe test on the energy and determination of the most courageous statesman. The forces of disorder which had been temporarily held in check by the popular leaders, pending the fate of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, had been let loose on the rejection of that measure in 1886, and the consequent return of a Conservative Government to power.

The Plan of Campaign—that most daring and dishonest offshoot of the Irish agrarian agitation—had been launched in the autumn of 1886, and was in full swing. Meetings were being held throughout the country at which the most vehement incitements to disorder were delivered, followed by the natural crop of outrages and crime. The Nationalists had openly declared that it was their intention to make British Government in Ireland impossible, and to force the Government to pass a Crimes Act.



Mr. J. Redmond at Chicago in 1886.

**Mr. John Redmond, M.P.,**

at the Chicago Convention in August, 1886, spoke as follows:—

‘The duty of the moment is clear. It now remains for us to prove, for the thousandth time, that as slaves we can be formidable foes.

I assert here to-day that the Government of Ireland by England is an impossibility, and I believe it to be our duty to make it so.’

And, in December, 1886, he declared that if the Tories had been able to govern Ireland with the ordinary law the cause of Home Rule would have been thrown back for a generation. ‘We have been able,’ he said, ‘to force the Government to give up the ordinary law, and to fall back once more on coercion.’

—(*Enniscorthy Guardian*, December 11, 1886.)

Irish Judges on the state of the country.

The condition of a great part of the South of Ireland when Mr. Balfour took up the reins of Government may be gathered from the charges delivered by the Judges at the Spring Assizes of 1887. On the 28th of February, Mr. Justice O’Brien, who had been raised to the bench by Mr. Gladstone in 1882, addressing the Grand Jury of County Clare, said:—

Mr. Justice O’Brien in Clare, 1887.

‘All these returns which I have before me, and the information which has reached me from other quarters of an unquestionably authentic character lead me to the conclusion that

law, to a great extent, has ceased to exist in this county.’—(*Freeman’s Journal*, March 1, 1887.)



And on the 10th of March the same Judge <sup>Mr. Justice O'Brien in Kerry.</sup> addressed the Grand Jury of county Kerry, as follows :—

‘These returns present a picture of the county of Kerry such as could hardly be found in any country that has passed the confines of natural society, and entered on the duties and relations and acknowledged obligations of civilized life. The law is defeated—perhaps I should rather say has ceased to exist—houses are attacked by night and by day, even the midnight terror yielding to the noonday audacity of crime; person and life are assailed; the terrified inmates are wholly unable to do anything to protect themselves, and

**a state of terror and lawlessness prevails everywhere.’**

—(*Freeman's Journal*, March 11, 1887.)

Similarly, on the 14th March, 1887, Mr. Justice <sup>Mr. Justice Johnson in Cork.</sup> Johnson, who had been Attorney-General for Ireland under Mr. Gladstone's Government, and had been raised to the bench by him, in his charge to the County Cork Grand Jury, said :—

‘The returns from this and the West Riding—and they cover a period of only three months since the last Winter Assizes—show that in a considerable portion of this great county the people who live in remote and isolated districts are subject to

**violence, alarm, and plunder, by day and by night—**

principally by night—from gangs of armed men, disguised mainly, who rove through the country seizing arms, plundering property, always with a show of violence, often accompanied with threats, and sometimes with assaults of the meanest and most dastardly character.’—(*Daily Express*, March 15, 1887.)

The attempt to cope with this state of things <sup>Failure of the ordinary law.</sup> by means of the ordinary law completely failed.

**Witnesses were afraid to give evidence,**  
and people who had been assailed by moonlighters,



and who had given evidence to the police in the heat of the moment, turned away when confronted with their assailants, and refused to identify them. Nor was this to be wondered at when they saw the persecution which followed persons like the Curtins, and Norah Fitzmaurice,\* whose only offence was that they gave evidence which brought their fathers' murderers to justice. Even if evidence were forthcoming,

**jurors were afraid to convict.**

Men who did their duty according to their oaths were held up to popular execration and were boycotted, and both the Limerick and Clare Assizes in March, 1887, were adjourned by the presiding Judges owing to verdicts of acquittal in cases where the guilt of the accused had been proved to demonstration.

Mr. Campbell-Bannerman on the failure of the ordinary law.

**Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, M.P.,**

in October, 1885, only a few months after he had ceased to be Chief Secretary for Ireland, had attacked the Conservative Government, in a speech addressed to the Scottish Liberal Association at Perth, for attempting to carry on the government of Ireland with the ordinary criminal

---

\* Mr. Curtin, it will be remembered, was a well-to-do farmer in Kerry, whose house was visited one night by moonlighters. He and his family resisted them, and Mr. Curtin was shot. His daughters identified two of their assailants, and secured their conviction. Mrs. Curtin and her family, who had previously been on good terms with all their neighbours, were thereupon completely boycotted. They could not go out or even attend their place of worship without being hooted and insulted. They were obliged to have a police



law procedure. In support of this position he said:—

‘But the key of the whole of this question was this—that in many parts of Ireland, for certain classes of offences, especially offences of an agrarian character, they could not trust to the ordinary class of jurymen doing their duty, partly from ignorance, partly from prejudice, but mainly owing to the cruel and overpowering system of terror under the National League. They could not be sure with the clearest evidence of being able to get a verdict. Now he maintained that, in order to uphold the arm of justice in Ireland, it was not merely reasonable, but necessary, to provide some measures which could overcome that difficulty, and it might very well have been made

part of the permanent law.’

After describing the state of terrorism existing in Ireland, he said that he

‘spoke by the book of things which he knew.

The Government knew very well that if they proposed to try the men they would have to do so by a local jury, who would be exposed to the very temptations against which the prosecution was directed; and could anyone doubt that such a jury would be slow to bring upon themselves and their families the ruin that the man before them and his coadjutors could inflict?’—(*The Scotsman*, 17th October, 1885.)

In a subsequent speech delivered at Stirling, after stating that the late Government had had no

---

protection hut at their door, and the persecution to which they were subjected was such that they were at last compelled to sell their farm and leave the country.

The case of Norah Fitzmaurice was precisely similar. Her father was shot before her eyes on the public road. She identified and secured the conviction of his murderers, for which offence she was cruelly boycotted, and obliged to be protected by police. Her sad story, told by herself, is to be found in the evidence taken before the Special Commission.



intention of reviving the more arbitrary portions of Mr. Gladstone's Crimes Act, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman said :—

‘ All I thought was wanting was that we should provide means by which there could be secured easily and equitably, and without injury to anyone, a fair and impartial trial for certain kinds of offences, in the trial of which

you cannot depend upon the ordinary Irish juryman  
doing his duty.

*I mean by a fair trial, a trial fair not only to the man charged, but to the victim of the offence, and to the community which is injured by the commission of the offence. Without this the arm of justice must be paralysed, unnerved, and I am much mistaken if that is not the case at the present day.*—  
(*Scotsman*, October 24th, 1885.)

Mr. Gladstone himself stated, in the speech in which he introduced the Home Rule Bill of 1886, that it was impossible to depend in Ireland upon the finding of a jury in a case of agrarian crime.

Necessity for  
some change  
in criminal  
law procedure.

Under such circumstances the Government had no alternative but to ask Parliament to add to the effective force of the law such provisions as would enable the Executive to bring guilty persons to justice.

The Criminal  
Law and Pro-  
cedure Act,  
1887.

Accordingly, they introduced and carried through Parliament the Criminal Law and Procedure Act of 1887. This Act did not, as has been so constantly asserted, make anything an offence which was not one before, but simply introduced some changes in procedure. With two exceptions its provisions are substantially

**taken from Mr. Gladstone's Crimes Act of 1882,** while it did not re-enact the severer portions of



that Act or of Mr. Gladstone's Crimes Act of 1881.

The Criminal Law and Procedure Act of 1887 <sup>Preliminary inquiry.</sup> provides (section 1) for a preliminary inquiry upon oath where a crime has been committed, although no person has been charged with the commission thereof (compare section 16 of the Crimes Act of 1882); this being one of the provisions specially advocated by Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, in the speech at Perth, which has been already referred to.

A similar provision exists in Scotland as part of the ordinary criminal procedure; but when put into force in Ireland it was described by the Nationalists as the 'Star-chamber' clause.

Section 2 provides for the trial before a court <sup>Summary jurisdiction.</sup> of summary jurisdiction of any person committing any of the following offences in a proclaimed district:—

- (a) Taking part in any criminal conspiracy *already punishable by law.*
- (b) Using violence or intimidation to any person, either to make him do that which he has a right to abstain from doing, or to abstain from doing that which he has a right to do.
- (c) Taking part in any riot or unlawful assembly.
- (d) Taking forcible possession of a house or land within twelve months after execution of a writ of possession thereof.
- (e) Assaulting or obstructing officers of the law in the execution of their duty.
- (f) Inciting any person to commit any of the above offences.



All these provisions, with the exception of (a), are practically identical with those contained in sections 7 and 8 of Mr. Gladstone's Crimes Act of 1882; and the sole object of this section is to secure

**a fair trial in these cases.**

—(See Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's Speech at Stirling, already quoted.)

Dangerous  
Associations.

The remaining sections contain provisions for trial by special jury, change of venue, the proclamation of certain districts for the purposes of the Act, and for the proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant of any association as being dangerous, if he is satisfied that it is formed for the commission of or for encouraging crimes, promoting or inciting to acts of violence or intimidation, or interfering with the administration of the law (compare sections 4, 6, 9, 23, and 34, Crimes Act, 1882).

The punishment under the Act of 1887 is limited to six months' imprisonment; and

**the widest powers of appeal**

are open to anyone convicted under it.

We have it on the authority of

Sir George  
Trevelyan  
describes Mr.  
Gladstone's  
plan for  
strengthening  
the ordinary  
law.

**Sir George Trevelyan, M.P.,**

who was Chief Secretary for Ireland under Lord Spencer, that, in the summer of 1885, it was the intention of Mr. Gladstone's Government (of which Sir George Trevelyan was then a member), had they remained in office, to have passed

**a precisely similar measure**

to this Act, for which a Conservative Government



has been so much abused. Speaking to his Scotch constituents in May, 1886, he said :—

‘In last June, Mr. Gladstone and his Cabinet determined to maintain the law in Ireland. They resolved to have a preliminary investigation on oath into undetected crime, which you have in Scotland. They resolved to have power of changing the scene of a trial from a locality where public feeling was too strong for that trial to be a fair one, a power which you have in Scotland. They resolved to call a special jury in cases of crime, as a substitute for the far more potent and effective system of convicting or acquitting by a majority of jurors, which you have in Scotland. They resolved to allow a summary sentence of a few months to be inflicted for crimes of violence and intimidation by two stipendiary magistrates, who answer in essential respects to your Scotch sheriffs. That is Coercion! That is the system,

greatly effective as a check on crime, but absolutely without any terror or danger to law-abiding citizens.’

—(Mr. Trevelyan at Galashiels, *The Times*, May 8th, 1886.)

The Criminal Law and Procedure Act of 1887 <sup>The Crimes Act of 1882.</sup> did not re-enact the severer portions of Mr. Gladstone’s Act of 1882, such as the provisions giving power—

(a) To try cases of treason, murder, arson, attacks on dwelling-houses, &c., without a jury, <sup>Special Commission Court.</sup> by a Special Commission of three Judges (Prevention of Crime Act, 1882, sections 1–3);

(b) To any constable to arrest any person in a proclaimed district out of his place of abode at any time after one hour later than sunset and before sunrise, under circumstances giving rise to a reasonable suspicion of a criminal intent (section 11); the person arrested being liable to three months’ imprisonment (section 11); <sup>Curfew clauses.</sup>



Arrest of  
strangers.

(c) To a constable to arrest any stranger found in a proclaimed district, under circumstances giving rise to a reasonable suspicion of a criminal intent, and to bring him before a Justice of the Peace, who might require him to give security, and in default commit him to prison for one month (section 12);

Seizure of  
newspaper.

(d) And to the Lord Lieutenant to seize any newspaper (section 13).

Criminal Law  
and Procedure  
Act of 1887  
passed.

The Criminal Law and Procedure Act of 1887 became law on the 19th of July, and the first question which the Government had to decide was, whether or not the National League, which had been allowed to spring up under Mr. Gladstone's administration, after the suppression of the Land League, and which had been described by Sir William Harcourt as the 'apostolic successor' of that body, should be proclaimed as a 'dangerous association.' Mr. Parnell had warned the Government on the introduction of the Act that 'coercion' had been answered in former times by

'dynamite, and by fresh attempts at  
assassination and conspiracy.'

The real question at issue, however, was which was to be supreme in Ireland, the Government or the National League.

Proclamation  
of the  
National  
League.

On the 19th of August, 1887, the Government threw down the gage, and proclaimed the National League as a 'dangerous association.' This step was received by the Nationalists with a howl of derision, but Mr. Balfour went quietly



to work, disregarding the clamour which was raised both in Ireland and England. The Irish Nationalist Members had declared that under the 'Crimes' Act the gaols would be filled to overflowing.

Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., speaking at the Rotunda, in Dublin, on October 10th, 1887, said :—

Nationalist  
defiance.

'I tell him' (Mr. Balfour) 'candidly here to-night that the fixed resolve of all the millions of men and women is to

defy this infamous and abominable Act,  
and to thwart and obstruct it in every possible way.'

—(*Freeman's Journal*, October 11, 1887.)

The *Kerry Sentinel*, the organ of Mr. E. Harrington, M.P., declared, in a leading article, dated March 1st, 1887, that—

'The jails will be crammed,  
and the Coercion Act must soon die out, a victim to its own rapacity.'

And the *Weekly News*, edited by Mr. T. D. Sullivan, M.P., in a leading article, on April 9th, 1887, wrote as follows :—

'It only needs, therefore, that seven or eight hundred men shall be immured, to render Mr. Balfour's Bill less valuable than the paper on which it is printed. He can imprison no more than the prisons can hold, and those who are outside then can snap their fingers at his best or worst.'

In view of these declarations it is interesting to note what a

small amount of so-called Coercion  
has actually taken place and what  
excellent results  
it has produced.



Summary of  
proceedings  
under the  
Criminal Law  
and Procedure  
Act, 1887.

The total number of persons proceeded against under the Criminal Law and Procedure Act, from the date of its passing to the 31st of March, 1892, was 3775, of whom 1047 were discharged, and 2728 convicted. In 671 cases the defendants were ordered to find sureties or enter into recognizances for their good behaviour, and the number of individuals who have been imprisoned under the Act to the 31st of March, 1892, is only 1884. The highest penalty which can be inflicted under the Act is six months' imprisonment, and only 181 persons have been sentenced to more than three months' imprisonment, while 1099, or considerably more than half the total number imprisoned, have been sentenced for terms not exceeding one month.

The number of persons who have been imprisoned twice is 88, among them being Mr. John Dillon, M.P., who spent his time on each occasion in hospital. Fifteen have been imprisoned three times, and only two four times—namely, Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., and Mr. O'Sullivan, a Town Councillor of Galway, and an ardent Parnellite.

Present  
number in  
gaol.

The total number of persons in prison under the Act on the 1st of May, 1892, was six.

Appeals  
under the  
Act.

There have been 565 appeals against decisions under the Act, with the result that 344 decisions have been affirmed, 80 reversed, and in 141 cases the sentence has been reduced.



It must be remembered that under the Criminal Law and Procedure Act of 1887

no one can be imprisoned without a fair trial in open Court,

whereas, under Mr. Gladstone's Crimes Act of 1881, his Government arrested and imprisoned over one thousand persons as 'suspects,' without any trial whatever. One thousand persons imprisoned without trial by Mr. Gladstone.

The number of prosecutions under the Act of 1887 has steadily diminished each year. Thus Diminution in number of prosecutions. the number of prosecutions in 1888 was 1475; in 1889, 839; in 1890, 531; and in 1891, 243; but though the Act has now become almost a dead letter, the effect which it has produced is eminently satisfactory.

The number of agrarian outrages has diminished from 1056 in 1886, to 472 in 1891, or less Diminution in number of agrarian outrages. than they have been in any year since 1878.

The following Table, compiled from the Government Returns, shows the number of agrarian outrages in each year since 1880—

Number of Agrarian Outrages.

Year.	Number of Outrages.	
1880	2585	} Under Mr. Gladstone's Government.
1881	4439	
1882	3433	
1883	870	
1884	762	
1885	944	} Change of Government in each year.
1886	1056	
1887	883	} Under the Unionist Government.
1888	660	
1889	534	
1890	519	
1891	472	



It will be observed that the number of agrarian crimes, which in 1881 and 1882 reached the enormous totals of 4439 and 3433, largely diminished as the result of the Crimes Acts passed in each of those years, but that on the Crimes Act of 1882 being allowed to lapse in 1885, the number of agrarian outrages immediately began to rise, until it was again checked by the Act of 1887.

Decrease of  
boycotting.

On the 30th of June, 1887, immediately before the Criminal Law and Procedure Act became law, no less than

**4901 persons were boycotted.**

On the 31st of December, 1890, the number had been reduced to 472, since which date

**boycotting has practically died out.**

The number of persons relieved from the intolerable tyranny of boycotting is therefore more than double the number of persons who have been imprisoned under the so-called 'Coercion' Act.

Withdrawal  
of proclama-  
tions under  
the Criminal  
Law and Pro-  
cedure Act.

The improved state of the country enabled the Government in June, 1891, to suspend the operation of those portions of the Criminal Law and Procedure Act which conferred on the magistrates summary jurisdiction as regards criminal conspiracy, using violence, or intimidation (those being the portions chiefly objected to as 'coercion'), over the whole of Ireland except in the County Clare, and three baronies in Galway, one in Donegal, and one in Tipperary. In April, 1892, these five baronies were also exempted.

Reduction of  
police force.

It has also been possible largely to reduce the



number of police, the actual strength of the Royal Irish Constabulary on the 1st of May, 1892, being between 300 and 400 less than on the 1st of May, 1886. The average number of Irish police in the five financial years of Mr. Gladstone's Government, 1881-2 to 1885-6, was 14,602, and in the five financial years of the Unionist Government, 1886-7 to 1890-1, 13,948, the average annual cost of the force in the latter period being £1094 less than in the former.

The number of evictions has decreased from 3781 in 1886, to 1098 in 1891. The following Table, compiled from the Government Returns, shows the total

Decrease in  
number of  
evictions.

number of evictions during each year, from  
1882 to 1891 :

Year.	Total Number of Evictions.
1882	5201
1883	3643
1884	4188
1885	3127
1886	3781
1887	3869
1888	1609
1889	1805
1890	1842
1891	1098

The increase in the number of evictions in



1887, as compared with the previous year was caused by the inauguration of the Plan of Campaign in the autumn of the latter year, to which a large number of the evictions in the following years is also to be attributed.

Collapse of  
the Plan of  
Campaign.

This dishonest conspiracy has now completely collapsed. It has involved the ruin of a large number of tenants who were duped into adopting it by promises which have not been fulfilled. Many of them have seen their farms taken by others, as has been the case on Lord Massereene's Estate in Louth, on the Brooke Estate at Coolgreany, county Wexford, and on Lord Lansdowne's Estate at Luggacurren, in Queen's County, where the new tenants have purchased their farms under the Ashbourne Act. On some estates, such as that belonging to The O'Grady in the county Limerick, the tenants of which were among the first to adopt the Plan of Campaign, the evicted lands have been successfully worked by or on behalf of the landlord. On others, the tenants, finding themselves left in the lurch, have come to terms with their former landlords, in most cases on the basis of purchase. Thus, a large number of the evicted tenants on the Ponsonby Estate, county Cork, have availed themselves of the facilities for that purpose offered by the Land Act of 1891, and have entered into agreements for the purchase of their former holdings. But though such of the Campaigners as have succeeded in returning to their farms may be far happier than their brethren who have no prospect of ever getting back to theirs, it is doubtful whether they will ever



recover the losses they have suffered through having adopted the disastrous 'Plan of Campaign.'

Perhaps the greatest fiasco of all in connexion with the Land Agitation has been that of

**' New Tipperary,'**

which will hereafter be known to history only as an example of the folly and incompetence of those who aspired to be the rulers of Ireland.

**The peaceful state of the country**

at the present time has been testified to by the charges delivered by the Judges at the Spring Assizes of 1892. Mr. Justice O'Brien's description of the condition of things five years ago has been already quoted, and his remarks in opening the county Cork Assizes in March, 1892, may be referred to as showing the difference between that time and the present :—

Mr. Justice  
O'Brien at  
Cork, 1892.

Addressing the Grand Jury, he said 'he was very much pleased indeed to be able to state, upon the information supplied to him, that notwithstanding some trifling and inconsiderable efforts to fan the expiring flame of disorder, the county was in a most satisfactory condition. The flood of crime that for so many years had passed over it, in common with other counties, had entirely gone down. The offences reported to the constabulary for the East Riding were slightly less, but substantially equal in number to those reported for the corresponding period last year. The West Riding—that part of this county which might be supposed to suffer most from difficulty and distress—exhibited an extraordinary diminution of crime—no less than two-thirds. The offences reported for the corresponding period last year were 94,



while for the present period they amounted to but 31.

**All trace of any kind of offences indicating a state of disorder or agrarian disturbance was entirely wanting.**

Some of the most mischievous and injurious features that had distinguished the state of things in this county had ceased altogether. One alone deserved particular notice.

**Boycotting was at an end,**

and the attention of the people generally was found to be turned to questions that affected their material prosperity.'—  
(*The Times*, March 16, 1892.)



## PART II.

---

### ADVANCE IN MATERIAL PROSPERITY.

---

**As disorder has lessened prosperity has increased.**

THE announcement, in December, 1885, that Mr. Gladstone had adopted the policy of Home Rule for Ireland caused a sudden and heavy fall in the value of Irish stocks and shares, and in the ten days following the rumour of his intentions, the price of Bank of Ireland Stock, the most important of Irish securities, fell from 306 to 249. Shock caused by Mr. Gladstone's surrender.

The annexed Table shows the market prices, in relation to the dividends for the previous financial year, of a few typical Irish securities, representing leading banking, railway, steamship and industrial Companies (1) in May, 1885, before Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill had been heard of; (2) in May, 1886, while that Bill was before the country, and (3) in May, 1892, after six years of Unionist Government. Stock Exchange prices.



Companies.		Capital Paid-up.	Dividends 1884-5.	Price May 31, 1885.	Dividends 1885-6.	Price May 31, 1886.	Dividends 1891-2.	Price May 31, 1892.
<b>BANKS.</b>								
Bank of Ireland,	..	£ 2,766,231	12 %	333 $\frac{1}{4}$	11 %	260	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ %	323
National,	..	1,500,000	11	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	21
Provincial,	..	540,000	12	29	11	20	10	25 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ulster, ..	..	450,000	20	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	19	91 $\frac{3}{8}$	19	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Northern,	..	400,000	12	24 $\frac{3}{8}$	12	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	11	23 $\frac{1}{4}$
Belfast, ..	..	400,000	20	109 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	100	20	110
<b>RAILWAYS.</b>								
Great Southern and Western—Ordinary, ..	..	4,970,055	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	112 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	95 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{8}$	116
Do. Preference,	..	1,329,100	4	110 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	103	4	121 $\frac{1}{2}$
Do. Debentures,	..	1,900,577	4	112	4	104 $\frac{3}{4}$	4	122 $\frac{1}{2}$
Midland Great Western —Ordinary, ..	..	2,370,000	3	72	3	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	102 $\frac{1}{2}$
Do. Preference, ..	..	828,577	4	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	94	4	117 $\frac{1}{4}$
Do. Debentures,	..	1,068,684	4	106 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	100 $\frac{1}{4}$	4	121
Great Northern —Ordinary, ..	..	3,455,037	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	113 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	95	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	132
Do. Preference,	..	2,020,155	4	109	4	101	4	122
Do. Debentures,	..	1,847,485	4	111 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	105	4	123 $\frac{1}{2}$
<b>STEAM SHIP COMPANIES.</b>								
City of Cork Steam Packet Company, ..	..	220,000	10s. 7 sh. 6 %	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	9s. 7 sh. 6 %	8 $\frac{5}{8}$	14s. 7 sh. 6 %	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
City of Dublin Steam Packet Company, ..	..	585,950	6 %	118 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 %	109 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 %	119 $\frac{1}{4}$
<b>WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DRAPERY COMPANIES.</b>								
Arnott & Co., Limited, Dublin, ..	..	150,040	8 $\frac{1}{8}$	41 $\frac{1}{8}$	8 $\frac{1}{8}$	3 $\frac{5}{8}$	8 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 $\frac{7}{8}$
Cannock & Co., " Limerick, ..	..	85,000	6	21 $\frac{1}{8}$	6	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	8	6
T. Lyons & Co., " Cork, ..	..	148,000	7	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	7	4	7	6 $\frac{1}{8}$
<b>ARTIFICIAL MANURE MANUFACTURERS.</b>								
W. & H. M. Goulding & Co., Limited, Cork and Dublin, ..	..	155,048	7	8	7	61 $\frac{1}{8}$	7	11



The value of Stocks and Shares is usually affected in the first place by the dividends; but comparing the variations in the prices of the different stocks with the dividends paid, it will be seen that the fall in prices in 1886 was almost wholly due to

**the loss of public confidence consequent on  
Mr. Gladstone's surrender,**

and not to a falling off of dividends in 1885-6 as compared with 1884-5.

The great rise in prices since 1886 has similarly been due for the most part to a return of public confidence. In all cases prices are now much higher than in 1886; and this rise is as marked in cases where dividends are the same, or even in some instances lower, as where dividends are higher.

The

**deposits and cash balances**

Rise in  
prices since  
1886.  
Joint Stock  
Banks.

in Joint Stock Banks in Ireland, which stood at £29,370,000 on December 31st, 1885, had risen in December, 1891, to no less than

**£34,532,000,**

the highest figure recorded, being considerably more than in 1876, which has been always regarded as the most prosperous year Ireland has ever seen, the amount of deposits and cash balances in that year having been £34,240,000.

—(Parliamentary Return, 1892. C. 6612,  
and previous Returns.)

The following figures show the balances in

**Post-office and Trustee Savings Banks**

Savings  
Banks.

in Ireland, representing principally the savings of



the humbler classes, at five-yearly intervals for the last twenty years.

**Balances in Post-Office and Trustee Savings Banks.**

Date.	Amount.
1871, 31st December,	£2,953,000
1876, „	3,277,000
1881, „	3,765,000
1886, „	4,710,000
1891, „	5,932,000

—(C. 6612, and previous Returns.)

It will be observed that the

**increase during the last five years**

has been considerably greater than in any other of the four quinquennial periods given above, and it is also greater than in any other similar period during the last fifty years.

Decrease in  
Government  
Stock.

On the other hand, the amount of Government and Indian Stocks held in Ireland has fallen from £29,689,000 on the 31st of December, 1885, to £25,784,000 on the 31st of December, 1891, a decrease of £3,905,000. There has, however, for many years, been an almost continuous decrease in the amount of Government Stock held in Ireland, and in the five most prosperous years, ending the 31st of December, 1876, there was a decrease of £3,825,000, or almost exactly the same amount of decrease as in the past five years.

It should be recollected that the Funded National Debt has been reduced during the past ten years by nearly one-fifth, and during the



past five years by nearly one-tenth. It would, therefore, be natural to expect that Irish investments in the National Debt should be reduced in similar proportion.

The process of transferring investments from the Government Funds, to other Securities has during the past three years been stimulated on the one hand by the reduction in the rate of interest on Consols, and on the other hand by the power conferred on Trustees by the Trust Investment Act of 1889 of investing Trust funds in various other more remunerative securities. Accordingly we find that during the past three years the decrease in Irish investments in Government and Indian Stocks has been £2,885,000, which is quite beyond the ordinary rate of decrease.

It is a rather curious fact that in the exceptionally bad years of 1879 and 1886, Irish investments in the Funds increased, in the former year by £603,000, and in the latter year by £391,000. The fact is the more remarkable as regards 1886, because during that year the Liquidators of the Munster Bank, which stopped payment in 1885, sold £600,000 of Consols to provide cash for distribution amongst the creditors of the Bank. It is probable that in times of exceptional want of confidence investors sell out of ordinary Securities and invest in the Funds.

In the regular course of events a large proportion of Irish savings are annually invested in securities out of Ireland, and there is reason to believe that during recent years the amount so



invested has been unusually large. The uncertainty as to the future government of Ireland has naturally tended to increase the desire of Irish people to spread their investments over a wider area rather than risk all their savings in home securities.

Irish  
Industrial  
Companies.

In connexion with the foregoing observations it is important to note that during the six years since 1886 a number of large manufacturing and mercantile businesses in Ireland have been transferred from the ownership of private firms to that of Limited Liability Companies. The Capital of thirteen of these Companies, including that of A. Guinness, Sons, & Co., but not including any brought out in Belfast, or any whose Capital was less than £100,000, amounts to about Ten Millions Sterling.\*

No doubt, a large proportion of the Shares and

\* NEW COMPANIES :—

A. Guinness, Sons, & Co., .. ..	£6,000,000
A. Thom & Co., .. ..	207,000
Bolands, .. ..	280,000
Castlebellingham and Drogheda Breweries, ..	265,000
Dublin City and Banagher Distillery, ..	150,000
Dublin Distillers, .. ..	1,000,000
E. & J. Burke (1), .. ..	800,000
Ferrier, Pollock & Co., .. ..	100,000
Freeman's Journal, .. ..	110,000
H. Denny & Sons (1), .. ..	400,000
Johnston, Mooney, & O'Brien, .. ..	200,000
Kinahan & Co., .. ..	210,000
Pim Brothers (2), .. ..	250,000
	<hr/>
	£9,972,000

(1) Only the Preference Shares in these Companies have been issued to the public.

(2) Reconstructed in 1889, since when the shares have been put upon the market.



Debentures in these Companies still remains in the hands of the vendors, but the greater proportion has been absorbed by the general investing public in Ireland. The Shares of most of these Companies now stand in the market at a substantial premium, so that the Ten Millions is now worth, at market prices, over Seventeen Millions.

The absorption of the Capital of these Irish Companies taking place simultaneously with extensive investments by Irish people in new Companies brought out in England and America, and a great increase in the deposits in the Irish Banks, and in the Post Office and Trustee Savings' Banks, is most conclusive proof of the rapid growth of Capital throughout Ireland during the past six years.

**The total railway receipts,**

Railway receipts.

which in 1881 were £2,601,000, and in 1886 £2,751,000, in 1891 amounted to £3,146,000,

**the highest annual amount recorded**

in Ireland.

It is sometimes assumed that the fact that the population of Ireland has decreased during the last forty-five years is a proof of the absence of prosperity. The population at the time of the Union has been estimated at 5,299,000 (Thom's *Official Directory*), and in 1846 it had increased to 8,288,000, according to the estimate given in the returns of the Registrar-General. 'Prior to 1846,' says Dr. Grimshaw, 'the potato bore exactly the same relation to the population of Ireland that rice does to the population of several' Decrease of population.



districts of India at the present day, and the famine of 1847 and consequent diminution of the population was due to the failure of the potato crop.' Dr. Grimshaw, however, is careful to point out that emigration does not necessarily mean decay; he thinks 'the want of sufficient emigration before the Irish Crisis was the cause of great, rapid, and unexampled decay which has only been stayed by emigration.'

—(*A Statistical Survey of Ireland from 1840 to 1888.* By T. W. Grimshaw, M.A., M.D., Reg.-Gen. for Ireland.)

Decrease in  
rate of emigra-  
tion from 1886  
to 1890.

The rate of emigration has however naturally been less in the more prosperous years, and has fallen during the period 1886-1890, as compared with the preceding five years. Thus the average decrease in the estimated population each year from 1881 to 1885 was 56,000 and from 1885 to 1890 47,000; the average rate of emigration per 1000 of the estimated population in the former period having been 16.5 and in the latter 14.9.

The number of Emigrants in 1879 was 47,065, in 1883 the figures had risen to 108,724. In 1885 the number had fallen to 62,034, but had risen again in 1887 to 82,923, since when there has been a steady decline in Emigration, the number in 1891 having been 59,623.

The housing  
of the people.

The following Table, furnished by the reports of the Irish Census, shows the

#### great improvement

which has taken place in the housing of the people of Ireland. The fourth class of houses includes all single roomed houses; the third, a better class, with from two to four rooms; the



second a good farm house, or small town-house, with five to seven rooms; and the first class all houses of a better description than the preceding.

**Table showing the Number of First, Second, Third, and Fourth Class of Inhabited Houses.**

Census Periods.	First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class.	Fourth Class.	Total.
1841	40,080	264,184	533,297	491,278	1,328,839
1851	50,164	318,758	541,712	135,589	1,046,223
1861	55,416	360,698	489,668	89,374	995,156
1871	60,483	381,114	363,042	156,741	961,380
1881	66,727	422,241	384,475	40,665	914,108
1891	70,740	466,632	312,589	20,617	870,578

Thus while the number of first and second class houses have increased, the third and fourth class have diminished.

The following Table shows the number of families occupying the different classes of house-accommodation :—

Years.	Number of Families Occupying Accommodation of the				
	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	4th Class.	Total.
1841	31,333	241,664	574,386	625,356	1,472,739
1851	39,370	292,280	588,440	284,229	1,204,319
1861	44,302	333,440	553,496	197,062	1,128,300
1871	49,693	357,752	432,774	227,379	1,067,598
1881	57,673	403,862	443,247	90,292	995,074
1891	62,613	454,870	359,308	55,322	932,113

Thus, while the total number of families in Ireland has declined from 1,472,739 in 1841, to



932,113 in 1891, the number of families occupying house-accommodation of the first and second class respectively, has nearly doubled, and the numbers of those occupying house-accommodation of the third and fourth classes have very largely decreased.

The Registrar-General states, in his 'Statistical Survey of Ireland,' already referred to, that a somewhat different plan of tabulation was adopted in 1871, which accounts for the apparent increase of the fourth-class houses, and of the number of families with fourth-class accommodation, in that year.

Pauperism  
decreasing.

The total number of paupers in receipt of indoor and outdoor relief has

**decreased every year since 1886,**

the number in that year having been 633,000 and the cost £904,000 as compared with 455,000 relieved in 1890, at a cost of £856,000.

The average daily number of persons receiving indoor relief in the year 1881-82 was 52,772; in 1886-87, 45,889; and in 1890-91, 41,793; the average daily number receiving out-door relief in the same years being 60,196, 78,241, and 62,235 respectively. The very large increase in out-door relief in 1886 was caused by the gross maladministration, by the Boards of Guardians, of Mr. Morley's grant of £20,000 in the six poorest unions in the West of Ireland, the number of persons on the list of those in receipt of out-door relief in some cases exceeding the population of the district.

The average annual cost of pauperism in the



first half of the decade 1881-1890 was £962,000, and in the latter half £864,000.

According to the figures given in the *Financial Reform Almanac* for 1892, the average number of paupers in England and Wales in the five years 1885 to 1889 was 28 per 1000 of the estimated population, in Scotland 24, and in Ireland 23 per 1000; the average annual cost of pauperism per head of the population in the same period being 6s. in England, 4s. 6d. in Scotland, and 4s. 4d. in Ireland.

Less Pauperism in Ireland than in England or Scotland.

There is perhaps, with the exception of the figures as to joint-stock and savings banks, which have been already quoted, no more remarkable test of the material prosperity of Ireland than the

Increase of live stock.

#### increase in the number of live stock.

The following are the figures for 1881, 1886, and 1891, respectively:—

Table showing the Number of Live Stock in 1881 and 1891.

Year.	Horses & Mules.	Asses.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Pigs.	Goats.	Poultry.
1881	573,980	187,356	3,954,479	3,258,583	1,088,041	266,553	13,965,760
1886	578,299	196,245	4,183,924	3,366,043	1,263,142	266,176	13,909,822
1891	621,501	216,268	4,448,477	4,722,391	1,367,776	336,257	15,216,543

It will be observed that in every class of live stock, with the exception of pigs, the increase has been far greater in the years 1886-1891 than in the preceding quinquennial period.



Value of  
live stock.

The following Table shows

**the value of live stock**

in Ireland at decennial periods from 1841 to 1881, and also in 1886 and 1891, at the prices assumed by the Census Commissioners of 1841 :—namely, horses and mules £8 each ; asses £1 ; horned cattle £6 10s. ; sheep £1 2s. ; pigs £1 5s. ; goats 7s. 6d., and poultry 6d.

Years.	Amount.
1841	£21,105,808
1851	27,737,395
1861	33,434,385
1871	37,515,211
1881	35,847,311
1886	37,747,278
1891	41,514,236

The prices of the different descriptions of live stock have risen very much as compared with those taken as average prices in 1841 ; and the actual value of the live stock in Ireland is therefore far more than is represented by the above figures. Even taking those figures, however, the

**increase of wealth in live stock**

is over

**£20,000,000**

in 1891, as compared with 1841.

It is true there has been a diminution both in the quantity and value of cereal crops, owing to the fall in the prices of grain, but the loss arising from



this source is small as compared with the enormous increase of wealth in live stock.

The value of the horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs in Ireland, according to a new rate of valuation, is put down in 'Thom's Official Directory' as £63,099,500 in 1886; and £68,247,199 in 1891, instead of £41,000,000, according to the old rate of valuation, the value of the asses, goats, poultry, &c., being, moreover, included in the £41,000,000, though not in the new valuations for 1886 and 1891.

The following figures, taken from the Statistical Abstract, show that there has been a considerable advance in the textile industries of Ireland:—

Year.	Number of Spinning Spindles.	Number of Doubling Spindles.	Number of Power Looms.
1885	963,031	30,875	25,472
1890	970,119	46,092	28,612

There has also been a very large increase in the business transacted by the Post Office Department in Ireland.

The following Table gives some of the principal figures, 000 being omitted:—

Year.	Letters Delivered.	Book Packets and Circulars.	Telegrams Forwarded.	Money Orders.		Postal Orders.	
				Issued.	Paid.	Issued.	Paid.
1881	82,238	14,164	1,862	£ 1,274	£ 1,729	£ 90	£ 94
1885	89,700	17,800	2,224	1,135	2,009	484	461
1890	99,859	24,545	3,634	1,360	2,256	884	880



Spirits and  
beer.

Finally, the number of gallons of spirit distilled during the year 1881 was 9,407,000, in 1886, 10,627,000, and in 1890, 12,989,000,

**an increase of 38·1 per cent.,**

as compared with 1881. The number of barrels of beer (including porter) brewed in Ireland in 1881 was 1,920,000, in 1886, 2,150,000, and in 1890, 2,490,000

**an increase of 29·1 per cent.,**

as compared with 1881.



## RECAPITULATION.

WE have shown in the foregoing pages, out of the mouths of Nationalists themselves, that it was their deliberate intention to render 'the Government of Ireland by England an impossibility' after the accession of the present Unionist Ministry to office.

We have shown, on the authority of the Irish Judges, that in the following winter, 1886-7, 'a state of terror and lawlessness prevailed.'

We have shown, on the authority of Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, who, fresh from office as Mr. Gladstone's Chief Secretary for Ireland, 'spoke by the book of things which he knew' as to the condition of Ireland in 1885, that jurors were afraid to convict, and that the public 'could not trust to the ordinary class of jurymen doing their duty, partly from ignorance, partly from prejudice, but mainly owing to the cruel and overpowering system of terror under the National League,' and that, 'in order to uphold the arm of justice in Ireland, it was not merely reasonable but necessary to provide some measures which could overcome that difficulty.'



We have shown on the authority of Sir George Trevelyan, who preceded Mr. Campbell-Bannerman as Chief Secretary for Ireland, precisely what were the measures by which it had been the design of Mr. Gladstone's Government to secure the objects declared necessary by Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.

We have shown by quoting chapter and verse that the provisions of the Criminal Law and Procedure Act of 1887 were substantially the same as those which, according to Sir George Trevelyan, Mr. Gladstone's Government had determined to ask for at the hands of Parliament.

We have shown by figures based on official returns and information, that the firm and impartial administration of the Criminal Law and Procedure Act, 1887, has been thoroughly successful in restoring personal freedom in Ireland, and in doing so with a very small amount of punishment of malefactors.

Only 1884 persons have been imprisoned under the Act, to the 31st of March, 1892, and of these only 182 for a longer period than three months. On the 1st of May of this year the number of persons in prison under the Act was only six.

The number of agrarian outrages has fallen from 1056 in 1886 to 472 in 1891.

The number of persons boycotted has decreased from 4901 in June, 1887, to *nil* in June, 1892.

The number of Evictions has decreased from 3781 in 1886 to 1098 in 1891.



In the second part of this pamphlet we have shown that as disorder has lessened, prosperity has increased.

The market prices of Banking, Railway, Steamship, and Industrial Companies which fell suddenly on the announcement of Mr. Gladstone's surrender, have risen steadily since his defeat at the general election in 1886.

Since 1886, the deposits and cash balances in Joint Stock Banks have risen by over £5,000,000, and the balances in the Savings Banks by over £1,000,000. Whilst the tendency for Irish investors to sell out of the Government Funds for investment in more remunerative securities has been stimulated by the reduction in the rate of interest on Consols, and by the passing of the Trust Investment Act of 1889, there can be little doubt that the flow of capital from Ireland for investment in other than Irish securities has been more than usually strong during the past few years. On the other hand it has been shown that since 1886, without taking into account Companies brought out in Belfast and Cork, the capital of New Limited Liability Companies carrying on business in Ireland to a total of about £10,000,000 has been for the most part absorbed by Irish investors, and has now risen in value to over £17,000,000, at the market prices of the day.

The value of the live stock in Ireland, calculated at the prices adopted in 1841, has increased by close on £4,000,000 since 1886; whilst, calculated at the new rate of valuation recently adopted in 'Thom's Directory,' the increase in



value in the five years amounts to more than £5,000,000.

Pauperism and Emigration have diminished in the same period.

Thus, applying to the material and social condition of Ireland various tests, it cannot be denied that Ireland has prospered, and is prospering under the rule of the Imperial Parliament and the Imperial Administration.

After six years of Unionist Government Ireland is alike peaceful and prosperous. Men whose names were held up to popular execration as monsters of oppression and cruelty have lived to hear themselves blessed in the remotest parts of the country as the greatest benefactors the people have ever found, and it is scarcely conceivable that the British electors will undo the work that has been done, and allow themselves to be led into making a revolutionary experiment, which would deprive Ireland of the benefits she derives under the existing Constitution from an impartial and stable government, and would plunge her into a sea of troubles—political, social, and material.