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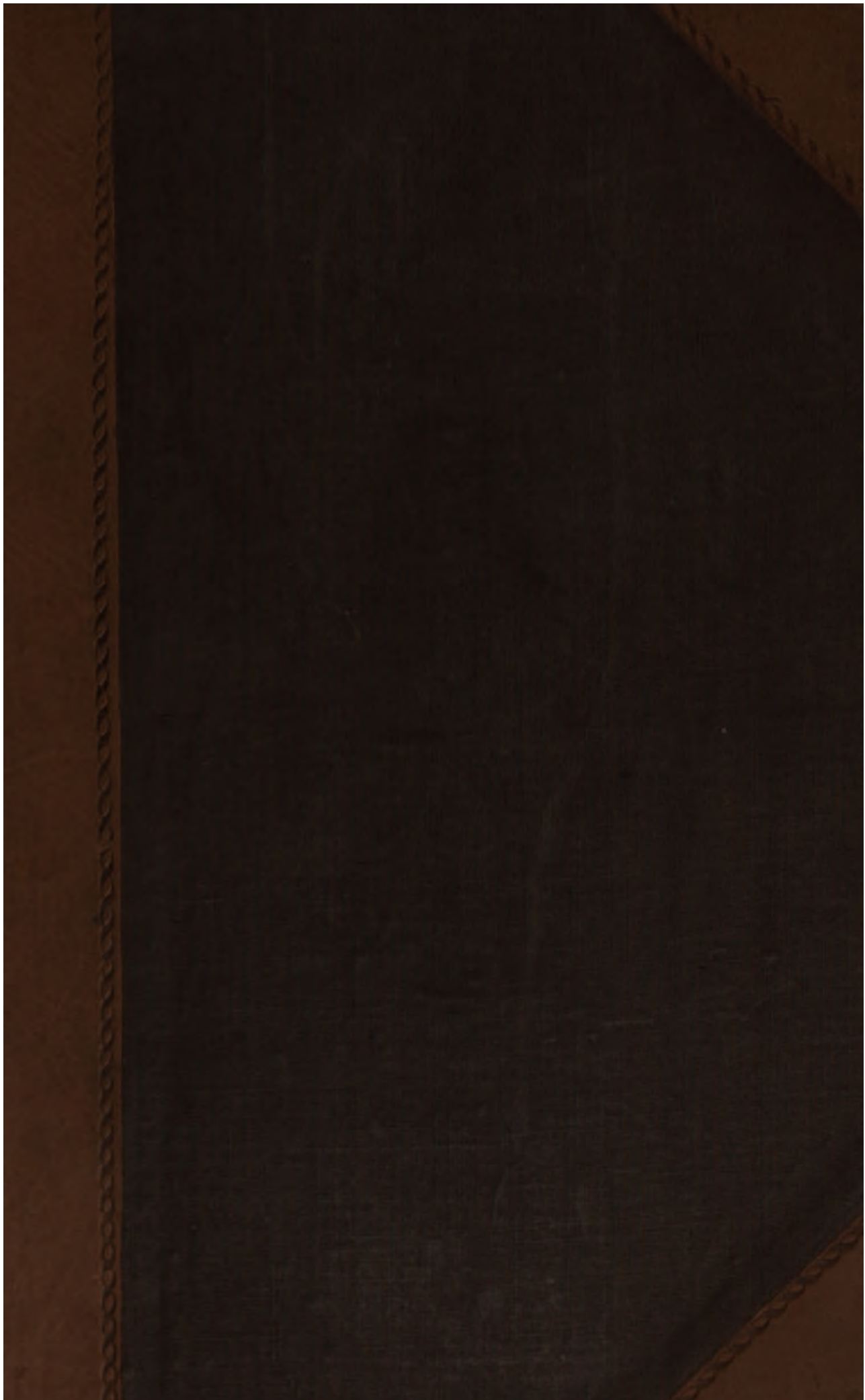
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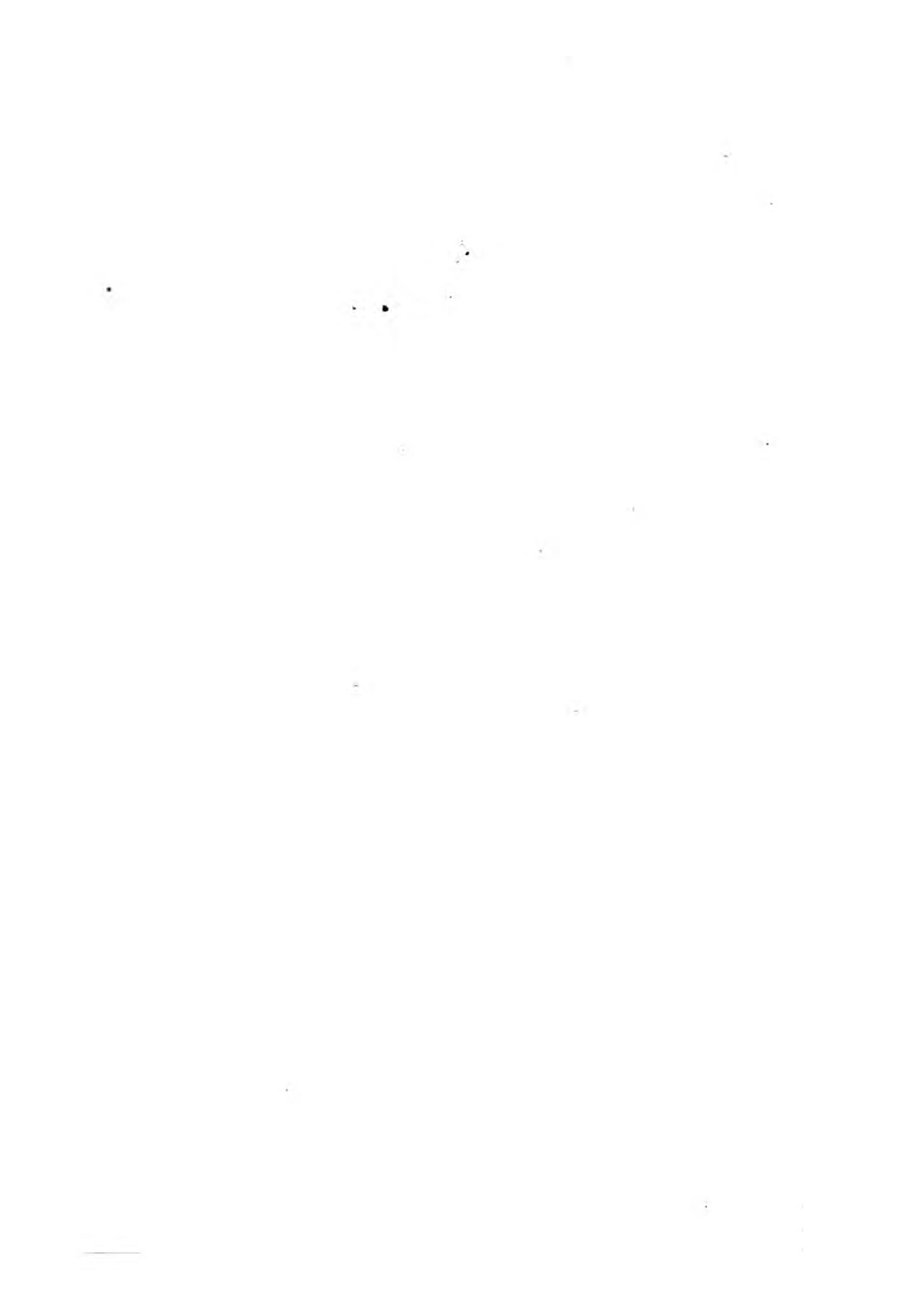




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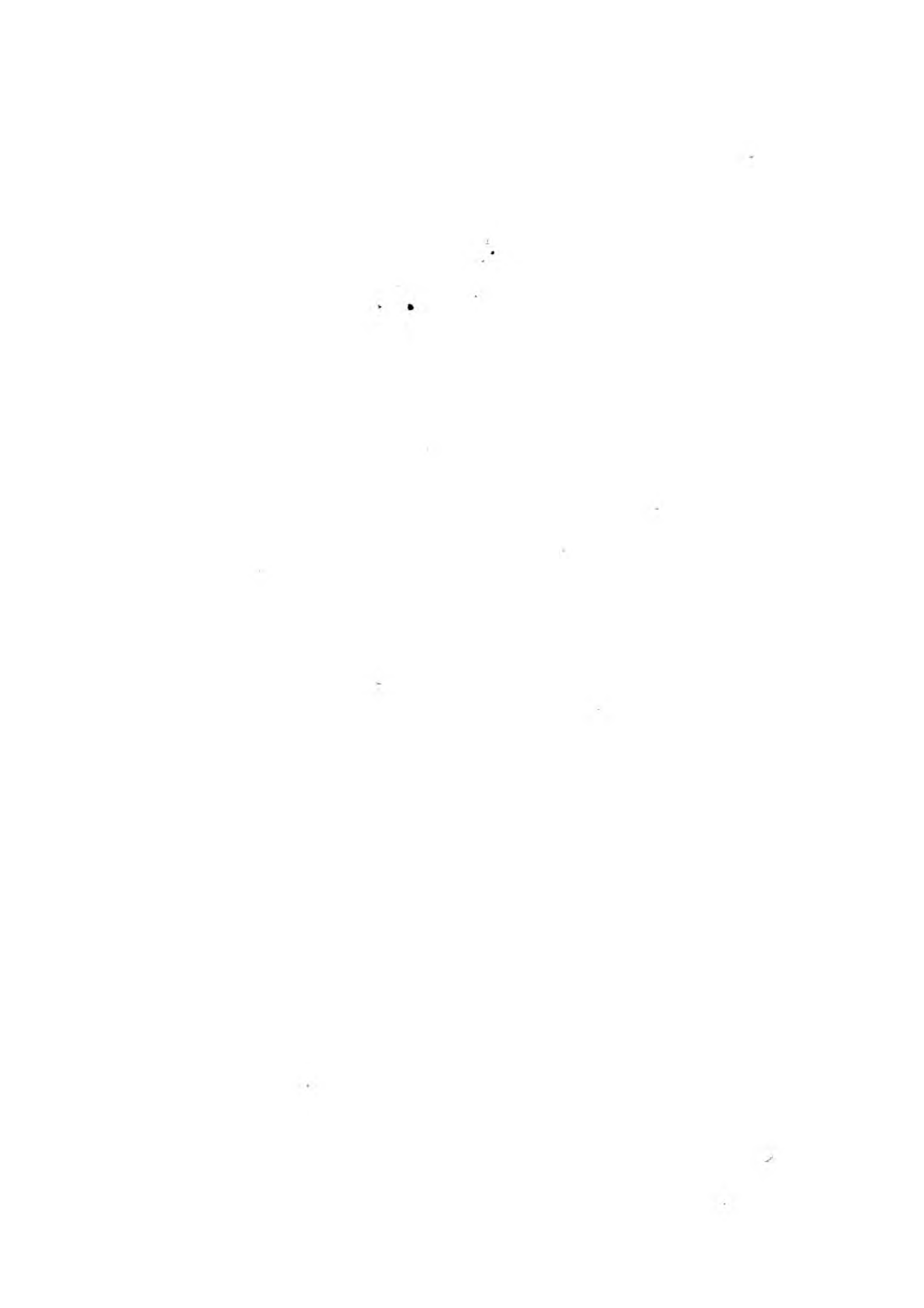


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A THIRD LETTER,

TO

A. LISLE PHILLIPPS, Esq.

ETC.



A

THIRD LETTER

TO

AMBROSE LISLE PHILLIPPS, ESQ.

OF GRACE DIEU MANOR,

FROM

JOHN, EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

CHIEFLY IN REFERENCE TO HIS FORMER LETTER

“ON THE PRESENT POSTURE
OF AFFAIRS.”

LONDON :

CHARLES DOLMAN, 61, NEW BOND STREET.

MDCCCXLII.

1093.

LONDON :
RICHARDS, PRINTER, 100, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

A

THIRD LETTER

TO

AMBROSE LISLE PHILLIPPS, Esq.

MY DEAR FRIEND.

YOU are aware, that in addressing you ON THE POSTURE OF AFFAIRS in September last, I had no other object in view than cursorily to express an opinion on the line of policy and duty, which I considered to be demanded from us under the new order of things.

In consequence of the animadversions which have been cast upon that opinion, and the misapprehension of certain passages of the letter in which it was conveyed, I am anxious to enter a little more fully upon the subject;—to explain where I have been misunderstood, and at the same time to suggest what I conceive to be the duty of every government in regard to Ireland.*

* I am the less disinclined to this course, from the very imperfect form in which my letter came before the public: you know that it was written in much haste, having been sent

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Of the manner in which Mr. O'Connell has noticed my remarks and remonstrances, I certainly have no reason to complain : I can only regret that his new and more important avocations have as yet prevented him from complying with his announced intention of replying to my allegations in print. It would have afforded him an opportunity of developing his views, of explaining the grounds upon which he promised himself success, and the extent to which that success was to be carried. For these points,—notwithstanding all that he has written, and all that he has said,—are still so far matters of speculation, as to render an *exposé* of his plans particularly desirable. We might then enter upon the consideration of their merits fully and freely, without any risk of misinterpreting his intentions, or imputing to him schemes which he does not contemplate. I regret this the more, because he had expressed his determination that the controversy between us should be carried on without any harsh expressions, or any acrimonious feeling. In his sentiment I most cordially concur. Mr. O'Connell is altogether a public man, and a public man whose opinions carry with

over from the continent in detached portions, some of which (and those perhaps which I most desired to appear), having been altogether omitted in the hurry of printing, and others very inaccurately given. Neither had I any opportunity of consulting any documents but the newspapers of the day.

them immense weight ; it is therefore competent for any one to sift and scrutinise them ; and while I presume to do so, it is full as much with a desire to elicit information, as to endeavour to impart it. Free and fair discussion is ever favourable to truth, and they who fear it betray a strong apprehension of a very doubtful cause.

I do not propose to follow any regular method ; I would avoid all useless detail ; and shall therefore give you my reflections nearly as circumstances may suggest them.

I will begin by premising that I never flattered myself into the expectation of making many converts in Ireland to my opinions. What I principally intended was, to enter my protest against what I conceived to be a very mischievous and mistaken course of proceeding, calculated to injure, rather than to benefit, that country ; and I was desirous, at least, that all of us here in England should not be considered as approving of it.

I moreover hoped to draw the attention of Catholics to the dangerous principles which were afloat, that they might weigh well the condition of the country before they embarked in any decided opposition to that party which—under the circumstances—appeared to me the better calculated to remedy the evils, as well as to contend against the difficulties by which we were surrounded.

Had Mr. O'Connell's proceedings, and his agita-

tion progresses, been confined to Ireland, I might have held my peace, sensible that I had no power to mollify, even in the smallest degree, the violence by which they were characterised. But when I saw agitation follow upon his path in England, and rise up at his bidding all over the land, running like wild-fire through every district in which there were a sufficient number of Irish settlers to form a meeting, and constitute a branch association,—not a mere agitation for Repeal for Ireland, but for *general suffrage* for England,—fed and fostered through the invigorating energies of that great leader and teacher of agitation himself,—then I feared that silence might be construed into consent, and that I should be flinching from my duty, did I refuse to avail myself, however disinclined I might feel to the task, of the common right of every British subject, of setting forth his honest opinions through the press.

One of Mr. O'Connell's earliest appearances, I believe, in England, within the arena of agitation, was at a dinner at Highbury given to him by no less than seven hundred of his friends and admirers,—Catholics, Protestants, and Dissenters. Upon that occasion, he is reported to have said :—“ I am invigorated for the struggle. The great battle of the country is begun (cheers). We have come to a period when there can be *no submission to friends upon the one part, nor compromise with enemies on the other. We have now got rid of the*

trammels of party. We fear not now the Tories lest they should do damage to the Whigs; and the day has gone by in which *we can apprehend that the Whigs will, as they always did, do more mischief to themselves.* A new era has arisen. England has nothing for the future to look forward to *but reform—substantial reform, radical reform* (cheers), reform to the extent of ‘general suffrage.’ I would use the words ‘universal suffrage,’ but that is not an accurate expression, for even the Chartist who uses it does not mean what he says (hear, hear). No one intends that the entire community should have votes. The half—and by far the better half—have no vote at all, nor is it proposed to give it to them. I do not deny but that they would have influence (laughter). Universal suffrage would include them, and nobody intends to include them; it would include the person who was aged twenty, as well as he who is aged twenty-one; and it would include the idiot, the lunatic, and the convict. *I use then, deliberately, the word ‘general suffrage.’* The English require further reform—the Irish require the repeal of the Union (loud cheers from all parts of the room). For my own part, I feel as if I were about to enter on a new contest, *because the ground on which it is to be fought is so completely changed.”*

Let us now go to a Branch Repeal meeting, in the same month of August, in London, in which a

Mr. Mahoney, (who, as we shall see later,—I presume he is the same person,—states himself to be an intimate friend of Mr. O'Connell), after declaring that the Repealers and Chartists were agreed upon the great principle of “general suffrage,” is reported thus to have expressed himself:—

“As an union appeared to be now seriously thought of by the Chartists, he (Mr. O'Mahoney) thought it right to mention that such of them as joined the repeal body, should join it simply under the name of repealers, and *not as Chartist repealers, or repealers of any other denomination.* It would not, by any means, answer for the repealers to have shades of distinction in their body. They had none up to the present time, and they should cautiously guard against the introduction of any names, or other marks of distinction, that might, by possibility, lead to differences at a future period. So cautious was he (Mr. O'Mahoney) upon this head, that on last Friday night he felt it his duty to decline the co-operation of a very respectable body of men because they would not give up a certain distinctive word. He meant *the Rechabites, who stated that they were thirty-thousand strong*; but if they were thirty millions, they could not, as Rechabites, be admitted into their body. All men who wished well to the cause of repeal would come forward and join them as repealers, without any other adjunct whatsoever. There was no man more desirous than he (Mr. O'Mahoney) of conciliating

those who still held aloof from the repeal cause ; there was no one would take greater pains to gain the adhesion of even a single individual to that cause (hear, hear) ; and he could assure the Chartists, and all other reformers, that whatever service they should at any time think well to render the repeal body, it would be gratefully acknowledged, and paid back to them with interest." Mr. Poyser was glad to hear what fell from Mr. O'Mahoney.—*"He was a Chartist and a sincere English repealer, and he longed to see the day when the Chartists and Repealers would together be led on to liberty by Mr. O'Connell. The people of England still liked the liberator of Ireland, and he was sure if Mr. O'Connell would take any steps to conciliate them, he might, as he could, lead them to victory. (Loud cheers.)"* *A great number of associates were enrolled.*

Now, in justice to Mr. O'Connell, we shall next take the following short report of his sentiments upon these schemes for concentrating all bad principles into one common union, as I find it given in the *Tablet* of September 11th, at a meeting of the Repeal Association in Dublin :—" Mr. O'Connell took this opportunity of referring to some late proceedings in Cork, in which Mr. Hayes urged the necessity of the Repealers joining the English Chartists, and, in common with them, seeking for universal suffrage and annual parliaments. He (Mr. O'Connell) spoke at some length in condemnation

of the conduct of the Chartists, and implored the Irish people to avoid Chartism as they would any secret or illegal society which would involve their liberties. He said that the Chartists were the best adjuncts and allies of the Tories. They had aided the Tory candidates at the late elections—they had disturbed and broken up reform meetings—they had, to a certain extent, joined with the Socialists, who scoffed at all religion. He would, therefore, never have any connexion with Chartism—he abominated its principles, and detested its doings.—The Irish looked for the amelioration of their wrongs by *legal and constitutional means*. (Hear, hear.)” On the same occasion he is also reported to have said, “In the first place, then, that man is mad who expects any permanent or substantial benefit to Ireland from anything short of the Repeal. . . . Our next petition will be for an extension of the franchise in each of its branches ; and we will next petition for the enlargement of our representation. . . . But to make the repeal successful, I must have five millions of repealers enrolled in the association. I will not take one less, and I must have the entire five millions. . . . Is there a human being who can doubt that if I had five millions of repealers to-morrow, I should succeed. I wish to be distinctly understood throughout Ireland, that every man must be either for or against repeal.*

* The census of 1841 gives the population of Ireland at

We can allow no neutrality. . . . My heart throbs for repeal, for equal political rights with England. . . . I have this day checked myself in point of the language I may have used. . . . We must take care by our moderation not to leave ourselves in the power of our enemies," &c.

In the speech at Highbury, we are also told that "The *Times* confessed that there never was an election that cost the fiftieth, or the five-hundredth part that the late election cost. The Tories came forward with their hands full, and they emptied the contents of their hands into the pockets of the electors. It is by the most disgraceful means that the worst of parties is elevated to favour. *Vitiis monstrum a nulla virtute redemptum*:—a monster redeemed from its vices by no one virtue; and this they did from the worst of all possible motives. Thus did proud England!" He then proceeds: "Let us come to the contrast between the Tories and the Whigs—and, in doing so, it will be necessary to enter into some details, although I have no intention of making a speech that will trouble you with many

8,205,000, which, according to the estimate of the Poor Law Commissioners, will barely give two millions of *able-bodied men*, a considerable portion of whom would be under age; therefore I think we are justified in adopting the Chartist calculation, which would give the numbers entitled to the elective franchise in Ireland under universal suffrage, at somewhat less than two millions. If, then, the Repeal Association is to number five millions, a considerable number of them must be women and children.

of them. What were the topics on which the Queen appealed to the country? They were these. The ministry found that additional resources for the state were necessary. They had the choice of three ways to meet the difficulty. They might have borrowed money; but that would have increased the interest on the debt. They might have imposed additional taxes; but that would have only added to the burdens of the people. They did neither. They took up the present duties, and by diminishing the charges on the quantities of particular items, they proposed to increase the consumption, to diminish taxation, to supply the deficiency in the revenue. That was what was proposed to John Bull. Let us now, then, come to the details. They lessened the duty on good timber—they increased it on the bad. They would have given sugar cheaper—they would make the loaf larger. Thus there would have been better timber, cheaper sugar, cheaper bread. Why, if ever there were topics that ought to enlighten the head, to cheer the heart, and to comfort the stomach, of John Bull, these were they. The cry goes into the counties, the farmers would be destroyed, for the bread would be cheaper—and then there was the terror that the landlords would get no rent. Oh! what a ludicrous thing it was to think of—the child would get two slices of the loaf, where before he only had one. The fading manufactures would revive—the wretched operative get enough to live upon. The children

would not be picking the crumbs out of the dirt, the working man could buy them enough, and place it on the table before them. Why has he not been allowed to do so? The landlords, according to the constitution of the Reform Bill, have the thorough representation of the counties. The landed aristocracy command these counties through their £50 *a-year serfs*. The interest of landlords was stronger than the cry of bread—*the seductions of the wealthy superseded the cries of the miserable*,—and therefore the answer to the Queen was—we wish the timber to continue bad; we wish for dear bread and for dear sugar, and our only consolation is this, that we are to have the Tories in office (hear, hear). *There is no exaggeration in what I am describing to you. It is the real state of the case.* Will not Englishmen do any thing for the extension of the Reform Bill? Do Englishmen acquiesce in that reform which in towns *has brought it to a point that it is touched by bribery?* that makes reform come *down in the political scale, that it can be reached by bribery?* and in the counties, too, has led it to a point, in which servility on the one side, and power on the other over the £50 tenants at will, place the power of the representation of the people in the hands of the landlords. Will England acquiesce in that (a cry of “no, no”)? I would wish to hear that *note a little louder* (repeated cries of “no, no”). *It does not strike me as being altogether sincere;* but sin-

cerely do I desire to see the feeling extended throughout Ireland. All I can say for myself is this—I am ready to give my aid to that party in which I can confide, that is for extending the Reform Bill—that is for facilitating the registry—that is for raising up an enlarged constituency—that is, by extending the districts, to make bribery *more difficult, and to take care that the purchase of voters cannot be easily commanded.* I have seen it stated that in one of the sea-ports fifteen votes were purchased at the last election for £1500 (hear, hear). If I find a party who are for seeking these things, I shall join them heartily, and give to them something of my experience. Even if ‘*the sere and yellow leaf*’ be coming on me, they will still find me young again when joining them (cheers). They will so find me, especially if, above all things, they are determined to have the ballot, *the honest ballot—the ballot that sets bribery at defiance, for there cannot be wholesale bribery with the ballot.* With it, it never can be known whether the man who was scoundrel enough to take will be rascal enough not to earn it. The ballot protects the independent voter; neither the landlord, the customer, nor the master can intimidate with the ballot. I may go farther, and say neither can the mob attempt intimidation or violence, if there be the ballot. How glad I should be to join a party for the ballot alone! but I will join most willingly those who are for most reforms.

If a party is bent for one, then I am desirous to join heartily and readily for that one. Why do I say this? Because I am most desirous of seeing a full and effective reform in this country. I am never for isolating the efforts of reformers, or of separating them one from the other—that never was my principle. It never was, and never will be, my practice.”*

Now, as I happen to find in the very same paper from which I have taken most of these extracts, the report of speeches delivered at a meeting to congratulate Mr. Byng on his return for Middlesex, which bear intimately on the view which I take of the present crisis, and which one might readily fancy to be the echos of the sentiments and principles of Mr. O’Connell, I will trouble the reader with a few specimens from them, both in justice to that gentleman, and in illustration of the argument. “You,” says the speaker, “you, the independent and enlightened electors of Middlesex, know too well your rights to render it necessary for me to dwell on them; but I can’t forbear on this occasion to call attention to those rights which at the present moment I consider in imminent peril, and which have of late been most shamefully invaded. (Loud cheers.) You know, as free subjects of this realm, that the foundation stone of

* Upon the same occasion, speaking of Father Matthew, he says,—“More than five millions of *men* have received the pledge, and not twenty have broken their faith.”

your liberties, the life and soul of the British Constitution, is that the House of Commons should be fully and freely elected; that you, the people of England, should have a voice in the making of those laws which you are called on to obey. I would ask whether that right has been invaded or not during the last general election? (cheers and cries of Yes.) All you who have watched the progress of that election must reply that its result is *a gross imposition*. Do you not know that the present House of Commons, or *at least a majority of that house, is the offspring of the most barefaced bribery—that the majority of the present House of Commons is nothing but the spawn of the basest corruption?* (loud cheers.) Do you not know that the present state of the representation is the result of *the most shameless intimidation*—an intimidation legalised and encouraged, I admit, by that clause of the Reform Bill called the Chandos clause. What is the natural consequence? That you have at this moment a Chandos cabinet (hear and laughter). You have all the old Tory hacks, and a few Liberal renegades, who have gone over to that immaculate party. Some few well-intentioned and most amiable individuals go about the country and ask to give the Tories a fair trial. Why, gentlemen, can we forget the past? What is the use of this fair trial? It can have but one result, and that is foul play to the people (cheers). No; the time is come when Reformers ought to

meet manfully *that oppression which, no doubt, they contemplate*; and carry on the contest with them hand to hand, and foot to foot. There should be no paltering now that the Tories are on the threshold of office. It is for the people not only to meet, but to speak out at this crisis.”*

Other speakers upon the same occasion, said, “It was to public meetings such as that, the people must now look. *From Parliament they had no hope.* There was a dominant landed interest pressing the people to the earth, and how should they be counteracted? By enlisting in behalf of the views of the middle classes the sympathies and interests of a larger mass of their fellow-countrymen; and never was it more essential that such a step, when proposed, should be taken with perfect good feeling and unanimity (cheers). They were powerless as a minority unless they acted with concert and consultation in the house, and were backed by the people out of doors. Nothing else would give the slightest weight to the proposals of the honourable member for Finsbury, or any other man who might introduce measures which he deemed of vital consequence to the interests of the people. We should *then have a party out of doors to fall back upon*. To raise that party to an efficient state,

* I think the member for Finsbury; but the copy of the *Morning Chronicle* of the 9th of September, from which I take this extract, was partially defaced.

they should consider what changes were requisite in order to ensure *the largest possible extension of the franchise consistent with some property qualification* (hear and cheers).

It would be easy to multiply specimens of similar sentiments on both sides of the water; they are the very weeds of the country: the garden is indeed run wild; and though I quite agree with Mr. O'Connell, when he told his "friends and admirers" at Highbury, that, "he felt there was no chance of a remedy, (i. e. of reform and repeal); on that side of the water, there are no friends" said he, "with power and ability to aid us. True, we have friends in this room, but we might as well have friends in a bandbox for any political utility." Though I fully coincide with him in this feeling, yet I am not the less disposed on that account, to see danger to the real liberties of the country in that state of disorganization which appears to pervade, in a greater or less degree, all classes of the community, whether high or low, whether rich or poor. We almost look in vain for a rallying point around which we might congregate in sufficient strength to defend ourselves from the innumerable efforts of so many and such vigorous assailants. That point, however, I still trust we shall find in *the finality of parliamentary reform*; and there indeed shall we take our stand with confidence, if the new government evince a sincere determination, fearlessly and faithfully to adopt the remedies

which they alone have the power to apply to the multifarious wrongs and afflictions of the country.

Finality in parliamentary reform has been proclaimed by infinitely the two larger and more powerful sections of the House of Commons, the Whigs and the Conservatives, and appears to be the only anchor left which secures the great vessel of the state from being driven from her moorings, and sent adrift to take her chance in the tempestuous ocean.

As far as Ireland is concerned, I was ever of opinion that it had been better policy, when the constituencies of the country were remodelled, somewhat to have extended her elective franchise, and to have added to the number of her representatives. It would have prevented one great source of irritation and complaint; though, in other respects, under the circumstances of the times, it would have availed her nothing.

Had she now fifty additional members, what advantage would she derive from them? Take them in the relative proportions which her actual representation bears to the state of parties, and she is still in a minority; it would not bring her back to where she was at the last vote of the last Parliament. Nearly from the moment that the Reform bill came into operation till within a few months of the late dissolution, she commanded the majorities of the House, where extreme cases did

not interfere to direct the weight of both Whigs and Conservatives to one common point.

A considerable majority of her members still continue to represent the liberal interest, and are fully competent to state her grievances, and to detail the condition of the country. And, if I am not much mistaken in my calculations, this state of things will benefit her more than if she had still retained her former position.

For when we look back upon the first division of the first reformed parliament, and the first division of the present, and reflect upon the long interval which liberal opinions have enjoyed to make their way amongst all classes, with every possible advantage to back them, during a steady and continued course of beneficial legislation, aided too by the recollection of the immediate and immense advantage of the great Reform itself, which had so suddenly dispelled the storms which then threatened on every side, rescuing the country from the devastation which impended, and restoring her to peace and strength (and which, I trust, under Providence, has insured us the means of successfully combating any other dangers which the rashness, the malignity, or the ignorance of men may now design against her)—can we hesitate for a moment in ascribing the reaction to any other cause than the violence of the Repealers in Ireland, and of the Radicals in England?

It was not long indeed before the Conservatives

attained a most imposing position, and swayed a decided majority amongst the English members. But while this partial success gave fresh activity to their exertions, it also embittered them the more against those who now alone stood between them and their return to power : and certainly another palliation for the extreme virulence of the supporters of the invading party, is to be found in the difficulty with which they could brook the singularly provoking situation, in which, perhaps as a just retribution, they were now placed. In this state of things, it was drawing too much upon the generosity, or even upon the justice of human nature, to expect that they would yield one iota of political privilege to their adversaries which it was possible for them to withhold ; and they looked upon municipal reform in Ireland more especially, only in that aspect in which every question now presented itself to them.—May it not strengthen that small remnant of power which alone remains to be subdued ? It was quite clear, that the more extravagant the Irish party became, the more alarm it would create, and the more determined opposition it would excite. Hence, the more it was provoked, the better chance of success for their antagonists ; and as the contest became closer, the more desperate was the effort. How far any such motives may have influenced persons, I leave it to those to determine who were the actors in it : but certainly appearances justify the

suspicion, and more especially as far as the public press was concerned.

At last, however, it came to this, that parties were so nicely balanced that neither had the power to move, and the interests of the country of necessity were paralyzed till the termination of the struggle.

But before we pursue this portion of the subject, I must return to my text, and to the PRINCIPLES upon which Repeal and Reform are now advocated. Heaven knows I have no ambition to try a lance with the Lord Mayor of Dublin ; it is not the individual that I presume to attack,—but his doings, his sayings, his conduct. It is against the principles with which he has allied himself that I desire to combat. And except so far as is necessary for the argument, and to illustrate the position of those principles, and the condition of the public mind at this moment, I have no wish to allude to him, or to any one connected with his proceedings.

Neither does the discussion of the repeal question come within my scope. Even had it not been so ably argued by others, I had no intention of making more than an incidental allusion to it. The more, however, I reflect upon it, the more am I convinced of the miseries it would bring upon both countries, and of its total inapplicability as a remedy for the present evils of Ireland. Those evils are social rather than political, and I trust to be able to show that they are by no means irremediable. All that I think the people of Ireland can

in reason expect, they *may* have, and I hope *will* have, without a repeal of the Union.

It is not, therefore, against repeal that I contend, but against the means by which it is attempted to be forced on, and above all, against the principles by which the discussion of it is accompanied. Repeal, of itself, is more a question of expediency than of principle; but in the means set at work to attain it, the highest principles are involved. Perpetual menace and agitation, intended to bear with external pressure upon those whom its advocates have failed to convince by their arguments—and upon the legislative authorities of the empire, to whom the constitution has entrusted a free agency, as well as full power in such matters—these are influences incompatible with the very first elements of a representative government. The Repeal Association sits under pretence of petitioning. This is an *abuse* of the invaluable right of petitioning,—an abuse which brings that very right into jeopardy, and infringes upon the rights of those to whom the repeal petitions are addressed. Such petitions are not for the purpose of obtaining what they ask,—of explaining their case, and trusting to the truth and justice of their arguments for success;—they are avowedly a cloak for intimidation, and mere instruments for violating with impunity the very right the petitioners are exercising.

It is said, these are constitutional means, and

that they who use them are only giving more effect to a privilege which the Constitution has guaranteed to the people. But the Constitution knows of no such subterfuges ; and until the repealers can make out a case of that undoubted, that pressing, that *extreme necessity*, in which the constitution itself emancipates them from her own laws, and abdicates her authority into the hands of the people, they can find no honest precedent, no sound justification for their present conduct.* Mr. O'Connell, and all those who act with him upon this question, seem to consider nothing deserving of the reproachful name of revolution which is not achieved by force and accompanied by blood ; and that all is constitutional which the law does not punish as a delinquency against the State. It is by such definitions as these that people delude themselves and others, and make falsehood stand for truth. The doctrine which announces that it is *morally* right to take by law whatever the law does not specifically forbid, is a doctrine as loose in politics, as it is false in reasoning. Innumerable frauds have

* Extreme cases are in their very nature beyond all rule. In my opinion, an extreme case existed in 1829, which set all ordinary principles at defiance, not only by the extent and nature of the grievance, but by the extremely defective state of the representative system, which offered no remedy through the legitimately expressed sense of the people, for it did not then represent that sense in any acceptance of the word.

been committed, under cover of law for instance, upon the moral rights of property. The sin is in the deed, and not in the name. That is revolution which aims at fundamentally subverting the established order of things, whether it be by the sudden devastation of a violent explosion, as in France, or by the more piece-meal encroachments of the Parliamentarians in our own country. Public opinion, acting constitutionally upon the constituted authorities, is the only legitimate controlling power in a free country ; but public opinion is not the opinion of one man, nor even of one section of the people ; and it is altogether unconstitutional, and against the first principles of a representative government, that any one section of the people should assume to themselves the authority of all, and attempt to make up by violence—which is ever an indication of weakness—for the want of a legitimate influence that does not belong to them.* Revolution is in

* “ What is requisite in politics for the same end, is not that public opinion should not be, what it is and must be, the ruling power ; but that, in order to the formation of the best public opinion, there should exist somewhere a great social support for opinions and sentiments different from those of the mass. The shape which that support may best assume is a question of time, place, and circumstance ; but (in a commercial country, and an age when, happily for mankind, the military spirit is gone by), there can be no doubt about the elements which must compose it : they are an agricultural class, a leisured class, and a learned class.”—*Edinburgh Review* for Oct. 1840.

the means as well as in the end. That is revolution in the means which infringes upon the free exercise of rights belonging to others, or which abuses privileges intended as a remedy for grievances, till it converts them into a weapon of offence for the acquisition of objects at variance with the spirit of the law, under cover of which the attack is made ; and which, if successful, would become the greatest grievance of all. The Constitution which conferred upon the subject the right of petitioning, expressly reserved the right of judging to the tribunal to which the petition is made : but organized and permanent self-constituted bodies, are not only the petitioners but the judges, telling the very authority which they petition (if not in so many words in the petition), in the declarations by which that petition is recommended, and in the threatening attitudes which the petitioners assume—that, knowing full well the vanity of their proceeding, they so conduct themselves merely to keep within the letter of the law, and shield themselves from harm ; but that their *real* object is to over-awe and to coerce those to whom the legitimate power is entrusted, in a manner never contemplated by the framers of that law,—by means of “ an intermediate state between the rule of the laws and insurrection,” and which “ confounds the rights of the people with their power.” These, then, are the revolutionary means, only differing in degree from those of a still more violent character.

The repealers also petition for an increased number of representatives in proportion to the population of Ireland. If this argument be available in one case, it is also in another. If Birmingham with 5,555 registered electors send two representatives, St. Alban's with only 585 also enjoys the same privilege. Is Birmingham, then, to turn with a jealous eye to St. Alban's, and say, "you with your 585 electors send up two representatives, and I with my 5,555 do no more. I shall petition Parliament for an equality of rights, and no doubt it will acknowledge the justice of my request; henceforth we shall send 18." Why, if this principle were to run throughout, we should find no house large enough to hold the members of the House of Commons, and no length of debate would be long enough to hear them.*

But there are others who contend that property is a fairer standard of representation than numbers; that is, a representation based upon the respective

* As Mr. O'Connell is ever asking for a larger representation, as well as a larger constituency, I presume he does not fall in with the views of the Chartists, who propose, under universal suffrage, to reduce the representatives for the whole empire to three hundred members, each with a constituency of twenty thousand; and certainly this plan appears the less objectionable of the two. There would be much less confusion in the House, though probably much more at the elections, for the wider the district, the less would be known of the candidates.

amount of contributions to the exigencies of the state. Now, the returns of revenue from *Great Britain*, for the year 1840, are £44,665,798, while the revenue from Ireland for the same year is quoted at about £4,050,000. Deduct this from the gross sum, and Ireland only contributes one-tenth, while her representation is nearly one-fifth, as compared with that of England and Scotland. Is not then a large allowance made for her population, and very justly so?*

When the representation of Ireland completely swamped that of England, as it did for many years, she could not then justly complain of the inadequate number of her members. Neither did she ever turn to England and say, “really it is a hard case that you cannot have your own way, even in your own country; we will absent ourselves from all English questions, and leave you to yourselves: you shall have the satisfaction of beating the ministry as often as you choose.” This, indeed, would

* Taking all things together,—allowing for population to one and revenue to the other, the Scotch and Irish representations are much upon a par;—Scotland, with a population considerably under three millions, contributes five millions to the revenue, and sends fifty-three members to the Lower House, and sixteen to the Upper. In 1833, taxation was at 43s. 2d. per head on the population of Scotland; 11s. 2d. only in Ireland; and 65s. 7d. in England.—*Taxation of the British Empire*, by Martin.

have been the extreme of generosity; it would have been releasing England from her engagement to Ireland, without any reciprocal benefit for herself; for the English representation had it not in their power to return the compliment, however galling were the trammels in which they were thus held, and however loudly *they* complained of their captivity. And Ireland might have held them captive to this day, had it not been for the reaction which she herself provoked.

But she must be content to take her turn in the lottery of representation, and to believe that her present number will eventually turn up a prize.

Now for *general suffrage*. It generally happens among political agitators, who take up any point, around which they would rally their confederates, that that point is not their real aim. Not so, however, with Mr. O'Connell. Whatever tactics he may perhaps sometimes employ to divert the public for a time from any immediate object he may have in view, at any rate he is too honest, and too unwary, to conceal his great paramount end, without which he conceives that no rational freedom is to be enjoyed, nor any sufficient safeguard to be discovered to protect it. Here, at least, there is no mistaking him. He opens his mind in full, discloses the inmost recesses of his soul, and tells us all, *all* that he requires; for all that he or any man can ask is

included within the modest request for GENERAL SUFFRAGE. *General* is not quite so high-sounding as *universal*, but we are assured that it means precisely the same thing ; it takes the same wide unlimited range, and equally portends, in as plain language as words can convey, *an entire reconstruction*,—or remodelling, as the phrase now is,—*of the ancient constitution of the country*,—a pulling down of everything to the level of those classes in which, henceforth, the full sovereign power, the complete government of the country, is to reside.

A notion seems to be abroad,—indeed it appears to have been very largely used by the apostles of universal suffrage, and to have exercised very great influence over their disciples,—that such, from the beginning, was the indisputable inalienable right of Englishmen,—a right of which they have been robbed, and which has been restricted only by the encroaching and more engrossing spirit of modern times. Passing over the nature and exercise of those popular rights which the Saxons brought with them from their own country, and established as the ground-work of their civil policy in the government of their new conquest, (many of which have survived even the total extinction of their race as the governing power in the state), as altogether foreign to our purpose,—let us confine ourselves to a very few observations upon those

periods in which popular rights have been enjoyed under the present form of our constitution. In taking a historical survey of these matters, it is quite evident, that while the constitution was framed upon the principle of securing to the people their *share* in the management of their own concerns, it never was intended to be *more* than a share. The popular representation was checked and controlled by the sovereign, while the sovereign, in his turn, was controlled by the nobles. At no period has the popular representation exercised anything like the influence and power which it does *now*. In remote times, the sovereign continually claimed and exercised (the practice even went on to the Revolution of 1688) the right of creating and disfranchising boroughs at his pleasure, and of issuing his writs to as few or as many of the barons as he chose should constitute an Upper House for the time being. The contest between the crown and its own tenants, composing the great body of the nobles and landholders, was almost ever upon the right of taxation, which was the main cause, as well as the main object, of the representative system; nor was it till the reign of Edward the Third, that that right was fully established by practice, though it had long been an axiom of the constitution, that no class should be taxed but through its own representatives; not that every man who paid taxes should have a vote, but that the crown should not levy any impost, except through

the machinery of a representative assembly. The freemen, to whom the elective franchise was first given, were by no means numerous, the far greater proportion of the population consisting of *villeins*, or slaves. When, in progress of time, the freemen became more numerous and less independent, they became troublesome depositaries of the elective franchise, and so little was the right of general suffrage acknowledged or tolerated, that by the 8th of Henry the Sixth, a most sweeping disfranchisement of the country voters all over the kingdom was decreed *by parliament*,* upon the ground that elections “had now of *late* been made, (by those of whom) the most part was of people *of small substance and of no value*,” and who, as the preamble states, *pretended* to a right which was never meant to be entrusted to them. So dangerous was this abuse considered to the peace of the country, and so hostile to the spirit of the constitution, that, as if determined to eradicate it for

* The preamble sets forth that elections “had now of late been made by very great, outrageous, and excessive numbers of people dwelling within the same counties, and the most part of people of *small substance and of no value*; whereof every of them *pretended* a voice equivalent as to such elections to be made with the most worthy knights and esquires dwelling within the same counties, whereby manslaughter, riots, batteries, and divisions among the gentlemen and other people of the same counties, shall very likely rise and be, unless convenient and due remedy be provided.”

ever, the law thenceforth restricted the privilege of voting for county members, to freeholders of the yearly income of forty shillings, equivalent, as it is computed, to about £30 of our money! Such was the origin of the forty-shilling freeholders. The right of voting in the cities and boroughs remained untouched, varying according to ancient prescription and usage, sometimes residing in the freemen, sometimes in the corporations, or the burgage tenants, and sometimes in the whole body of resident householders; though, subsequently these also became restricted by the votes of the House of Commons. So that, take it all in all, there never was a period in which the elective franchise was so generally allowed, and so firmly protected by law as it is at this present moment.* The misfortune is, that it had not been so at a much earlier period of our history. We had then been saved that cruel tyranny, which enslaved, impoverished, and changed the religion, and, with the religion, destroyed many of the best institutions of the country, under the Eighth Henry.†

* For the historical proofs see the Appendix.

† The monasteries were so many small independent republics of men congregated together by mutual consent, and living by one common rule, to which, when once they adopted it, they were irrevocably bound. Though connected with the state in some instances by baronial rights and privileges, and always contributing their full quota towards its exigences, yet were they altogether independent of it; usually exerting, indeed, a strong and efficient

We had been saved those sad fruits of fanaticism, which fell upon the nation like a plague and pesti-

control against the tyranny of the sovereign, and fostering a spirit of liberty and independence amongst the people around them, who were proverbially the happiest and best conditioned in the kingdom. Still were they subject to a superior authority of their own, whose office it was to see that their rule was observed, and to correct abuses and innovations when necessary. With them indeed innovation was revolution, and revolution has even found its way within the sacred precincts of the cloister. And yet was ever legislation so perfect for its object—the subjection of the passions—the enjoyment of peace and security—the exclusion of the world, with its vices and temptations?

Save the deposit of religious faith, held in trust by the Church under the immediate promises and surety of God, there is nothing under the sun so perfect, so sacred, as to be proof against abuses from the revolutions of time, the altered manners and notions of the age, or the perversity of our nature. Principles therefore are not to be overturned for the occasional and accidental abuses by which they have been overlaid. If one principle has been found to work well upon the main, and another ill, surely the former is that which we should cherish and retain, the latter that which we should mistrust and reject. Establishments such as these, numerous dispersed throughout the country, must ever have had an immense influence over the happiness of the people, and the well-being of a state. The nurseries of art,—the dispensers of learning,—the instruments of benevolence,—the services of the Church maintained with a degree of splendour which captivated the imagination, elevated the soul, and gave dignity to religion,—no wonder that their extinction was deplored as a public and private loss. To Ireland, of all countries under the sun, were they more particularly necessary, as so many happy spots in the desert of her

lence, decimating the people by war and persecution through the land, and overthrowing both the throne and the altar. These, undoubtedly, were the remote consequences of a want of proper division of power between the different estates of the realm, and of a proper understanding of their respective rights. The immediate cause of the latter scourge, were the excesses into which the people were carried when they overstepped the bounds prescribed to

afflictions,—as sanctuaries of peace in time of war, and asylums of charity in seasons of distress, which could not fail to have their influence in rescuing civilization from extinction, and mitigating and preventing the visitations of poverty.

“There were, in England, at the time we are speaking of, 645 of these institutions, besides 90 colleges, 110 hospitals, and 2,374 chantries and free chapels. The whole were seized on, first and last, taken into the hands of the king, and by him granted to those who aided and abetted him in the work of plunder.” In Ireland, there were at least 800 monasteries and chantries.

“The grounds on which the parliament was informed that the property of the monasteries ought to be vested in the king, were, that he might be able ‘to live of his own,’ to defend the kingdom on any sudden invasion or insurrection, to aid his confederates, reward his well-deserving servants, maintain continually a standing army of 40,000 men, and never again ask any aids or subsidies of the people. Thus the suppression of the monasteries was intended to serve as the means for establishing a despotism, and dispensing at once with Lords and Commons. Enabling Henry to make law and religion by proclamation, was only a part of the bye-play in this ‘disenthraling’ drama.”—*Dublin Review*.

them by the constitution, and monopolized to themselves the authority which was intended to be divided amongst all. And is it not to be presumed that the same causes will again produce the same effects, when by universal suffrage you have brought a new force into action, which shall infallibly derange the balance of power,—the ruling principle of our legislative institutions,—and on the happy adjustment of which depends the efficiency of the whole for the purposes of good government? Democratic institutions, without a democratic condition of society, is an anomaly in the political history of the world. A representation based upon the general suffrage of the people is pure democracy, and cannot therefore subsist simultaneously with the present social condition of the country. It must either level all things else to its own degree, or suffer its power to be wrested from it as soon as acquired, and submit to a much more stringent rule than that over which it had just triumphed. Its usual course is to effect the one, and to endure the other,—to accomplish all the mischief it can first, and when it has done its worst, to be compelled to surrender the privilege of doing more to some despot of its own creation. There is but one short step from democracy to despotism;—from the moment that Cromwell marched into the House, drove out the members, and turned the key in the door, democracy was dead, and he a living tyrant, as completely as if he had not risen

to power upon the shoulders of freedom. From the moment that Napoleon imitated his example, and entered the Council of Five Hundred at the head of his grenadiers,—though that same night he swore “inviolable fidelity to the sovereignty of the people, to the French republic, one and indivisible, to equality, to liberty, and to the representative system,”—he became as absolute as ever he was in the days of his empire. Liberty was extinct. As long as we stand to the forms and principles of the constitution, however it may get out of joint for a time, circumstances are pretty sure to right it again; whereas, the return from absolutism to liberty is much more violent, and much more difficult; as difficult, perhaps, as the transition is easy from democracy to tyranny. For once that you have established equality of rights by general suffrage, and have approached, as near as may be, to equality of property, you have little chance of escaping from general slavery,—because you have destroyed those interests from whence resistance to oppression might come in case of need, and have deranged those influences whose office it was to act as a counterpoise, and to keep the balance even.

If you begin with a democratic state of society, as in America, the case is very different; the natural course then is to regulate it by analogous institutions, however imperfect they may be; for even under circumstances the most favourable to them,

they have never yet been competent for the purposes of good government,—viz. to extinguish slavery, to preserve order, to vindicate the authority of the law, and to maintain the rights of property from the capricious violence of a licentious populace. But if you have an ancient and venerable structure of society, comprising within itself, in the highest perfection—considered as a ground-work for political institutions—every order and degree into which civilization has ever classed the human race,—why then, you must have a mixed form of government, which alone can harmonize with such a variety of parts, blending their many elements together, so that none shall so preponderate as to destroy the just influence of the other, and forming one compact and well-adjusted whole, capable of working for the interests of all.*

Now what is the course under universal suffrage? The natural order of things is reversed. Learning

* The political history of the last few years presents abundance of proof that the House of Lords, as now constituted, is also sufficiently influenced by public opinion; for if they have not concurred in every measure of reform that has been proposed,—guided by peculiar and temporary circumstances,—they have at least concurred in a great number; and that they have satisfied the country by the general tenor of their conduct, is apparent by the result of the late elections, for even the boroughs only present a majority of ten in favour of the Whig or popular party; while the notion which too extensively prevails, that the counties have all been carried over towards conservatism by the influence of the aristocracy, is, I fancy,

and experience, character and reputation, or at least, conduct and station in the world sufficient to confer distinction and command respect, have hitherto been considered necessary qualifications for the representatives of the people under a mixed government. But the theory of modern innovators is to despise all such accomplishments as unworthy of the attention of an enlightened age, and to promote to high place men without knowledge, without experience, without property, without condition in the country,—whose understandings are uncultivated, untrained to respect for themselves or for those above them,—without any distinct principles to guide, without precedent to restrain, or law to govern them:—deficient in every quality which a civilized state has a just right to require as a guarantee for the honest and efficient discharge of a great public trust.

What representatives for the most illustrious and most powerful nation in the world, under the most complex and most diversified system of government! Utterly depending on the multitude,—the “menacing” multitude who returned them as the representatives of agitation,—could any one

entirely unfounded. I believe, it will appear on examination, that the larger landed proprietors generally, and the more ancient of the aristocracy, are Whigs; and that the power which gained the day was composed of a number of smaller proprietors, combined with the influence of almost the whole of the resident and working clergy of the established Church.

of them, with whom either the honour or the emolument of office was an object of ambition for the coming year, presume to stand upon his own opinion for an instant, if any opinion he had?—Must he not, of necessity, be the mere creature of his constituents? the majority, and consequently the returning portion of those constituents, being £3 renters and £1 lodgers! Yet these are they who are to become greater than kings;—for though a king can do no wrong, the people have the power of punishment if he infringe upon their rights,—whereas the multitude are to accomplish what mischief they will, to dethrone the sovereign, and to annul every man's privilege but their own with impunity!—for who can punish the multitudes of a nation but a tyrant? *

* “ Where popular authority is absolute and unrestrained, the people have an infinitely greater, because a far better, founded confidence in their own power. They are themselves, in a great measure, their own instruments. They are nearer to their objects. Besides, they are less under responsibility to one of the greatest controlling powers on earth, the sense of shame and estimation. The share of infamy that is likely to fall to the lot of each individual in public acts, is small indeed; the operation of opinion being in the inverse ratio to the number of those who abuse power. Their own approbation of their own acts has to them the appearance of a public judgment in their favour. A perfect democracy is therefore the most shameless thing in the world. As it is the most shameless, it is also the most fearless. No man apprehends that in his person he can be made subject to punishment.

Legislation is the most difficult science in the world ; every year it becomes more comprehensive and more complicated, and farther removed from the level of ordinary understandings, and uninstructed numbers. The highest ability, and the profoundest thought cannot penetrate its depths, or calculate its action with any confidence. Yet, with a rashness unparalleled, general suffrage would throw it, with all its intricate perplexities, as a theme before the most illiterate and inexperienced. The wisdom which has preceded us can alone guide us with any safety through the dan-

Certainly the people at large never ought: for as all punishments are for example towards the conservation of the people at large, the people at large can never become the subject of punishment by any human hand. It is therefore of infinite importance that they should not be suffered to imagine that their will, any more than that of kings, is the standard of right and wrong. They ought to be persuaded that they are full as little entitled, and far less qualified, with safety to themselves, to use any arbitrary power whatsoever ; that therefore they are not, under a false show of liberty, but, in truth, to exercise an unnatural inverted domination, tyrannically to exact, from those who officiate in the state, not an entire devotion to their interest, which is their right, but an absolute submission to their occasional will ; extinguishing thereby, in all those who serve them, all moral principle, all sense of dignity, all use of judgment, and all consistency of character ; whilst, by the very same process, they give themselves up a proper, a suitable, but a most contemptible prey to the servile ambition of popular sycophants, or courtly flatterers.”—*Burke*.

gers that meet us on every side. But new men, coming into power upon the triumph of a new principle, must necessarily bring with them new theories and new fancies. Experience tells us that it is so; and it is so because it is the property of new principles to contemn those which they have supplanted, and rather to oppose authority merely because it is authority, than to recognize its influence over them.

If we mistake now, working upon something like fixed principles, we mistake only in details; and details can be remodelled and revised at will. But to play a game of hazards with fundamental principles, is perfect madness. Fixed principles, which have entwined themselves round our very existence; which have grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength; which have become a part and parcel of the institutions of the state; which have come down to us with all the weight of authority which time and experience can give them; which form the symbol of our political creed; which are the soul of our social system, the source of our confidence, our hope for the future, our remedy for the past, when remedy is wanting,—surely such principles as these ought to command our reverence and awe. It should be a fearful thing to touch them, even with the intention of sustaining them.

Dissent from established principles in politics is next akin to dissent in religion,—that is, dissent

from those great leading maxims of government, recognised by the wise and the virtuous of every age as so many land-marks, by which, if we would steer her safely through the continuous perils of her navigation, we must be content to conduct the vessel of the state. In religion, there are points upon which no man can doubt,—there are others less important and more undefined, on which his opinion may divert itself, according to its fancy and capacity. But without unity in first principles, you can have no consistency, no security. They may tell the people, once they have placed them uppermost in the balance of power,—“mind, with king, lords, and bishops, you meddle not, but all things else you may handle at your will.” But will not the people reply: “Why then did you place us here; why give us the privilege of judging, and the power to exercise it? You are only deluding us; as long as king, lords, and bishops interfere, we can never have our own way, and that you promised us we should have when you placed us in our present position, and invested us with our present rights.” The compact will be urged in vain; the mastery must be gained; all obstacles must be surmounted,—the entrenchments they have carried by storm must be levelled to the ground, as the only security against future aggression. If already our government by numbers is sometimes difficult to manage, how will it be when you make numbers alone the principle by

which it rules? It will suffer no resistance from above, for it scorns to yield,—it can bear no pressure from without, for it is moulded from the very materials which press it. It thus forfeits all title to independence on the one hand, and has rejected all principle of submission on the other. Let the crown, lords, and bishops, dare to stand upon their prerogative against such a master as this!—they had better abdicate at once, and spare themselves the pain and penalty of deprivation.

Yes! once you depart from the just controlling principle, you surrender at discretion. It is just as sensible a method of proceeding—the parallel seems to me so apt, and I know you, my dear friend, will think so too, that I cannot forbear making it—as binding our religious faith by rules and tests, and then handing us the bible to strike out a religion for ourselves. The one is as likely to preserve unity of principle and purpose as the other. The religious principles of the reformation,—not those principles, I should say, but a practice in absolute contradiction to them (for the rights of private judgment, and those of authoritative teaching, stand in a direct antagonist position to each other), have driven a considerable portion of the world into dissent.

It is in vain to tell the people that the constitution consists of king, lords, and commons, when they find the *whole* united power of the three lodged in their own hands. They will exercise the power, but the principles they will throw to the winds.

After all the experience which history has given us of the sad results of such power wherever it has been applied, and of the bitter fruits which, in our own days, we see springing from it in every quarter of the world where it is exercised, I should be ashamed to offer a single argument on the matter, did it come recommended by any less authority than that of Mr. O'Connell, the weight of whose opinions must be calculated, not by the reasoning by which they are enforced, but by the extraordinary faculty which he possesses of communicating them to millions. Whether his opinions be founded on truth and tested by experience,—of which indeed those millions have no opportunities of enquiring, nor sufficient instruction to judge, is not the question: but, are they “the opinions of the Liberator?” He says to them, “believe me, * * * * * attend to me, I beg of you, my fellow countrymen. You know me, I never deceived you, nor any of you:”—and they do attend, and they do believe. And though I do not find, as far as I have had the opportunity of searching, any full and complete exposition of his doctrine of general suffrage laid down for acceptance by the Irish people, either in his speeches, or in his public manifestos to them, yet as it is ostentatiously and unequivocally set forth in his address to the friends of repeal and reform at Highbury, we cannot doubt of his intention, when the fitting time shall come, of making it the groundwork of his political creed

for Ireland. For how can he withhold rights and privileges from Ireland, which he so generally and spontaneously offers to England? I trust, therefore, that I may be excused if I still pursue the subject for a few moments.

It is in the Commons' House that the chief governing power of the nation resides ; for it enjoys privileges wholly unknown to the other branches of the legislature. While therefore it is the most powerful, the most natural, and the most vigilant protector of the liberties of the people, it should also be the strongest safeguard against their encroachments. The greater its powers, the more cautious ought we to be into whose hands they fall ; the more elevated its duties, and the more important the post which it occupies, the more jealous it should prove for the preservation of its independence, and the more wary against placing itself in a situation in which, from being a general assembly of all the interests in the nation, it may become the representative of a single class. That it is not so yet is clear, from the shifting of influences, as circumstances have called them forth, during every successive election since the reform bill. At one season, it more particularly represented the boroughs, and persons of liberal opinions in the counties,—at another, as the reaction took effect, the opposite interests and opinions predominated among the English members, and it became virtually only the representative of Ireland,—now, it is more particularly influenced by the county

members from the three kingdoms. And this, I think, is the best test we can have of its perfection, that it so readily accommodates itself to circumstances, is so subject to a just control on the one hand, and so capable of controlling on the other. It is the *beau ideal* of the *juste milieu*, which the wisest political philosophers have hitherto been seeking in vain, which has often indeed existed in theory, but till now, has rarely been reduced to practice. Take it all in all, once we lose it, we shall never see its like again; for no similar institution has yet existed in the world so suitable to the purposes for which it is intended. I speak of course of the REFORMED House,—and hitherto no part of the empire has profited by it so much as Ireland.

The great run now amongst the reformers in England, is, at the £50 renters under the Chandos clause; but, if the sin of renting to the amount of £50 a year be a valid cause of disfranchisement, in what category do they place the £10 renter? and where, under universal suffrage, are the £2 renters and the £1 lodgers to take their stand? Formerly, the doctrine was, that the lower the condition, the greater the dependence; but now it seems that principles are to travel on an inverse inclination, and that the man of most substance is to be the most dependent in the eye of a political philosopher. If this non-influence system be carried out, we must revert to despotism,—there is

no intermediate point; for dependence is the natural condition of man in a civilized state, and we are all the creatures of influence. But the difference is this, that the £50 renter is influenced in support of property and a well-regulated liberty, under the ancient and well-tried institutions of the country, while the £2 renter and the £1 lodger are to be influenced to overturn them all.

If this sort of reasoning—this non-influence system—is to prevail, where is it to end? Has a £10 renter no landlord? and are tyranny and ambition only the vices of the great? In the mind of a reformer, the £50 agricultural renter is a serf, while the city £10 renter is an honest independent man! Is it that city walls enjoy the privilege of excluding all the vices and the passions, and of conferring wisdom on all the inhabitants within their hallowed circuit? while the sight of green fields and golden harvests under a pure sky and invigorating atmosphere is so much moral poison?

Not even equality will afford a refuge against influence and corruption; no, not even the constitution of “the model republic,”—for new and perfect as it is, it is now discovered to be incompetent to the task of repressing corrupt influence;—and the best privileges of the President, those only which were worth having, which made him a component part of the legislature, which entrusted him with the exercise of an essential, fundamental principle of the constitution, are to be sacrificed

to the *abuses* said to have grown out of the extravagant liberality of democracy, in vesting any power whatever in one individual.

General Winfield Scott, commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, is among the candidates, it seems, for the presidency of the republic. In this capacity he has addressed a letter to the people of the United States, explanatory of his opinions on the important questions now uppermost in party politics. Opposition to the decisions of the supreme court *he regards as revolutionary*. With regard to the president's veto he thinks it might be SET ASIDE by the vote of a simple majority of congress, ten days being allowed for reflection after its exercise. Connected with the veto is the power of patronage, upon which he thus expresses himself:—"The rapid increase and spread of population—the growth of national wealth—the amount of revenue collected and disbursed—the new relations (by the extension of commerce) with foreign countries—the additional appointments at home and abroad—the number and value of contracts, all constantly and necessarily on the increase—a *general decay in morals, perhaps as great in congress as elsewhere*—the habit that we have seen prevail during the several presidential terms—of filling public offices with but *little or no regard to moral standing*—have, taken together, already opened to government *elements of power and corruption* which it was impossible for the framers and adopters of the

constitution *to foresee or to conceive*. Who, at that distant day, for example, ever dreamed of the spectacles which have disgusted every honest citizen—of postmasters, mail-contractors, mail-agents, and census-takers covering the land with government pamphlets, hand-bills, and extra-gazettes, sufficient (if read) to sap the morals, public and private, of an entire generation?—of the custom-house mercenaries in the large cities, living on the public, neglecting every duty *for party meetings and the polls, and rendering to power the most bribeworthy services?*—of district attorneys and collectors, rambling missionaries, defending every abuse of office—their own the most indecent—or in order to maintain power in the hands of their patron? All who have reflected on the foregoing facts must be ready to affirm that executive patronage ‘has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.’ I hope then, by an *early amendment of the constitution, to see a reduction of the President’s veto*. The regulation of patronage *would naturally follow.*”

If we do not *now* see how our own threatened innovations are to work, we must be blind indeed!

To be consistent, we must dash onwards,—no halting,—stop at nothing;—the assembly of three hundred, holding the proxies of six millions of voters;* a representative House of Peers, soon

* “ Be it enacted, that for the purpose of obtaining an equal representation of the people in the Commons’ House

found too troublesome as a separate establishment, and merged for greater convenience into the national convention; the sovereign reduced to a mere pageant, shorn of her legislative veto, curtailed in the privileges of the executive, and at last voted as too expensive a "bauble" for the amusement of rational freemen in these enlightened times,—such is the fate which awaits the boasted constitution of "palmy England," the pride of ourselves and of our race for six hundred years, the envy and the model of all that aspire to take their station among the representative governments of the world, as a barrier to the despotism of monarchy,—the source of our greatness, our happiness, and our wealth!

Universal suffrage is to wave her wand, and the beauteous fabric is to vanish, but another scene is to appear,—the halcyon days of wisdom and virtue are to dawn,—innocent mirth as the portion of the young, and stoic philosophy of the old,—universal peace and plenty are to reign in rich luxuriance,—all good is to abound, and all evil is to be excluded,—no desire is to be repressed, because no wish is to be unfulfilled,—till the volcano on which these guileless *short-sighted* children of freedom have been disporting, burst, and bury

of Parliament, the United Kingdom be divided into 300 electoral districts.—(There are say 6,000,000 of men eligible to vote; number divided by 300, gives 20,000 to each member.) That each electoral district return one representative to sit in the Commons' House of Parliament, and no more."—*People's Charter*.

them and their fair inheritance in one common ruin.

The experience of the past has made it easy to predict for the future, and has taught us to apply with almost unerring certainty the prophetic words in which Mr. Burke so truly foretold, at the beginning of these evil times, the catastrophe that was coming upon a nation for forming its constitution upon true Chartist *geometrical and arithmetical* calculations:—"When it has completed its work," said he, "it will have accomplished its ruin." Then shall it appear that practical folly *may* succeed to theoretic wisdom, and the assertion of "vague speculative rights expose our sure inheritance to be scrambled for and torn to pieces by every wild, litigious spirit." *

* "According to the opinion which is prevalent among the more cultivated advocates of democracy, one of its greatest recommendations is, that, by means of it, the wisest and worthiest are brought to the head of affairs. The people, it is said, have the strongest interest in selecting the right men. It is presumed that they will be sensible of that interest; and, subject to more or less liability of error, will, in the main, succeed in placing a high, if not the highest degree of worth and talent in the highest situations.

"M. de Tocqueville is of another opinion. He was forcibly struck with the general want of merit in the members of the American legislatures, and other public functionaries. He accounts for this not solely by the people's incapacity to discriminate merit, but partly also by their indifference to it. He thinks there is little preference for men of superior intellect, little desire to obtain their services for the public; occasionally even a jealousy of them,

To risk the derangement of such a system as that by which we are now governed, after the re-

especially if they be also rich. They, on their part, have still less inclination to seek any such employment. Public offices are little lucrative, confer little power, and offer no guarantee of permanency : almost any other career holds out better pecuniary prospects to a man of ability and enterprise ; nor will instructed men stoop to those mean arts, and those compromises of their private opinions, to which their less distinguished competitors willingly resort. The depositories of power, after being chosen with little regard to merit, are, partly perhaps for that very reason, frequently changed. The rapid return of elections, and even a taste for variety, M. de Tocqueville thinks, on the part of electors (a taste not unnatural wherever little regard is paid to qualifications), produces a rapid succession of new men in the legislatures, and in all public posts. Hence, on the one hand, great instability in the laws—every new comer desiring to do something in the short time which he has ; while, on the other hand, there is no political *carrière* — statesmanship is not a profession. There is no body of persons educated for public business, pursuing it as their occupation, and who transmit from one to another the results of their experience. There are no traditions, no science or art of public affairs. A functionary knows little, and cares less, about the principles on which his predecessor has acted ; and his successor thinks as little about his. Public transactions are therefore conducted with a reasonable share indeed of the common sense and common information which are general in a democratic community, but with little benefit from specific study and experience ; without consistent system, long-sighted views, or persevering pursuit of distant objects.

“ It is not from the separate interests, real or imaginary, of the majority, that minorities are in danger ; but from its antipathies of religion, political party, or race ;

peated failures which we see around us, would be perfect madness. Yet the Reformers are ever

and experience in America seems to confirm what theory rendered probable, that the tyranny of the majority would not take the shape of tyrannical laws, but that of a dispensing power over all laws. The people of Massachusetts passed no law prohibiting Roman Catholic schools, or exempting Protestants from the penalties of incendiarism; they contented themselves with burning the Ursuline convent to the ground, aware that no jury would be found to redress the injury. In the same reliance the people of New York and Philadelphia sacked and destroyed the houses of the Abolitionists, and the schools and churches of their black fellow-citizens, while numbers who took no share in the outrage amused themselves with the sight. The laws of Maryland still prohibit murder and burglary; but in 1812, a Baltimore mob, after destroying the printing-office of a newspaper which had opposed the war with England, broke into the prison to which the editors had been conveyed for safety, murdered one of them, left the other for dead; and the criminals were tried and acquitted. In the same city, in 1835, a riot which lasted four days, and the foolish history of which is related in M. Chevalier's 'Letters,' was occasioned by the fraudulent bankruptcy of the Maryland bank. It is not so much the riots, in such instances, that are deplorable; these might have occurred in any country:—it is the impossibility of obtaining aid from an executive dependent upon the mob, or justice from juries which formed part of it: it is the apathetic cowardly truckling of disapproving lookers-on; almost a parallel to the passive imbecility of the people of Paris, when a handful of hired assassins perpetrated the massacres of September. For where the majority is the sole power, and a power issuing its mandates in the form of riots, it inspires a terror which the most arbitrary monarch often fails to excite. The silent sympathy of the majority may support on the scaffold the martyr of one man's tyranny; but if we would imagine the situation of a victim of the

ready for the trial. Every time that a favourite bill misses, and that things do not go exactly as

majority itself, we must look to the annals of religious persecution for a parallel.

“ Yet, neither ought we to forget that even this lawless violence is not so great, because not so lasting, an evil, as tyranny through the medium of the law. A tyrannical law remains; because, so long as it is submitted to, its existence does not weaken the general authority of the laws. But in America, tyranny will seldom use the instrument of law, *because among the white population there is no permanent class to be tyrannized over.* The subjects of oppression are casual objects of popular resentment, who cannot be reached by law, but only by occasional acts of lawless power, and to tolerate these, if they ever became frequent, would be consenting to live without law. Already in the United States, the spirit of outrage has raised a spirit of resistance to outrage; of moral resistance first, as was to be wished and expected: if that fail, physical resistance will follow. The majority, like other despotic powers, will be taught by experience, that it cannot enjoy both the advantages of civilized society, and the barbarian liberty of taking men’s lives and property at its discretion. Let it once be generally understood that minorities will fight, and majorities will be shy of provoking them. The bad government of which there is any permanent danger under modern civilization, is in the form of bad laws and bad tribunals: government by the *sic volo* either of a king or a mob, belongs to past ages, and can no more exist out of the pale of Asiatic barbarism.

“ The despotism, therefore, of the majority within the limits of civil life, though a real evil, does not appear to us to be a formidable one. The tyranny which we fear, and which M. de Tocqueville principally dreads, is of another kind—a tyranny not over the body but over the mind.

“ It is the complaint of M. de Tocqueville, as well as of other travellers in America, that in no country does there exist *less independence of thought.* In religion, indeed, the

they desire, instead of waiting for the opportunity, and working in the mean time on the reason and good feeling of their opponents, they cry out for a change in the constitution. They are like spoilt children, who will brook nothing that stands between them and the immediate gratification of every wish.

The Reform Bill was no departure from recognized principles; but quite the contrary. The ancient and accustomed forms of the machine were retained, while its mouldered parts alone were repaired, renovated, and rendered fit for use. The rust and dust of ages had clogged the wheels; it scoured them clean, and set them a going again.

varieties of opinion which prevailed among those by whom the colonies were settled, has produced a toleration in law, and in fact extending to the limits of Christianity. If by ill fortune there had happened to be a religion of the majority, the case would probably have been different. On every other subject, *when the opinion of the majority is made up, hardly any one, it is affirmed, dares to be of any other opinion, or at least to profess it.*—*Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1840.

Democratic institutions have also an immense advantage in America from her federal system, in which a number of small states principally govern themselves, and leave little for the general congress. She has also few foreign relations, and few complicated interests, either internal or external, and consequently requires but very little legislation. But with all these advantages, and another still greater,—no large unemployed population to provide for, yet she can hardly be said to form an exception to the general rule,—the inefficiency of democratic governments.

There was no change in the mechanism, its powers only were restored.

But now, no daring is too great even for the least among us ; every man is an apostle in the science of legislation ; nay, not the expositor of laws for special practical purposes, but the propounder of new theories of government for the accomplishment of new and undefined objects. Seceders from old principles start up around us on every side ; the more ignorant the more rash ; they form a constitution with as much case and as little scruple as others frame a religion, and with about the same chance of answering its objects. Men are taught new methods of contending against authority, new contrivances for violating the law with impunity and without sin, till all law and all authority be swept away, and we shall have nothing left but political infidelity in the heart, and licentiousness in practice ; so that for truth and honesty there shall be neither reverence nor refuge to be found. In what chastisements our crimes may still remain to be expiated, Heaven only knows—Heaven only can decree ; but I trust it may not be in a dereliction of all principle, a departure from all wisdom, a perfect desolation in our social, as in our religious polity. We must hope in the benign influence of a steady, healing, thoughtful, return to ancient maxims now generally observable among the serious and reflecting, to countervail the latitudinarianism and apathy in religion, and the reckless course of

innovation in politics. The contest is between good and bad principles: if these latter carry the day, we shall have them hastening along like an army of locusts, devouring every living thing, and leaving no nourishment behind in the desert they have created, to revivify any particle of fruitfulness that might linger after them; while the whirlwind which accompanies them will level the edifice of the state, and bury it in the sand beyond the power of man to recover and restore it. But let us not despair of victory for the good cause: we have a noble inheritance confided to our keeping, and by the blessing of God we will defend it.

The advocates of Radicalism see the antidote where others detect the poison. "General suffrage," and the ingenious device of "the ballot," are to scatter peace, and plenty, and virtue through the land. 'Tis easier said than done. If the agricultural electors are, many of them, without patriotism and knowledge, they have at least the advantage of men of superior education and state in the country to guide them,—and to guide them without first debasing them by the purchase of their birth-right,—men who, if they do not always come to a just judgment on great popular questions, are at least not devoid of honesty or capacity. But the town and city electors, even constituted as they are now, are too notorious, in many cases, at the bidding of those who come into the market with the heaviest purse. The lower you descend in the scale of popular rights, the more, of neces-

sity, will such influences tell ; for there will be more poverty to be alleviated, and more mercenary dispositions to be gratified.

Should however, contrary to all just expectation, numbers and the ballot bid defiance to bribery, rely upon it that the boldest language and the most levelling principles will then usurp its place, and even where there is an honest and intelligent constituency now, dilute it seventy per cent, by a host of new denizens, whom it would be false charity to suppose were either one or the other, you overwhelm it at once. When, by deteriorating its value, you have destroyed all respect for the privilege, you cannot expect any integrity in its exercise. Extend the elective franchise in the counties as you will, you gain nothing towards popular independence, till you have first destroyed the influence of property : till then, you are only extending that influence over a larger surface, for almost the whole of the rural population, artizans and all, are dependent upon the landed gentry for employment. Give general suffrage to the counties, and you would have the same representation as you have now. The landed proprietors, residing generally upon their estates, spending their rental in the country, and attentive to the interests of the poor, would not fear the loss of the influence they have so justly acquired, unless you overlaid it by throwing the whole population of all the unrepresented towns into their constituency.

You must either do this, or you must raise those towns into boroughs, so that they should neutralize the representation of the counties. It is from the boroughs that the mischief would come, for there it is that Chartism, Socialism, Radicalism, and fanaticism of every shade and every hue, would reign triumphant.

The venality of the old voters was one great argument for reform; the extension of the suffrage was held up as the purifier of elections: reform opened and enlarged the suffrage, and the venality is greater than ever. How little do legislators know the virtue of their own remedies! However, if it partially failed here, it has arrested evils, and I trust effectually, of much greater magnitude. But what is the new specific? Why a still larger dose of the old! "We are sick indeed," say they, "but perhaps the virus has not gone deep enough to effect a cure; inoculate us again, let us have the disease in good earnest for once, that we may be well for ever after." But I fear the disease is not of a nature to act as an antidote to itself. Make us worse that we may be better, may be a very true and scientific process in the hands of Hanneman, but I doubt whether it be applicable to our present malady. Glut the market, cheapen the commodity;—what is cheap is of little value; what is of little value, the rich are not ambitious to have:—this may be another argument, but I conceive it to be about as

worthy as the former. In one instance, under the present system, £1500 is asserted to have been given for fifteen votes ; but under general suffrage, will not the same sum command five hundred ? For even now many a vote, if report be true, is bought and sold for £3. “ We have had £3 from the other side,” said some of the honest electors of a certain borough, to the rival candidate, (as the story goes), “ we shall be content with thirty shillings from you.”

But the ballot is to cure all. If the holders of the elective franchise, being comparatively few, and in easy circumstances, carry their commodity openly to market without either shame or scruple, and sin before the face of day, what iniquities will not be perpetrated under cover of the ballot, with universal suffrage ? No one will buy, they argue, when he is not sure of getting his money’s worth ; but necessity makes men ingenious, and rely upon it, the test will soon be discovered by which the purchaser shall know the real quality of his material. Annual parliaments will alone suffice to make the market honest, and to keep down the price ; a poor man’s rent seldom exceeds £3 or £4, and a lodging may be had for £1 ; this may be taken as the standard value, and if the men of “ little substance” are bought up, the better sort may be disregarded, for those of “ no value” are the more numerous. No, *they cannot give the real sovereignty to the people, in their acceptance*

of the term, without popularizing all things. Short of this, every extension of the suffrage beyond a certain point,—and that point I think we have now attained,—will only call for additional influence to counteract it, and that influence will keep things as they are. The danger is that the more you extend the elective franchise, the less you make the government the government of the people, and the more the government of the few ; unless indeed extension be carried to its utmost limits, and then the rule of the people is established whenever and for whatever purposes they may choose to use it.*

* The late proceedings in the Dublin corporation prove at least that the ballot is not to be trusted or approved upon all occasions, and is supposed to be capable of mischief as well as of good.

“ All contrivances by ballot,” says Burke, “ we know experimentally to be vain and childish to prevent a discovery of inclinations. Where they may the best answer the purposes of concealment, they answer to produce suspicion, and this is a still more mischievous cause of partiality.”

Unsuited as I consider the ballot for a country in which all are entitled to enjoy the right of holding their opinions without fear or hindrance, and wholly inefficient as I deem it as a check upon bribery, yet would I willingly support it had we any assurance that it would be permitted to protect the voter against intimidation. But those who advocate it as a remedy for bribery, do not, I apprehend, also intend to invest it with the power of shielding the independence of the people ; who would, I suspect, remain equally subject to be placed under the surveillance of repeal wardens, and

“Give us the ballot, annual parliaments, and universal suffrage, and we will set bribery at defiance.” Vain delusion! You will only increase it four-fold;—you cheapen the commodity, put it into the hands of the most needy and the least virtuous, and compel the rich to buy it in their own defence. And this indeed would be the only chance of warding off the evil, which they now behold suspended like the sword of Damocles over their heads. But if the time might come when the poor man should forego his annual stipend, and stand but for once on the honour of his “inalienable right,”—upon the speculation, it might be, that this small sacrifice would soon be recompensed by some larger boon,—excited by the declamation of some hired lecturer on “the natural

all the machinery of popular coercion. Organisation in a good cause is perfectly justifiable, provided it be not founded upon compulsion; but when I see it asserted that the people require constant excitement to keep them from sinking into indifference, that it is therefore necessary to put them under the watchful guardianship of wardens, and the wardens themselves under the eye of a keen inspector; and that the punishment for neglect is to be degradation and public denouncement;—then I question whether we are not diverging from what used to be considered the freedom of the British constitution, towards those slavish forms which public opinion is allowed on all hands to have assumed in America, where no one *dares* to hold, much less to express, an idea opposed to the ruling notions of the day. If the ballot would secure us from this, it should have my warmest support.

equality of man," and so forth,—then indeed does the system begin its operations. Those who have no property themselves, when invested with the guardianship of the public purse, will soon cease to respect it in others; and though they may abstain from downright robbery, they will have little scruple in violating implied or even real contracts when the public good seems to *them* to require it, or of plundering the rich in the shape of indemnity for wrongs inflicted upon the poor. Ingenuity, when sharpened by a little personal interest, may discover many other methods of invading the rights of property, than by direct partition. Yes, general suffrage is the hand-writing upon the wall, by which the wealth of England will be summoned to judgment and retribution—for however the democrats may fall out about the booty, or the means of acquiring it, it is quite certain that they are determined to have it.

The following extract from some radical paper, I know not which, is too much to the purpose to be omitted:—“We have made it the matter of close inquiry, and we are assured that, beyond all doubt, the *extension of the county franchise to the £10 occupiers*, and still more to the householders, would immensely, and almost incredibly, *augment the aristocratical influence*, and would make the independent electors a small and hopeless minority. When the mass of a nation is poor and dependent, it is a difficult problem to obtain out of

it *an independent constituency*. And this difficulty meets us in England in whatever direction we turn. The effect of the Chandos clause, carried against ministers by the aid of the radicals, ought to render reformers somewhat cautious with respect to the nature of the extensions they propose. The first great improvement would be in another direction—*disfranchising the freemen, and disfranchising the £50 occupiers.*” So they begin to suspect that universal suffrage might give us more dependent constituencies than we have now; and they find themselves compelled to violate their own principles in the very outset, to clear the way for their favourite scheme,—for plunder, not liberty, is at the bottom of all,—a premeditated and combined attack upon property. Disfranchise the *freemen* and the £50 occupiers! Yes! turn the tables, make slaves of the freemen, and convert the occupiers and proprietors of the soil into the cultivators thereof!

Opinions, however, are divided upon the best method of accomplishing these ends, and some there are who think that the object *may* be attained even under universal suffrage. “That the first parliament,” says the *nonconformist*, “elected by complete suffrage, would tolerably represent *the will of the people*, there can be little doubt—a constituency does not become corrupt all at once. The right which the *labouring classes* have struggled for so earnestly, to obtain which they have

submitted to such desperate privations, and in the exercise of which they hope to benefit themselves so largely, would not be all at once thrown away for a paltry bribe. We might expect, in this instance, a parliament honestly chosen—and such a parliament *would clear away a vast number of those class interests and monopolies*, to maintain which constitutes *one* main inducement to practise corruption. The evil would thus be *gradually dried up in its source*. The numbers of those whose interest it now is to offer bribes would be diminished year by year; and in the proportion as *class arrangements* were got rid of, in the same proportion would the motives to practise corruption be destroyed.” Clearing away a *vast* number of *class* interests and monopolies, no doubt is a very clear and palpable method of expression for the initiated, yet it is rather too mystified for more ardent souls, who come to the open, honest avowal at once, and resolve “that the landowning aristocracy ought to compensate the working classes for years of robbery, by REFUNDING *the WHOLE of the unholy gains wrung from the people by those wicked imposts*” the class monopolies;*—and when the *whole* computation is cast

* Mr. Culverwell’s resolution was carried by *acclamation* at a meeting of the national operative anti-corn bread tax association. Among the guests were Colonel Thompson, Mr. G. W. Burnes of Hull, Mr. J. Curtis of Ohio, Mr. R. Moore, a Dublin barrister, the Rev. J. W. Massie, and the Rev. W. Shuttleworth. After tea, the chairman began the speaking.

up, we may readily guess how the balance sheet will stand. It is also quite evident that in the opinion of the *nonconformist*, the only method, and a very sensible and secure one it is,—much more effective than the ballot,—of maintaining an honest constituency under universal suffrage, is by removing that constituency from the temptation to bribery *by depriving the rich of the MEANS of corruption*. “A disinclination to *take* bribes we cannot insure (say they)—but we can go far to cut away the motives, and to create an *impossibility to offer* bribes, and this is the next best thing.” Where is the impossibility of a rich man offering a bribe as long as he has the *means* of doing so? Though the class monopolies are partly *cleared* by the first parliament—and mind! we are to have a new one every year—will it not be worth while bribing the second—if not to restore them again—at least to check all farther spoliation,—for, be as hasty as they will, the work can hardly be finished in one session? Will not all this rather act as a stimulant to bribery — giving more *interest* to bribery than ever—as the only means of preserving the remnant of property which the destruction of the class monopolies has left to the rich? Why! they will be *compelled* to bribe the poor to connive at the possession of any property at all in the classes above them.*

* “I’ll tell you what it is, sir,” said one of the Newport Chartists to a magistrate, after the failure of the move-

Were it not for the wild principles that are afloat, and the strange distempered state of things, an extension of the elective franchise might readily be granted, without apprehension of any mischievous result, especially in Ireland, and that also with an increased number of representatives. But now, the public mind is too much alarmed—and very justly so—even for the consideration of such a measure.*

ment, “some has got too much property, some got too little, and we means to put it all right.”

* Mr. O’Connell says that the country voters are dying off of themselves, and that as far as they were concerned, Lord Stanley’s bill would have been a work of supererogation. But by whom are they disfranchised? By the Reform Bill?—no. By a vote of the House of Commons?—no. By a decision of the court of Queen’s Bench?—no; but by a vote of the corn exchange; and that vote has not only extinguished them as freemen, but it has annihilated them as men! I do not say it in accusation;—I only state it as a fact. There was a time perhaps when circumstances justified the risk, and before the dreadful alternative was presented to them in all its hideous deformity. But when that alternative became morally certain, surely it required an extreme case to justify its infliction. No one point for which the repealers are now contending, nor all those points together, appear to me to constitute that extreme necessity. It certainly had been better for the cause of humanity, and I think also for the country, had they learnt caution from experience, and waited for the more salutary influences of reason and justice.

Even that which was intended as a remedy, for a time, aggravated the evil;—“the prospect of a poor law,” says Mr. Bicheno, “has already been made a plea for dispossessing many of the poor.” Slow, halting legislation is often as unwise as over-hasty legislation.

But the idea of carrying universal suffrage into Ireland in its present condition, for the purpose of securing the independence of its elections, is no better than a burlesque. If such an idea has not been openly avowed, the really contemplated extension of the suffrage would, I suspect, not fall very short of it. In either case, it would come to this, that they who ruled the country voters would either lead them like a flock of sheep, or drive them like a herd of cattle: while the boroughs would be under the dominion of so many political juntas. The law would be, "he who does not vote as we choose to prescribe, *is a traitor to his country, and a renegade from his religion. Let him meet the disregard, the contempt, and the execration of all who know him. Set him down as the enemy of Ireland. He who is not in this struggle with the friends of Ireland, has no neutral ground to stand on. If there can be found such a one, let the hoof of scorn and the lips of contempt meet him in every walk, and at every turn.*" Such would be the language of the juntas, and woe to him who disobeyed it! Woe to him who dared to assert the right of judging for himself, and of fancying that the good of Ireland might be accomplished by other means than the decrees of the junta.

How can we doubt of this, when we know that the docility of the *people* of Ireland is proverbial, and that every avenue to political information is closed upon them, but that to which their leaders choose to grant them access.

' A little knowledge is a dangerous thing; and the people ought to be much better instructed than they now are, before they can be fitted to play the part they are made to do in the great political drama now acting.

When I see a regular succession of Repeal meetings in different districts of Ireland, at which resolutions are proposed and seconded by persons pretending to an accurate knowledge of their subject, and attested by the consenting acclamations of tens of thousands,—as on the Hill of Kilnoe, in the county of Clare, in May last,—stating without any reserve or hesitation, that their *country is becoming every day more impoverished, and their manufactures decayed*;—again, on the Hill of Ardsullas, in the same county, in June, *that for the last forty years, the condition of Ireland has been daily retrograding—her trade declining—her manufactures annihilated, &c. &c.*;—and again, at a great meeting at Ballyket, in July, that the manufactories of Ireland *have been foully prostrated* BY RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL ANTIPATHY, AND COMMERCIAL JEALOUSY;—again also, at a great meeting on the commons of Carney, in September, and attended, as the advertisement publishing the resolutions asserts, by *fifty thousand* men, that the *Union of Great Britain and Ireland, which purported to be an act to unite and consolidate the common interests of both countries, is in reality an act that aggran-*

dises and enriches the former country, while it degrades and impoverishes the latter; (and no doubt similar resolutions have been passed at many other meetings which have not come under my observation); seeing all this, I cannot but express my regret and astonishment, that persons should not only suffer themselves to labour under such delusions, but should so extensively propagate them amongst others—delusions so readily disproved “by facts and figures,” and which—the contrary being so well known in England—cannot fail to inspire the public mind with undeserved suspicions that some deep and sinister motive lurks beneath: whereas, I am sure, you will agree with me in believing, that they are nothing more than the delusions of ignorance on the part of those who learn their politics and statistics only from the Irish repeal journals. Take the country generally, and you can entertain no doubt as to the great and rapid improvement which the last twenty years have diffused throughout. Take it, indeed, piecemeal, and judge it through particular localities, but more particularly through *particular sections of its population*, and you will find a lamentable degree of poverty. Such, at least, is the result of of all the enquiries I have been able to make, and of all the evidence to which I have had access.

The following table will best exhibit the immense improvement in the commercial relations of Ireland since the Union, and the advantages which she derives from her vicinity to England:—

Table of the Estimated Tonnage, and Estimated Value of the Exports of Ireland, exclusive of Coasting Trade, in the Years 1801, 1825, and 1835:—

Commodities.	Quantity in 1801.	Quantity in 1825.	Quantity in 1835.	Estim. Value for 1835.
Cows and Oxen No.	31,543	63,524	98,150	£793,837
Horses No.	818	3,140	4,655	65,453
Sheep No.	2,892	72,191	125,452	199,986
Swine No.	1,968	65,919	376,191	893,839
Grain, viz. Wheat Qrs. . . . .	... . . . .	283,340	420,522	812,441
... Barley Do. . . . .	... . . . .	154,822	168,946	210,756
... Oats Do.	129	1,503,204	1,575,984	1,661,953
... Other Grain Do.	1	23,832	39,637	75,149
Wheatmeal, Flour, & Oatmeal Cwts.	2,727	599,124	1,984,480	1,441,966
Potatoes Do. . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	223,398	17,537
Provisions: Bacon & Hams Do.	26,161	362,278	379,111	882,158
... Beef & Pork Do.	160,840	604,253	370,172	723,935
... Butter Do.	304,666	474,161	827,009	3,316,306
... Lard Do.	2,049	35,261	70,267	182,013
Soap and Candles Do.	15,557	42 . . . . .	... . . . .	...
Eggs { No. . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	52,244,800	87,350
... { Crates . . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	2,275	37,660
... { Boxes . . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	10,695	31,027
Feathers Cwts. . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	6,432	32,630
Hides and Calf-skins No. . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	57,657	45,831
Wool: Sheep and Lambs { Bales . . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	33	1,240
... { lbs. . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	764,184	17,325
Flax and Tow Cwts.	1,639	54,898	163,949	402,777
Lead and Copper Ore Do. . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	477,660	179,388
Spirits Gallons	178,602	629,529	459,473	75,500
Beer Do. . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	2,686,688	138,981
Cotton Manufactures { Yards	406,687	10,567,458	1,039,088	15,250
... { Packages . . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	6,583	131,660
Cotton Yarn lbs. . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	13,428	1,220
Linen { Yards	37,911,602	55,114,515	70,209,572	3,725,050
... { Boxes . . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	134	5,240
... { Bales . . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	7	56
Silk Manufactures Yards	The aggregate official value of exports to all parts amounted to £3,778,145	... . . . .	8,400	21,740
Woollen Manufactures Do. . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	100,320	40,120
Other Articles Value . . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	369,220
Foreign & Colonial Merchandise Do. . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	... . . . .	110,480

Estimated Value of the above in 1825, £9,243,210; Ditto in 1835, £16,693,685. Estimated Tonnage, in 1825, 510,245 tons; in 1835, 734,060 tons;—increase, 223,823 tons.

In 1801, the vessels entering Irish ports amounted to 7,690; in 1831, 14,499,—the tonnage of which was, in 1801,—711,242; and in 1831,—1,420,382. In 1805, the vessels going out amounted to 7,135; in 1831,—9,801; of which the tonnage was, in 1805,—703,717; and in 1831,—1,073,540.

IMPORTS OF IRELAND.

	In 1801.		In 1828.
Coal from Great Britain	315,344 tons.	-	740,071 tons.
	In 1825.		In 1835.
Cotton - - -	4,996,885 yards.		14,172,000 yds.
Woollen Manufactures	3,384,918 „		7,884,000 „
Tea - - -	3,889,658 lbs.		4,794,316 lbs.
Coffee - - -	335,921 „		1,205,762 „*
The population of Ireland, in 1801, was about	5,500,000		
.....	in 1821,	....	6,801,000
.....	in 1831,	....	7,767,000
.....	in 1841,	....	8,205,000

* The consumption of English manufactured goods in Ireland is estimated at about eight millions sterling; while her *present* exports to England cannot be under seventeen or eighteen millions, leaving a balance in favour of Ireland of nine or ten millions. The remittances from Ireland on account of absentees are estimated at three and a half millions, but much of this is due to English mortgages. We must presume that the Irish absentee spends much in England upon his own countrymen: it is clear they could not otherwise be provided with work; he may also be presumed to subsist upon the produce of his own country. Deduct these items, and what he would have expended in Ireland upon English manufactured goods, and the *pecuniary* loss to the former country is not so great as is usually supposed. The moral loss ought to be considerable, provided the landlords were sufficiently sensible that property "has its duties as well as its rights;" for nothing can compensate a country for the loss of a resident gentry. But then very many of the absentees, probably half or more, are large English proprietors. Under these circumstances, an Englishman who has property in five counties may as well be expected to reside a portion of the year in each, as to pass half of it in Ireland. Since the union, absenteeism does not appear to have increased in proportion to the increased resources of the

It must also be remembered, that during this period the emigrations have been immense both to England and to the colonies, so that the population may fairly be calculated to have doubled itself since the union.

The smallness, however, of the increase ($5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) since 1831, has puzzled those political economists, who would calculate every thing by arithmetical rules. But if we look round at the appalling distress pervading the manufacturing poor in England, and the agricultural poor in Ireland, may we not bless the wise dispensation of Providence in thus placing bounds to the evil? Might we not otherwise have had occasion to say with the prophet, "thou hast multiplied the nation, and hast not increased the joy"?

Another great source of improvement in Ireland since the union has arisen from the sums laid out by the Board of Works. Take one instance amongst many, from Lord Monteagle's speech in 1834:—
 "In traversing a country covered with farms, and in a high state of cultivation, showing every sign of a good soil, and of ample remunerating produce, it becomes difficult to credit the fact that, ten or

country. In 1773, Mr. Flood, speaking of the Irish parliament, says—"The whole rents of Ireland do not exceed four millions, of which upwards of £600,000 are drawn hence, every year, by absentee landlords." At this moment, the rental cannot possibly be less than twenty-five millions, nor the *absentee* remittances more than three millions.

twelve years since, the whole was a barren waste—the asylum of a miserable and lawless peasantry, who were calculated to be a burthen, rather than a benefit, to the nation; and that this improvement may be entirely attributed to the expenditure of a few thousands of pounds, in carrying a good road of communication through the district. *Many extensive districts are still without them, where the country is capable of the greatest improvement.* Wherever a new road is constructed, flourishing farms at once spring up, and the carts of the countrymen (as has been forcibly expressed by one of our engineers) press on the heels of the road makers, as the work advances.” A vast deal of evidence may be collected to the same purport.

“ Mr. Nimmo expended £167,000 in Connaught alone in seven years; the increase of the annual revenue to government, in consequence, has since been equal to the whole of the expenditure. Mr. Griffiths, another engineer, expended in the Cork district £60,000 in the same space of time; and the increase to the government revenue, in customs and excise, in that district, has been £50,000 a-year, which is to be attributed mainly to the increased facility of communication, by which the whole district has been rendered available for productive purposes.” —*Practical View*, p. 219.

Mr. Griffiths' report, printed by order of the

House of Commons in April 1832, contains an interesting account of a long neglected district on the confines of Cork and Kerry, the theatre of the Whiteboy insurrection in 1821, now intersected by a new line of road, extending to seventy-five English miles.

“At the commencement of the works, the people flocked to them from all quarters, seeking employment at any rate which might be offered ; their general appearance bespoke extreme poverty, their looks were haggard, and their clothing wretched : they rarely possessed any tools or implements of husbandry, beyond a very small, ill-made spade, and the whole face of the country was in a state of nature. But since the completion of the roads rapid strides have been made towards cultivation and improvement.

“Upwards of sixty lime kilns, besides houses of a better class, have been built ; carts, ploughs, and harrows of superior construction, and other agricultural implements, have become common ; new enclosures of mountain farms have been made ; and this country, which, within the last seven years, was the theatre of lawless outrage, has become perfectly tranquil, and exhibits a scene of industry and exertion at once pleasing and remarkable.

“To the credit of the inhabitants, I must say, that a large proportion of the money received by them for labour on the roads, has been husbanded

with care, and subsequently laid out in building substantial houses, and in the purchase of cattle and implements of husbandry.

“I have not been able to ascertain on what grounds the intended improvements (connecting the new roads with others to be formed through the crown estates) were relinquished. There remains a considerable portion, extending northwards from the river Blackwater to a line drawn between the towns of Castle Island and Newmarket, comprehending an area of about two hundred square miles, or 128,000 acres, in which there is no road passable for horsemen during the winter months.”

“Much progress,” says the reviewer, “has been made in opening new lines of road, railways, and communications by land and water, throughout Ireland, since the date of Mr. Griffiths’ report, by which an extensive field for the employment of the people is afforded, with a prospect of yielding beneficial returns to private speculators who have undertaken some of these enterprises.

“Road-making has likewise occupied the attention of the grand juries, and since the new act, they evince a willingness to co-operate with the government in carrying improvements into effect, very different from the adverse local influences which prevailed under the old ‘jobbing’ system, happily extinct. The Inland Navigation Company has been productive of great benefit—facilitating

commercial intercourse, particularly on that noble river the Shannon, and the canals which connect it with the capital.

“Now, thank God,” says the reviewer, “a new era has commenced,—for, in the emphatic language of the first commoner of the empire, ‘a complete transfer of power from a faction to a nation has taken place in Ireland,’ and its abundant natural capabilities, by getting free scope, are rapidly developing themselves, while abuses are daily being eradicated. Good roads are opening access to the most remote districts; and places which, at the beginning of the present century, were mere villages, are become handsome thriving towns, possessing a large export trade, with banking and commercial establishments on a scale commensurate with their rising importance.

“That Ireland is still in a backward state, compared to what she might have been, if heretofore under good government, is undeniable; but that the condition of the people is as much depressed at this moment, as at any former period, is a great mistake. Wages have risen materially, while provisions are cheaper; labour on public and private works is more abundant; the people are better clothed and fed; their children are better educated, and a million and half sterling has been invested in the saving-banks! With these facts before one’s eyes, it is impossible to doubt the growing prosperity of the country.

“The produce of the land—a better system of husbandry having been generally introduced, and a vast portion of bog reclaimed—has increased from thirty to forty-fold in the course of a century.”

Hundreds of similar statements are to be found : and I cannot forbear adding a few also from the *Dublin Review*, taken from an excellent article on the Wants of Ireland, in the number for February last—because I do so with the utmost confidence, having the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with the writer, and knowing him to have resided recently in Ireland, and to have an intimate knowledge of the country:—“The new lines made during the administration of Lord Anglesea, have already produced benefits to an amount difficult to be calculated. By shortening the distances between villages and market-towns, those roads have wonderfully increased the intercourse between many localities ; and besides this great improvement, they have opened up for cultivation, and rendered amenable to the law, many districts which had previously been inaccessible to both. We trust, therefore, that any measures which may be brought before parliament for giving effect to the report of the railway commissioners, will also give ample power for the extension of all practicable lines of communication, whether by tram-roads or those made in the ordinary manner. It would be a great satisfaction to Lord Anglesea, if he

could learn how often his name is mentioned in the south of Ireland, in connexion with one of the greatest blessings ever bestowed upon it by the occupants of the Castle.

“There are persons who suppose that manufactures would be altogether a novelty in Ireland. No such thing. Mr. Inglis, in his well-known tour (in 1834), speaks of a very prosperous cotton factory, situated at Mayfield, near Waterford.

“‘I found here,’ he says, ‘no fewer than nine hundred persons employed, of whom a large number were, of course, young persons; the wages of the boys and girls were from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 7*s.* per week; the up-grown persons worked at task-work, and might easily earn £1. The most marked improvement has taken place in the neighbourhood since the establishment of this manufactory; not in the lodging only, but in the food also a great change has taken place; and although high wages, which leave a surplus, are some incentive to intoxication, it is a fact that not an hour’s labour is ever lost in the factory by reason of dissipated habits on the part of those employed in it.

“‘The calico manufactured here finds an advantageous market not only in Ireland, but in England also, and is able to compete with the fabrics of Manchester. It has been commonly said that Irish manufacturers cannot compete with those of Britain; but this establishment at Mayfield *does* compete successfully; and with sufficiency of capital,

and an equally favourable situation, one would imagine that any other might be equally prosperous. The expense of erection is less than in England; labour is cheaper; and where there is navigation the difference in the expense of conveyance to market is but a small item.'

“The number of persons employed in the manufacture of linen, at Westport, when the same writer visited that place, amounted, according to the information which he received, to thirty-thousand persons. We have reason to believe, that since that period, the number here stated has rather increased than otherwise. The linen, diaper, muslin, and calico factories in and near Belfast, are also, as everybody knows, numerous and successful. It is the peculiar feature of the linen manufacture, that a great portion of the process can be carried on by the persons engaged in it, jointly with agricultural occupations. The tabinets manufactured in and near Dublin, are celebrated for their texture and beauty, and the woollen cloths also made in the vicinity of our metropolis, have obtained a high reputation for their durable qualities.

“We have before us the savings-banks returns for one small town in the interior of the south of Ireland, for the years 1836, 7, 8, and 9, which show, that in the year ending 20th November, 1835, the fund accumulated amounted to 11,504*l.* This fund was increased in 1836, to 12,800*l.*; in 1837, to 14,977*l.*; and in 1838, to 18,476*l.*;

showing a very decided increase of savings amongst, as the details show, a great majority of small holders, whose deposits range between 20*l.* and 100*l.* This statement for one town, whose population does not exceed 10,000, may be taken as an index of what is going on pretty generally in the south of Ireland. In the North, we understand, the gradual saving of capital exhibits still more satisfactory tokens of prosperity.

“We are indebted to Mr. Mahony for the perusal of a report which he drew up in May 1839, at the request of the late Mr. Drummond, and which speaks a volume—a highly satisfactory one—upon this subject. The evidence furnished to several committees of both houses of Parliament by this gentleman upon the affairs of Ireland, from the year 1824 down to 1837, shows that he is thoroughly conversant with all the great movements of capital through that country. In his brief, but pithy statement, he says, that before 1824, no great undertaking was attempted in Ireland, particularly by English capitalists. Since that period, however, have been established here the ‘United General Gas Company,’ with a capital of 800,000*l.*, by which, Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and some other places are lighted ; similar companies for lighting Waterford, Clonmel, and Drogheda, whose united capitals are about 100,000*l.* ; the Limerick Water Works Company, 50,000*l.* ; the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company, whose original capital

(in 1824) amounted only to 24,000*l.* It was not long after raised to 654,000*l.*, all paid up, and within the last three years were added to it 300,000*l.* to build additional vessels for the Channel trade, and 500,000*l.* for the Transatlantic, besides 300,000*l.* for the trade between Dublin and London only.

“ ‘This Company,’ Mr. Mahony states, ‘is essentially Irish ; and out of fifteen hundred proprietors, I do not believe that we have *fifty out of trade, or residing out of Ireland.* The directors are only five, and the head of the establishment is Mr. Charles Wye Williams, whose talents and energy have raised this company from 24,000*l.* of capital to the enormous sum of 1,750,000*l.* dedicated to supplying steam-vessels and canal boats only for Irish purposes ; and by his successful management, a large reserved fund has been established, while a regular dividend of 6 per cent. is paid to the shareholders.’

“ Next in order comes the Provincial Bank of Ireland, which, we need hardly observe, has been attended with an extraordinary degree of success. It commenced in June 1824 ; the head office is in London, and it has now about forty branches spread throughout this country. The capital is 2,000,000*l.*, of which 500,000*l.* was paid up in 1825. The company, after paying all the expenses of outfit, have given their proprietors a bonus of 40,000*l.* in their own stock, equal to 80,000*l.* in

money, and they now pay 8*l.* per cent. dividend on 540,000*l.* capital. They lately distributed another bonus to the amount of 21,600*l.* and their then remaining undivided profits amounted to 106,000*l.*

“ Mr. Mahony states the capital of the Dublin and Kingstown Railway Company to be 200,000*l.*; all, we believe, now paid up. The proprietors, with two or three exceptions, are Irish, and in number do not exceed 138. The capital of the Dublin and Drogheda Railway Company amounts to 600,000*l.*; that of the Ulster Canal Company to 200,000*l.* With respect to the latter, it is but justice to add, that the canal—a most important work—was opened from Lough Neagh to Monaghan in 1839, and we believe that it has been since extended as far as Clones. Mr. Mahony mentions other companies, and details some loan transactions, in which, as solicitor, he has been engaged, which show that, under his management alone, between 1824 and 1839, operations have taken place to an amount exceeding ‘ four millions and a half paid capital, with three millions and a half subscribed, and ready for employment when called for.’

“ Exclusive of these sums, there are amounts of capital paid up, or ready to be paid up, by other companies, such as the National Bank of Ireland, the Northern Banking Company, mining and steam-boat companies, &c., all established since 1824, giving a result of nearly 9,000,000*l.*; which,

added to the operations already mentioned, exhibit a total of about 18,000,000*l.* The dividends paid by these various companies show that, in general, their undertakings have been remarkably successful.

“ We learn from the same source another highly important fact, viz., that, whereas funded debt upon which interest was paid in Ireland in 1817, amounted only to about 18,000,000*l.*, in 1839 it amounted to 33,774,912*l.* Ireland therefore imported from the English Stock Exchange a sum exceeding 15,000,000*l.*, and paid for it by capital created here within that period. Mr. Mahony adds ‘ that between 1817 and 1838, the *gains* accumulated in Ireland through the instrumentality of the savings-banks, amounted to 2,048,338*l.* It would be no exaggeration, we think, to set down these acquisitions now at an amount exceeding 3,000,000*l.*, taking into the calculation the hundreds of thousands that must have been already saved through the effect of the temperance pledge alone.

“ Mr. Mahony specifies a variety of facts, which clearly establish the constantly increasing value of landed estates in this country. He farther adds :—

“ “ In the counties of Down and Armagh, the market rates last year and now, are not less than thirty years on the improved rental ; sometimes thirty-five years’ purchase is given. About the

town of Drogheda, and in the county of Wicklow, the rate is thirty years. Building ground, let a few years ago at a farm rent, near Drogheda, at only 1*l.* an acre, has lately been let by public auction in that town at 35*l.* per acre per annum ; and a piece of land adjoining that town (twenty acres) let five years ago for 25*l.* a year, is now letting for 5*s.* per foot annually, on the frontage, and running backwards 300 feet. In Drogheda alone, within ten years, capital to the amount of 500,000*l.* has been expended in shipping and factories, the whole of it belonging to Drogheda merchants and tradesmen. But the most singular fact I can state is, that six years ago a nobleman's agents sold an estate in the county of Wexford, for 179,000*l.* : under my advice the contract was rescinded, and after reserving 500*l.* a year of the rental, I have received for the same estate within the last year no less than 255,000*l.*, and the whole of that money (except about 10,000*l.*) was paid out of profits on trade conducted in the city of Dublin ; the chief purchasers being, Mr. Guinness, the brewer, a Protestant ; Messrs. Thunder, ditto, Catholics ; Mr. Power, distiller, ditto ; Mr. Bryan, Ironmonger, Protestant ; Messrs. Boyce, grocers, ditto ; Mr. Whitcraft, pawnbroker, ditto.'

“ We have descended to these details in order to establish, beyond all doubt, the fact, that Ireland is collecting capital.”—*Dublin Review*.

As one of the items above-mentioned is fully

corroborated by the following table, extracted from a work written professedly with a view of proving the declining prosperity of Ireland, I here give it in detail.

Amount of Government Stock, imported and exported, from July 6th, 1824, to January 5th, 1831 :—

	Transferred to England.	Transferred from England.
Consols - -	£1,133,500	£3,588,800
3 per cent. red. - -	972,600	1,122,800
3½ red. - -	785,000	1,059,900
Old 3½ per cent. -	1,324,100	10,663,900
New 4 per cent. - -	953,400	2,281,600
Do. as new 3½ per cent.	52,500	685,200
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£5,221,100	£19,402,200
		5,221,100
		<hr/>
Balance in favour of Ireland - -		£14,181,100

Received from the committee of the Dublin stock exchange, February 14th, 1831.*

“It is not want of capital,” says Mr. O’Connell, in his speech on the distress of Ireland on the 25th of July 1831, “that affects Ireland; *she has capital*, if proper means were taken to give it a useful and profitable direction. I would undertake to raise half a million of money in forty-eight hours in Dublin, on good security, and a million in one month in that city to be invested in any good

* “Practical View.” See some notice of the statistics of this work in the appendix.

speculation, which afforded a fair prospect of a profitable return."

"The tolls of the grand canal, which were £24,866 in 1822, were £40,859 in 1837."*

"On the Shannon, the tonnage has had the

* On the 25th September in the very same year, however, he is reported to have stated directly the reverse! "*The want of capital in Ireland*, caused by the constant drain of absentees, has hitherto impeded the progress of many most useful undertakings."—*Mirror of Parliament*. Which are the people to believe?

† During the ten years' existence of the board for the encouragement of the fisheries of Ireland, from 1820 to 1830, it expended upwards of £245,000; and the results were the construction of fifty-five piers and harbours, and the following prodigious increase in the number of boats and men employed.

			1821.	1829.
Boats—decked	-	-	294	345
half-decked	-	-	421	791
open sailing	-	-	2,051	2,483
rowing	-	-	4,889	9,522
Men	-	-	36,159	64,771

The quantity of herrings cured in each of the years named in the preceding table was as follows:

	Barrels.		Barrels.	Barrels.
1822	- 12,122	1829	- 16,855	Increase 4,733
Hake	- 2,393 cwt.		32,160 cwt.	

Since the closing of the commission, the trade has again declined, and some of the harbours have been destroyed by the action of the sea. But why the recommendations of the commissioners at the conclusion of their report were not carried into effect I know not. It may be that the Irish members lost sight of the matter.

extraordinary increase, from 1826 to 1836, of from 2,004 to 47,289.”*

Inglis, writing in 1834, says, “ how often do we hear the question mooted, Is Ireland an improving country? The reply ought to depend altogether on the meaning we affix to the word improvement.

* I am well aware that some branches of manufactures have suffered. Inglis, in 1834, found the carpet and other manufactories of Kilkenny in a deplorable condition, and that because there were no purchasers for the goods which he saw heaped up in piles; and Mr. Butler Bryan tells us that the silk manufacture has been ruined *by the union*; yet we know full well that this latter was nearly annihilated long before that period (in 1731) by an act of the British parliament, which imposed a duty of *five* per cent. only on the importation of silk manufactured goods into England. Yet this small duty was sufficient to reduce the number of looms in Dublin from 800 to 50,—showing how little Ireland is capable of consuming her own productions. The “ Practical View ” also states the linen trade to be much in the decline. If it be that a smaller number of hands are employed to produce a much larger quantity of material, the fault is not with the union, but with the improvements in machinery, which is driving manual labour out of the field. But without the English market, the linen of Ireland would meet nearly the same fate as her silk. Under a free-trade system, he who can manufacture the best and cheapest article is sure to carry the day, and it would be as unfair to attribute the decay of manufactures in Ireland to her union with England, as it would be to saddle the present deplorable distress in the manufacturing districts of England on her union with Ireland. Both countries could manufacture, and often do, in their respective lines, three times as much as anybody wants: and what benefit is this to either?

If by improvement be meant more extended tillage, and improved modes of husbandry,—more commercial importance, evinced in larger exports,—better modes of communication,—increase of buildings,—then *Ireland is a highly improving country*; but up to the point at which I have arrived” (he had then gone but a very short way upon his tour) “I have found nothing to warrant the belief, that any improvement has taken place *in the condition of the people.*” Why the condition of the people had not improved with the increased improvement of the country, may certainly, in a great measure, be explained by the habits then prevailing amongst them.

In the fatal year 1798, a population, scarcely exceeding five millions, consumed 4,783,954 gallons of ardent spirits charged with duty, and probably nearly an equal amount furtively obtained. This was the highest amount of the annual consumption of legal spirits then upon record: in 1800 it fell to 3,621,498 gallons, a degree below the quantity upon which duty had been levied in 1796. The amount went on increasing—owing to the increased duty, which encouraged private distillation—till 1822, when the commissioners, who had the best means of obtaining accurate information, calculated a consumption of TEN MILLIONS of gallons by a population under seven millions of people! though the nominal amount was only 2,328,387:—and they were fully borne out in their estimate; for

after the lowering of the duty in 1823 had put an end to illicit distillation and all its attendant horrors, the king's duty was levied, in 1825, upon 9,262,744 gallons, and in 1828 it had risen to the frightful amount of 9,937,903! It, however, gradually decreased from that period, which seems to have been its zenith, till in 1833 it was reduced to the more reasonable quota of 8,168,596 gallons for a population of about eight millions. This quantity, however, yielded a revenue of £1,360,769—making a sum total, at 6*s.* 8*d.* per gallon, (which I believe to be too low an estimate for the retail price), of no less than £2,722,865 spent in this one item alone, chiefly by the poorest classes of the poorest country in the world! Such was the state of things during Mr. Inglis's tour. Is it then to be wondered at that the condition of the people was not improved? or that crime, misery, and poverty were still among them?

Even up to 1838 the evil, frightful as it already was, went on increasing; for by the finance accounts of that year we have the enormous sum of £1,510,092 levied on spirits in Ireland, and consequently £3,020,184 *wasted* by the people on this deteriorating, demoralizing, poisoning ingredient alone!

Happily, however, this evil is now abated,—the waters of pestilence are now dried up,—and with a still increased population, the consumption is constantly reducing; for even in

1840 Heaven had blest the temperance movement with such signal success, that in the short space of two years the duty had fallen £477,000, and £954,000 was thus saved to the poor in a single twelvemonth.

Were Mr. Inglis now living to revisit the scenes which he has sketched with such a lively but sorrowful, though sometimes a discolouring, pencil, I trust he would find that an improvement had also taken place in *the condition of the people*: for if we are to believe the evidence—and how can we question it?—of the temperance societies, and the willing but unbiased testimony of the provincial and other journals, the improvement is both marked and extensive. That Englishmen may judge of the benefits which this wonderful mission is showering upon the country—of the indefatigable zeal of its apostle, and of the enthusiasm of the people to partake of its blessings, I have introduced a few notices on the subject in the appendix.*

* “ It is a fact worth notice, as illustrative of the tendency of times of pressure to increase spirit-drinking, that whilst under the privations of the year 1840, the English poorer classes paid £2,628,286 tax for spirits; in 1836, a year of the greatest prosperity, the tax on British spirits amounted only to £2,390,888. So true it is that to impoverish is to demoralise.”

“ The duty on spirits in England is increasing; the grant for education was reduced one-half, namely, from £30,000 to £15,000, on the 20th of last month!!”—September 1840. *Facts and Figures for October.*

Besides this mass of evidence, we have an implied proof, in contradiction to the assertions of the repealers, even in many of the repeal meetings themselves, for they have passed many violent resolutions without any allusion whatever to any general impoverishment and deterioration of the country :—witness the meeting of a *hundred and twenty thousand* persons, as the advertisement states, on the fair-green of Clonroad, in the county of Limerick, in July, and many others. Is not the inference just, that no such condition of the country being alluded to, it was not supposed to exist? Otherwise, why overlook such a convenient theme for declamation, one so calculated to excite the feelings of the people, and to give strength and justice to the cause? The only practical grievance complained of was the extortion of the landlords, and the only boon asked was an equitable *landlord and tenant bill* to protect the people from oppression; and this in reality is the great, paramount, almost the only social grievance,—next to want of employment,—of which they have a just right to complain, and for which they ought to demand a remedy. The same observations will also apply to all Mr. O'Connell's manifestoes that I have seen, and in which I have searched in vain for any real, practical, effective grievance—political privileges aside—save this one, exclusive of the tithe rent charge, upon which I shall by-and-bye make a few observations.

In my last letter to you (the animadversions upon which have called forth the present communication) no passage seems to have been more misapprehended, or to have given greater offence, than the following:—

“There are circumstances when ignorance is bliss, and I think if the people of Ireland were less instructed in their grievances, they would be much less conscious of them, and live in a happy ignorance of half the ills of which they now so loudly complain. Were it not for O’Connell, we should never hear of repeal:—should never hear ‘of 50,000 annual murders, perpetrated by cold, famine, and disease,’ and most charitably divided between the Irish landlords and British misrule! And this, gentle reader, from *him* who has ever been the loudest to extol (and I am sure very justly so) the charitable benevolence of his countrymen, and the most strenuous to oppose the introduction of the poor laws!”*

* There is also another passage, the meaning of which has been most strangely perverted;—“Have not people long surmised that a continuance of agitation in Ireland is much more likely to augment ‘the rent,’ than to benefit the country?” Now, my opinion is, that Mr. O’Connell is fully and fairly entitled to any remuneration that the gratitude of the people may bestow upon him during *the remainder of his life*, as a just recompense for *past services*: but I also believe, that as long as Mr. O’Connell agitates without an *apparently* just cause for agitation, and with a violence which no just cause can *now* require,—such agitation will be *surmised* to be governed by interested

Now, I think it is clear to every candid reader, that my meaning was, that I did not *believe* in the 50,000 annual *murders*, still asserted to be perpetrated by cold, famine, and disease, in Ireland.

As this is by far the most important part of the whole business, involving a history of the *great and real grievances* of Ireland, and of a state of things which it is my most earnest desire to impress upon the minds of English legislators, with a view of showing the absolute necessity of a remedy, I must be excused for entering upon it at some length.

Some two hundred and fifty years ago, Edmund Spenser, secretary to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, informs us, (and no man knew the state of the country better than he did), “that the landlords there, use most shamefully to rack their tenants.” From the time of Spenser to the hour in which Lord Clare delivered his celebrated speech in the Irish House of Commons, on the 31st of January 1787,—nay, even to within our own days—I know of nothing to show any great improvement in what, judging from the evidence we have upon record, appears to be the natural disposition of the Irish landlords. “I am well acquainted”, said

motives, by those who are either unwilling to appreciate, or incapable of understanding, Mr. O’Connell’s character; and that such surmises have contributed, and will contribute, to injure the real interests of Ireland in the public opinion of England.

Lord Clare, upon that occasion, “with the province of Munster; I know that *it is impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the miserable peasantry of that province.* I know that the unhappy tenantry are *ground to powder by relentless landlords*, who grasp at the *whole produce of the soil*; and not satisfied with present extortion, have been so base as to *instigate the insurgents to ROB THE CLERGY of their tithes, not in order to alleviate the distresses of their tenantry, but that they may add THE SHARE OF THE CLERGY to the cruel rack rents already paid.*” But Dr. Woodward, the lord bishop of Cloyne, in which diocese the county of Cork was situated, places the conduct of the landlords in a still more extraordinary point of view. Speaking of the disturbances described above by Lord Clare, the bishop says: “*The present proceedings are not a paroxysm of frenzy, originating with rash and ignorant peasants, BUT A DARK AND DEEP SCHEME, PLANNED BY MEN SKILLED IN LAW AND IN THE ARTIFICES BY WHICH IT MAY BE EVADED.* These enemies to the public peace and to the Protestant clergy, though nominal *Protestants, suggested to the farmers TO ENTER INTO A COMBINATION UNDER THE SANCTION OF AN OATH, not to carry their tithes, or assist any clergyman in drawing them:* AND A FORM OF A SUMMONS TO DRAW, PENNED WITH LEGAL ACCURACY, *was printed at Cork at the expense*

of A GENTLEMAN OF RANK AND FORTUNE, and many thousand copies of it circulated with diligence through the adjoining counties of Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary." (*Present state of the Church of Ireland*, p. 79.)

Similar statements are made in another pamphlet on the same side of the question, published in 1787, entitled, *Advice to the Protestant Clergy of Ireland, by a Layman*.

"Such being the conduct of the Protestant landholders 'out of doors,' it may be added that in the House of Commons they passed a resolution, declaring 'that the tithe of agistment was burdensome to the landlords;' and upon this resolution they had the effrontery to engraft another, to the effect, that 'the commencing of any suit upon such a demand must *impair the Protestant interest*, and occasion the *increase of Popery* and infidelity;'—there being, according to Boulter, '*whole parishes* where this tithe of agistment was the *only* provision for the *Protestant minister!*' The resolution concluded with declaring that any person who should commence any such suit was an enemy to his country. (4 Com. Jour. 219.) These flagitious proceedings of the Protestant landlords had, however, the effect of terrifying the Protestant clergy into the abandonment of their legal rights; and although the government of Ireland may be said to have been at that time in the hands of Archbishop Boulter himself, he was

compelled, notwithstanding his well-known and extraordinary zeal for the rights and revenues of the clergy, to submit to an act of wholesale and impudent robbery, which threw the support of the Protestant clergy *from the most opulent of the Protestant landlords upon the most indigent of the Catholic cottiers, and from the richest soil in the country upon land of an inferior quality*; which, according to Boulter himself, amounted to only *one fortieth of the whole*. In the year 1800, the Irish Protestant landlords, who since the Reformation had never paid the tithe of agistment, abolished that property altogether by an act of the legislature; so that the wealthiest portion of the Protestant landlords of Ireland, and the loudest brawlers for the Establishment in that country, have at all times invariably refused to pay a farthing on account of the most productive tithe, and for the richest portion of their land, Upon the introduction of the Irish Tithe Composition Act, the tithe of agistment was revived by that statute; and more recently the legislature has attempted to render the landlords of that country subject to the payment of tithe in general. Their conduct, however, has been all through equally fraudulent and oppressive upon the clergy and the people, robbing the Church with one hand and the population with the other. Within eight years of the Union the grand jury of Armagh, the most Protestant county in Ireland, and the resi-

dence of the lord primate, resolved, "that the exorbitant exactions of the clergy, and the oppressions which they committed in the enforcement of their tithes, were such as tended to detach the minds of his majesty's subjects from their allegiance!" (*Plowd. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 103.) Of their conduct and sentiments at later periods it is scarcely necessary to adduce any examples. The right reverend author, who exclaimed, in 1815, against the "tyrannical power which in 1735 repelled the clergyman from the rich and extensive domains which ought to have contributed to his income," has only described a species of conduct which we firmly believe will be very soon repeated by the same class of "professing Protestants;" who will make no hesitation about starving the clergy amidst professions of the most unbounded affection for the Establishment." (*Dublin Review*, XXI. p. 215.)

The war seems to have occasioned a respite,—not from the miseries of Ireland, for she passed through the awful episode of the rebellion during that interval,—nor from the rapacity of the landlords, for that was unabated, — but from those circumstances which had aggravated the scourge with which she had been so long afflicted. The reader will thank me, I am sure, for shifting the history of the atrocious *clearing* system, and its heart-rending consequences, out of my own hands, and giving it as I find it related in an extract from

the *Monthly Chronicle* for September 1840, as cited in the *Dublin Review* for May 1841, completing it with short extracts from the testimony of that highly respectable body of Irish witnesses, who gave their evidence before the various committees which have sat from time to time, with so little profit to the country, on the agrarian disturbances of Ireland.

“ In answer to these enormous allegations of the *Quarterly Review*, we cannot do better than copy the following passage from the *Monthly Chronicle* for Sept. 1840 ; as we can vouch for the perfect accuracy of all the statements which it contains.

“ ‘ The process of extermination commenced after the conclusion of the war, but was infinitely aggravated by the passing of the Emancipation Act of 1829 ; after which the gentlemen began to clear their estates of the forty-shilling freeholders, who had been ‘ done away with ’ by the Act.—(Evidence of Lord Donoughmore before the Roden Committee, No. 1277.) For notwithstanding the depression produced by the peace, and notwithstanding the theories of consolidation, increased produce, and surplus population, the wretched serfs who still possessed the power to vote according to the direction of their lords at a county election, were allowed to linger in possession of their little holdings, and the imagined loss, which resulted from suspending the extermination system, was compensated by the patronage derived

from political importance. The propagation of these poor creatures had, as every body in Ireland knows, been preternaturally stimulated from 1793 to 1815. "All, says Mr. Bicheno, that the landlord looks at in Ireland is the quantity of rent which he can abstract from the tenant. (Evidence, H. C. 1830. No. 4237.) He therefore encourages a redundant population until the rents are no longer increased by competition. Upon arriving at that point the rents are diminished, and then he has an inducement to clear the land and increase the extent of the holdings. (Evidence, H. C. 1830. No. 4240.) This consideration of increasing rent operated from 1793 to 1815, in conjunction with the political importance derived from the number of freeholders. But the population at the close of the war, had, in the opinion of the landlords, arrived at the points where the rents begin to diminish. The people were still, however, until 1829, worth keeping in existence for the purposes of the hustings; but as soon as they were deprived of the elective franchise, by the Emancipation Act, the only remaining barrier between them and destruction was removed, and they were swept out like vermin, with as little compunction and as extensive devastation.

'The only returns upon this subject to which we can conveniently refer at this instant, are those given in the Appendix H. to the Report on the Poor Inquiry, pp. 11, 12. From these it appears

that in the six years previous to 1833, ejectment processes were entered in seventeen counties, against thirty-one thousand and odd defendants. If we assume that each of these defendants represented a family of six persons, making altogether one hundred and eighty-six thousand; and recollect that these counties, with the exception of the county of Cork, were the smallest counties in Ireland,—we shall have a tolerable notion of the extent to which this system of depopulation is carried. No returns had been made from Leitrim, Roscommon, Dublin, Kildare, Westmeath, Wexford, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary, Waterford, Antrim, Armagh, and Tyrone; and the number of defendants for Galway and Wicklow were not given. With regard, however, to the county of Tipperary, which forms so prominent an object in every inquiry of this nature, we have, from the testimony given before the Roden Committee, sufficient evidence to show the real state of the case. When the Tipperary landlords requested Lord Mulgrave to favour them with larger means than they actually possessed, for exterminating their own tenantry with less trouble and more security to the perpetrators, the Lord Lieutenant directed Mr. Drummond to return that celebrated answer to which we have already adverted in our number for July. The letter is in No. 12,027 of the original Evidence, and in page 86 of the Digested Abstract published by the Messrs. Longman. The

letter alleged that the wholesale expulsion of cottier tenants in Tipperary was the principal cause of the disturbances in that county. This proposition involves two statements: first, that there was a wholesale expulsion of tenants; and secondly, that such expulsion was the cause of the outrages which occurred. To disprove the statement of Mr. Drummond, Lord Donoughmore, the Lord-Lieutenant of the county, was called; and he 'swearing by the card,' stated plumply that the assertion of Mr. Drummond concerning the wholesale expulsion was false. Mr. Howley, the chairman or assistant barrister of the county, was called to support the statement of Mr. Drummond; and he said that he was ready to mention the names of the persons to whom the wholesale expulsion was attributed. The committee refused to hear the statement, and directed him to withdraw; and upon his return refused to allow the question to be repeated. In answer to other questions he says, (No. 9991-2), that 'from conferences which he had with the other assistant barristers, he found that ejectments at sessions were more numerous in Tipperary than in any other county, and that he himself has had more than 150 of them at one quarter sessions: the 150 defendants representing about 900 individuals.' He adds (9974), 'that a great many other ejectments were also brought before the superior courts,' but how many he does not seem to have known. Lord

Donoughmore himself states (12,073, Abstract page 8), that 'many landlords in Tipperary, have been ejecting their tenants for the last nine or ten years;' and (ibid.) 'that the gentlemen began clearing their estates of the forty-shilling freeholders when they had been done away with by the Emancipation Act.' His Lordship denies in terms that the expulsion of the tenantry by the landlords was wholesale. We know not what meaning Mr. Drummond and Lord Donoughmore may have severally annexed in their own minds to this term, neither do we know, nor, as we believe, does any one else know very exactly, what precise meaning it ought to bear in the case. But even supposing that there is some inaccuracy in the use of the word, and that the Tipperary gentlemen are not rightly designated as 'wholesale' exterminators, we think that from the evidence of Lord Donoughmore himself, it is perfectly clear that they do a very considerable amount of business in the retail department. A tolerably accurate idea may be formed in other ways of the extent of the proceeding. Mr. William Kemmis is crown solicitor for the Leinster Circuit, which includes Tipperary. He is also crown solicitor for the County and City of Dublin. He is also the solicitor to the Treasury in Ireland. He has held all the offices for the same time, namely eight-and-thirty years; and he succeeded his father, who was crown solicitor for all Ireland. He states that for these

eight-and-thirty years he has not missed a circuit ; and, from the circumstances above enumerated, we suppose it will be easily taken for granted that he is in principle a Conservative at the least, and can have no want of sympathy with the landlords of Tipperary. Now this gentleman states (Abstract, page 9), ‘That three-fourths, or more, of the crimes committed in Tipperary are produced by the landlords turning the tenants out of possession.’ If there be any truth in the general accounts which we see and hear of the amount of crime in that county, we can easily judge of the extent of the cause from the extent of the effect—of the amount of the ejectments from the amount of the outrages.

“ Lord Powerscourt gives us, in page 127 of his pamphlet (The merits of the Whigs) the following extract of a speech delivered by the Very Reverend Mr. Laffan, at a dinner in Thurles, where Lord Lismore presided, in November 1838 :

“ ‘ There is no man who abhors the crime of murder more than I do ; but I know that those murders and outrages are the offspring of oppression. I can tell your lordship that there are savages in broad-cloth, as well as in frieze. It may not be believed by men like your lordship, who have kindly hearts in their bosoms ; but what would your lordship think of the man that would go to the cabin, and turn out a woman who was on the eve of childbirth, and who was afterwards

delivered in the open air! What, my lord, must be the feelings of the husband of that poor woman? Such scenes, my lord, are not of unfrequent occurrence in this county.'

" This statement was addressed at a public meeting in Tipperary to a landlord residing in that county, who must be taken to have assented to the truth of the assertion, and who probably had cognizance of the fact; whilst Lord Powerscourt himself does not go through even the form of expressing his own disbelief in the correctness of the statement.

" The following are a few instances of cause and effect in other counties.

' The Rev. Michael Keogh states that 174 families were ejected by one landlord, Mr. Cosby (Lewis, 80). Mr. Cahill, civil engineer, mentions 1126 persons as being evicted in another place (Lewis, 84). A great many of them died of hunger (Ibid.). On Mr. Cassan's estate a great many were ejected. On Mr. Johnson's estates thirty-four families. Mr. Doxay ejected a few. Mr. Roe ejected some, as did many others whom I don't recollect. They scattered themselves throughout the county, carrying discontent wherever they went. I am convinced that this was the cause of the disturbances. They first began upon Mr. Cosby's estate (House of Commons, 1832; Lewis, 80, 81). We don't exactly know the situation of these properties—they probably were in the Queen's County.

Of the disturbances in that county, Mr. Robert Cassidy says in his evidence (Ibid. 83), that ‘ they were caused by the ejection of tenants, and the generally oppressive conduct of the persons to whom the labouring classes have been subject.’ An operation of the same kind is described by Mr. Blackburne in the following words : ‘ Lord Stradbrook’s agent, attended by the sheriff and several to assist him, went upon the lands and dispossessed this numerous body of occupants. They prostrated the houses. The number of persons thus deprived of their homes was very large. I am sure there were above forty families—persons of all ages and sexes, and in particular, a woman in the extremity of death !’ (Ibid. 79). The agent here mentioned was the Mr. Blood who was subsequently murdered. We can go no farther in the production of individual instances of which the details are so horribly revolting. The extent to which the practice goes on at present, may, in the absence of returns, be inferred from the following extract of a speech delivered by Sir Robert Peel, in the House of Commons, in the very last session, upon the occasion of Mr. Smith O’Brien’s motion for a grant of public money to assist the ejected tenantry to emigrate to other countries.

“ ‘ It might be correct, according to the principles of political economy, to remove the people from their small holdings, in order to throw their possessions into one large farm. The giving notice

to ninety or one hundred families to quit their possession, and then turning them loose upon the world, might be the means of insuring the better management of gentlemen's estates, and might be correct according to the principles of political economy; but it was not correct according to the dictates of moral principle and Christian duty, to say that the landlords were under no obligation to provide a settlement elsewhere for those whom they had driven from their homes, and thrust loose upon the world." (*Morning Chronicle*, June 16, 1840.)

"The committee of 1830 state in their first report (p. 8), that 'the condition of the tenantry who are ejected in order to promote the consolidation of farms is most deplorable. It would be impossible for language to convey an idea of the state of distress to which they have been reduced, or of the disease, misery, and vice, which they have propagated in the towns where they have settled. They are obliged to resort to theft and all manner of vice and iniquity to procure subsistence, and a vast number of them perish of want (H. C. 1830): after having 'undergone,' as is stated in the same report (p. 4), 'misery and suffering such as no language can describe, and of which no conception can be formed without actually beholding it!'—misery and suffering the remembrance of which prevented Von Raumer from going to sleep, even after his departure from Ireland, and which compelled Mr. Curwen to declare that 'all the waters

of oblivion could never wash out the traces which the scenes of woe he had witnessed in Ireland had impressed upon his mind.' (*Observations*, vol. ii. p. 255.)

“ Such is the prospect which the Irish tenant has upon ejection. What then is he to do in so horrible a conjuncture? Let us hear the indignant eloquence of the late learned, upright, and independent Judge Fletcher, upon an occasion when one of those wretches was brought before him to be tried for some outrage committed in defence of his own and his family's lives:—

“ ‘ What,’ exclaimed this noble-hearted patriot, —‘ what is the wretched peasant to do? Hunted from the spot where he had first drawn his breath—where he had first seen the light of heaven—incapable of procuring any other means of subsistence,—can we be surprised that, being of unenlightened and uneducated habits, he should rush upon the perpetration of crimes followed by the punishment of the rope and the gibbet? Nothing remains for them, thus harassed, thus destitute, but with a strong hand to deter the stranger from intruding upon their farms, and to extort from the weakness of their landlords—from whose gratitude and good feelings they have failed to win it—a sort of a preference for the ancient tenantry.’ (*Pamphleteer*, vol. iv. p. 785.)

“ ‘ The principle of dispeopling estates,’ says Mr. Baron Foster (Evid. before Lords' Committee,

1825), ' is going on in Ireland wherever it can be effected. If your Lordships should ask me what becomes of the surplus stock of population, it is a matter upon which I have in my late journeys through Ireland endeavoured to form an opinion, and conceive that in many instances they wander about the country as mere mendicants ; but that more frequently they betake themselves to the nearest large towns, and there occupy the most wretched hovels in the most miserable outlets, in the vain hope of getting occasionally a day's work. Though this expectation too often is unfounded, it is the only course possible for them to take. Their resort to these towns produces such misery as it is impossible to describe.'

" Was there ever in the world such a state of affairs ? The dispeopling of estates is going on wherever it can be effected ! That is to say, the people, who have committed no offence except that of coming into existence at the command of nature, are put to death wherever it can be done,—obliged, in the language of a committee of the legislature, above quoted, ' to die of want : ' And the functionary who makes this statement,—one of the Queen's judges,—a man deeply imbued in the statistics of Ireland, who has been for the greatest part of his life employed in different public capacities, which afforded him the best means of becoming acquainted with the state of the population ; —this man, so circumstanced, does not know how

or where the ejected population perishes. He has been endeavouring to form an opinion as to the situation of the national *morgue*; and at last he conceives that they perish principally in the towns, after having ‘suffered such misery as it is impossible to describe.’—(*Monthly Chronicle*, No. xxxi. pp. 248-9.)

“ The following statement is one of the latest which has been made upon the subject, and proceeds from Mr. Smith O’Brien; who, being a landlord and country gentleman himself, cannot be suspected of any want of sympathy with the order to which he belongs.

“ We know also that, of late years, a very extensive system of ejection has prevailed in Ireland, in order to effect the consolidation of farms, for the general improvement of estates. In the great majority of cases, I fear that such ejection has been wholly unaccompanied by any concurrent provision for the ejected cottier. Nothing can be conceived more truly deplorable than the condition of a person so ejected. From having been the occupiers of a few acres of land, for which he has often paid his rent with the utmost punctuality, he now becomes a forlorn outcast, unable even to procure employment, still less to regain the occupation of land. Is it surprising that a population in such a state should occasionally be tempted to commit acts of violence? What sympathy can they feel with the possessors

of property? What, to them, are the advantages of law and order? Accordingly, we find that they are often stimulated to do wrong by despair.—(Speech, H. C. June 2, 1840.)

“ A Kerry newspaper, cited in the *Morning Chronicle* of Monday, August 31, 1840, states that one landlord in that county had ‘ thrown two hundred and thirty-three persons out upon the road.’ The *Dublin Evening Post*, cited in the *Times* of the same date, says that ‘ there never was greater suffering in that country than exists at present, and that the numbers and wretchedness of the unemployed and destitute were constantly augmenting.’ The *Dublin Pilot*, quoted in the *Times* of the same day, says, ‘ Hunger, downright hunger, pervades the masses of the population, who are driven to the ditches to live upon weeds, or rather die by feeding upon them.’ Be these the consequences which flow from the ‘ exemplary performance of their duties by the landlords?’ ‘ By their fruits ye shall know them.’ ‘ A righteous man,’ says the inspired writer, ‘ regards the life of even his beast.’ (Prov. xii. 10). But the Irish landlords, in the language of Job, ‘ cause their naked tenantry to lodge without clothing, so that they have no covering in the cold, and that they are wet with the showers of the mountains, and embrace the rock for want of a shelter.’ (Job xxiv. 7, 8.) “ They take away the sheaf from the hungry,—from those who make oil within their

walls ; and who tread their wine presses, but suffer thirst" (Ib. 10, 11) ;—who fatten their bullocks, but never taste beef ; who tend their wheat crops, but never eat bread ; who till their potatoes, and are themselves obliged to live upon weeds ! Such are the landlords who are the objects of the *Quarterly's* panegyrics—landlords who now, as in the time of Swift, ' sacrifice their oldest tenants to gain a penny an acre,' and who, upon considerations of expediency and convenience to themselves, put the tenants even to death by thousands ; who take advantage of the deplorable necessities of the population to extort from them a promise of rents which the whole produce of the land is frequently insufficient to pay ; and who, after having, under so diabolical a contract, extracted the last farthing which was attainable by ' squeezing the cabins, clothes, blood, and vitals' of the tenantry, devote them by expulsion to starvation, with as little ceremony, and as little remorse, as a scullion experiences in hunting out a rambling rat."—(*Monthly Chronicle*, No. xxxiii, pp. 330, 331.)

Extracts from the evidence referred to :—

“ The anxiety of the peasantry to keep land,” says Mr. Barrington (H. C. 1832, No. 11 to 49), “ is such, that they promise any rent, however unable to pay it. I attribute the disturbances in some degree to the over letting the land for more than its value, and then dismissing the tenant when he is unable to pay the rent promised ; knowing

that when he is turned out he must probably starve.”
 “There is in Ireland,” says Mr. Barry, “such a competition for land, that it generally rests with the landlord to name his own rent.” (Evid. H. C. 1830, 195, 367.)

“This competition,” says Mr. Wyse, “is universal and unabated. Landlords take advantage of the dreadful necessity, and exact rent out of all proportion with the value of the land. The consequences are obvious—if the tenant pay he must starve” (H. L. 1824, p. 8; idem, H. C. 1824, pp. 5 and 6)—if he does not pay he is turned out—‘converted,’ says Mr. Smith O’Brien, ‘into a forlorn outcast, without employment or provision.’ “The desolate wretch,” says Sadler, “is in such circumstances driven to desperation, and forming a connexion with a multitude of others who have been similarly treated, he proceeds to those acts of violence which are so frequent in Ireland.”

“Land,” says Mr. Francis Blackburne, “is to the Irish peasant a necessary of life. The consequence to him of not getting it is starvation.”—Lewis, p. 78.

“Mr. Blackburne has been twice attorney-general of Ireland, and may yet possibly be the chief justice of the Queen’s Bench, or even lord chancellor of that country. His politics are nearer to toryism than to those of any other party. He administered the Insurrection Act, in 1823, in Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary.”

“ ‘ Mr. Matthew Barrington says (Roden Committee, 764), the actual existence of the peasantry depends upon their having land ; and the whole disturbances of the country are produced by a desire to possess it.’

“ ‘ Mr. Barrington, besides having been for about seven-and-twenty years the crown solicitor of the province of Munster, is a large landowner himself, and is one of the landlords enumerated by the *Quarterly Review* (p. 141), ‘ as showing an interest in their tenants, and studying their comfort and improvement.’

“ ‘ Major Warburton says, the destitution produced by turning persons out of their land, when they have no means of existence, is a very great source of crime, as such a state of things must naturally involve the people in criminal endeavours to procure the means of maintaining their families.’
—1266-7-8.

“ ‘ Mr. Piers Geale says, if a poor man is deprived of his land, he has little to depend upon, and is therefore extremely reluctant to leave the ground, and indignant at any person that takes it over his head.’—8605.

“ ‘ Judge Moore says, that the outrages in Clare, Galway, and Limerick, in 1830 and 1831, arose from the pressure on the lower orders by the extreme price of potato land. The people turned up the green ground in order to increase the

quantity and diminish the price of potato ground.’
—14,375, 14,379.

“ ‘ Mr. Sylvanus Jones says, that the outrages committed in Wexford lately have been the result of persons taking land over the heads of others.’—14,475.

“ ‘ Mr. Tomkins Brew says, that there is great difficulty among the peasantry in procuring land for potatoes. Although they are willing to pay from 8*l.* to 10*l.* an acre for it.’—12,719-20.

“ ‘ Mr. Barrington says, that the threatening notices lately served upon the farmers in the county of Clare were produced by the anxiety of the poor people to get conacre. And the late outrages in Clare have been put an end to by giving the people some ground for potatoes.’—7,636, 7,343.

“ ‘ Mr. Tomkins Brew says, that the cause of the crime of Terry-Altism in Clare, was the tenants receiving notice to quit; that the people of Clare are, in many districts, in a state of great destitution and likely to be worse next year; that the attacks on houses in Clare, in 1837, proceeded from the scarcity of provisions—when a supply came the outrages all ceased.’—12717, 12,726, 13,048.

“ ‘ Mr. Tabitau says, that there is great destitution in his district (Tipperary); that the disturbances mostly prevail during the season when there is no employment; and when they have no employment and have nothing to depend upon, unless they can get a bit of ground; and that

something about land is the cause of all the murders committed there.’—9735, 9914, 9739, 9746.

“ Mr. Drummond says, the subdivision of land no longer proceeds as heretofore; it is now checked, and a contrary process is taking place by the enlargement and consolidation of farms; while the population, which depends upon the land alone for support, is still increasing. The demand for land is consequently, and of necessity, greater than it was before; while there is a decrease in the supply of it, arising from the consolidation of farms. In a former answer I alluded to that circumstance with reference to the state of crime, showing that a great proportion of the violent infractions of the law prevalent proceeded from this class, and that, as long as from any cause there is increasing destitution, there will, as a matter of course, be increasing crime.’—14,024.

“ ‘ Major Warburton says, that such a state of things must necessarily involve people in crime, when they are reduced to destitution by being turned out of their lands without having any means of subsistence. He also states, that the causes which produce crime and outrage at present, are the same causes which for many years back, have produced the same results.’—1266-7-8, 1272.

“ ‘ Colonel Shaw Kennedy says, the great groundwork of all whiteboy offences is connected with land. Whatever affects the tenancy of land will instantly affect crime.’—226, 282, 283, 286, 291.

“ ‘ Sir William Somerville says, that the only violent outrage he can recollect in Meath for three or four years, is the murder of Mr. Hatch, which was committed ‘ for the old cause of *ejectment*,’ he having turned out a tenant.’—14,591.

“ Mr. Kemmis says, that the great majority of violent crimes in Tipperary are produced by turning tenants out of possession. Three-fourths or more.”—7149, 67, 434-5-6.

“ ‘ Mr. Howley says that, from conferences with other barristers, it appears that ejectments at sessions are more numerous in Tipperary than in any other county; and that he himself has had more than 150 at one sessions. There are also a great many ejectments brought in the superior courts.’—9991-2, 9974.

“ ‘ Mr. Tabitau says that ejectment is synonymous with reducing the cottier tenant to destitution and misery.’—9720.

“ ‘ Mr. Barrington says the general cause of outrages at all times in Ireland is anxiety to possess land; such has been the case since 1761. Whilst I have been crown solicitor (for five-and-twenty years) I could trace almost every outrage to some dispute about land.’—7346-7.

“ ‘ Mr. Tierney says that the prevailing cause of outrages is the letting and possession of land, and the dispossessing of the former tenants and occupiers.’—7728.

“ ‘ Mr. Hickman says, that in Roscommon, Lei

trim, and Sligo, the outrages arise from the taking of land. That they all arise from land, &c.'—8321-2-3-4, 9605.

“ ‘Mr. Piers Gale says, that outrage has almost always a connexion with land.’—8605.

“ ‘Mr. Seed states, that the two great causes of outrage are faction-fights and disputes about land. (See the same witness, 10,750 to 10,755, for a description of the desperate character of these fights, and the complete success of Lord Normanby’s government in putting them down.)’ 10,736.

“ ‘Mr. Barnes (stipendiary magistrate) says that the murders in Longford were the consequence of people being turned off their land, and strangers put in.’—11,755-6-8.

“ ‘Captain B. Warburton (stipendiary magistrate) says, the murders and outrages that have happened lately in Galway, have risen from disputes about land.

“ ‘The principal and primary object of all associations among the peasantry is the taking and keeping of land. I am not aware of any conspiracy among the peasantry of Ireland not immediately connected with land.’—9379 to 9421, 9382.

The preceding five-and-thirty statements were made before the committee of 1839, and among the witnesses are the six crown solicitors of Ireland, who are immediately concerned in prosecuting every outrage committed in that country.

* From all this, coupled with the evidence below, it

Now, we have no direct evidence of the continuance of this system upon any scale, at least for

would appear that the great pressure was upon the peasantry, and that the larger tenants, though they pay what certainly would be considered exorbitant rents in England, are, from their superior frugality, in better circumstances than might otherwise be supposed.

Mr. Dixon Holmes, in his evidence given in the report of the select committee of 1835 on public works in Ireland, says,—“ In the county of Tipperary, and part of the county of Cork, in talking with the great millers there, several of them stated to me that they were in possession of many thousands of pounds, in sums of £20 to £300 or £400, which they were obliged to lock up, . . . being brought to them for safe custody; and one miller said, ‘ I have £5000 locked up, . . . and I must give it back precisely in the form I received it.’ . . . He goes on to state, that having meditated a project of taking some waste land, and bringing it under cultivation, if he could obtain the necessary funds, he was very speedily offered £9,700 for the purpose, in sums as low as £20, and some as high as £500 or £600; and he adds, that this is also the case in other parts of Ireland.

Mr. Wakefield says,—“ In Ireland, if, from any accidental circumstance, the farmer makes money, he never thinks of employing it to improve the condition of the land. He buries his guineas in the earth. I was told of this practice wherever I went, and, very often, on inquiring of a farmer concerning his system and produce, he would conclude his answer by saying,—‘ and I buried some guineas.’ ”—Vol. i. p. 594.

I have myself heard these statements confirmed in a very remarkable manner, and in districts which had much appearance of poverty about them.

Sir Hussey Vivian estimated, in 1832, in his evidence before the committee on the state of Ireland, the capital of the *small* farmers at thirty millions.

the last twelve months. We heard of nothing but the absence of crime, the solitude of the jails, the small amount of business on the circuits, and the general peace and prosperity of the country. We understood that the repeated exposures of the offenders, and the just indignation which had been excited against their inhuman conduct, had either shamed them out of the offence, or that victims were no longer found, to be sacrificed to their cupidity. The lightness of the Irish calendars gave us a more ready belief in these assertions, because we knew full well that for centuries all honest men had imputed three-fourths of the crimes of Ireland to this one cause alone. We knew also that a Poor Law, similar in principle to that prevailing in England, had been *forced* upon Ireland in 1838, notwithstanding the opposition of many of her leading representatives, with the beneficent intention of removing the temptation to the commission of these frightful atrocities on the one hand, and of alleviating their baneful effects upon the other. In addition to all these circumstances, which were matters of general and public notoriety, I likewise observed that, in all the documents issued by Mr. O'Connell previous to, and during the elections, that fell into my hands (and these were not a few), I found but one solitary statement, even to excite a suspicion, that our hopes were all delusive, and that the evil raged as frightfully as ever. Neither in any of the resolutions of any of the repeal meetings which I had seen did I

find any evidences whatsoever to bear Mr. O'Connell out in his sweeping assertion, that the rapacity of man and the vengeance of Heaven were not yet satiated, and that the land was still polluted with crime, and the people immolated to the number of 50,000 annually. Could I be sensible of the extent of Irish charity amongst the middle and even the lower classes,—of the exertions of the clergy in behalf of the poor,—of the large collections for rent both to the repeal association, and as a just indemnity to Mr. O'Connell for his time and trouble in the popular cause,—of the very handsome contributions from almost every diocese in Ireland towards the society for the propagation of the Faith,—of the still larger contributions in almost every part of the country for the erection of churches, chapels, schools, &c.,—of the enormous sums saved to the people by the apostolic labours of Father Mathew, amounting to the almost incredible amount of one million annually,

* The duties levied on native spirits in Ireland were :—

	Native Spirits.	Wine.	For. Spirits.	Malt.
In 1838—	£1,510,092	£192,618	£29,479	£289,869
In 1840—	1,032,582	162,888	22,268	200,108
Saving -	<u>£477,510</u>	<u>£30,530</u>	<u>£7,211</u>	<u>£89,761</u>

“ The malt duty and the native spirit duty indicate the consumption of fermented liquor by the *poorer* classes ; and the wine and foreign spirit duties, the consumption by the *richer* classes.”—*Facts and Figures*.

The saving in 1841 must have greatly exceeded that of 1840.

—could I be cognizant of all this, and yet believe that cold, famine, and disease were permitted to decimate the people, because there were none to hold out the hand of charity for their relief?

Irish landlords! and British misrule! Yes indeed! both have done their worst for Ireland in their day. I am not about to defend either the one or the other, where strict justice does not demand it. But as I love justice and hate iniquity, I will give my meed of praise to the one, and my reprobation to the other, where to the best of my judgment they appear due, and where I would fain hope that good might result, without being swayed either by the predilections of party or religion, or deterred by the virulent denunciations of faction.

Heaven knows that many an Irish landlord, even of our own times, has an awful account to render for not having sooner learnt “that property has its duties as well as its rights;” but while we are sickened and surfeited with evidence to mark their iniquities, we have absolutely no public knowledge of the many—and very many I am sure they are—who have steadily and manfully resisted the temptation to evil. Were it not invidious, I might name some who have come to my own knowledge, and amongst them large English absentee proprietors who are as good landlords in Ireland as they are in England.*

* I write not to expose the Irish landlords, but to prove

Having already exhausted the full vial of our wrath upon the crime, and having affixed all the miseries of the people, without measure, as without mercy, upon their hard-hearted, unrelenting landlords, let us approach the subject, not as the offended moralist, but with the scrutiny of the political economist, and see whether there be naught to set down in extenuation* (at least as far as the mere poverty of the actual tenant is concerned), whether the greater sin be not in the system, and whether there be a possibility of era-

the utter destitution of the people, and the absolute necessity of alleviating a mass of distress, of which the very recital sickens the heart, and appals the understanding. It is in vain to expect that any poor law can reach it all; neither should it, for that is not the right remedy, still less can it cut off the cause; on the contrary, it will be ever growing on it, and will soon cover and consume the whole land. The poor law was not the only remedy recommended by the commissioners; it was only a part of the great whole:—extensive colonization on, and cultivation of, the waste lands, partial emigration, schools of agriculture, &c.

* Clearing out a tenant, either because he is not able to pay an exorbitant rent; or that by some other system that rent may be rendered a little steadier, or a little less difficult to collect; or because a man is of a different religion from his landlord, and injustice is committed on him under the cloak of zeal; or because he has dared to exercise his political rights, and that probably under the influence of others, in opposition to the opinions of his landlord;—these indeed are atrocities which no ingenuity can palliate.

dicating the vice, till you have first invaded the system from which it emanates. That system is, leaving a large redundant population to struggle for its existence, pent up within a space totally incapable of supplying it with nourishment, or surrounded by circumstances incapable of affording the means of procuring it. The vices of the landlords spring from these circumstances. When they can procure labour at 5d. or 6d. a day, it is not likely they will offer 8d.; and when they can find tenants who are content with little or no profit for themselves, who are willing to give them the whole surplus that remains beyond a bare, wretched subsistence; who often indeed offer them the entire produce of the land;—is it to be expected that the avarice of such landlords, or their distress, will in all cases resist the temptation thus forced upon them? or that they themselves will become the instruments of raising this oppressed and degraded class of cultivators, into one of comparative comfort and independence?

On one hand, the tenant is entirely at the mercy of the landlord; on the other, the landlord is restrained by combination and fears of vengeance, often even from the assertion of his just rights. The tenant will not improve because that improvement must be carried to the account of the landlord; the landlord will not improve because he cannot insure the benefit of his improvement to himself.

So that turn which way you will, you meet obstacles at every step to any hope of rescuing the peasant, the cottier, or the small farmer, from the vice, misery, and tyranny which nearly for the last two hundred and fifty years have been “grinding him to powder.”

And how is it that no remedy has been discovered, none applied? *British misrule*, is the answer. Until Ireland had an independent parliament of her own,—for we are not discussing a *new* evil,—British misrule must take her portion of the responsibility; but with an independent parliament of her own (from 1782), I think justice would award her the full weight of her own crimes and her own afflictions. For twenty-nine years, from the Union to Emancipation, they must share together in the penalty as in the sin. But from Emancipation downwards,—more especially since the Reform Bill not only gave Ireland something like a real, effective, fair representation, but even raised her, through adventitious circumstances, to an eminence in the Legislature which she could hardly have expected to occupy,—how, I ask, when we come to the scrutiny, can you bring home the delinquency to British misrule alone? Was ever one measure proposed by the Irish members to root out the evil? or, if proposed, seconded and supported as it should be? Why have not those members insisted upon measures for the employment of the redundant population in public

works upon a sufficiently extended scale, the cultivation of waste lands, the construction of railroads, &c. &c. ? Why have they not brought forward even an equitable *landlord and tenant bill*? We know at least that this was not from ignorance of the evils or of the wants of Ireland. Everyone who wrote upon finance, upon agriculture, upon manufactures, upon statistics, upon any one branch of political economy, whatever his politics or his religion, was sure to direct the main share of his attention to Ireland. The reviews, the newspapers, of every shade and colour, were all full of the subject. The representatives of Ireland were those only who appeared to know little of the matter, and to take the smallest possible degree of interest in it. While other practical, beneficial measures were proposed and carried, such as the tithe commutation bill, the education grant, &c., this great and growing evil was altogether overlooked. The great contest was about the appropriation clause, the municipal reform, the restriction or extension of the elective franchise—all very good in their way, but infinitely inferior to the measures just mentioned, and wholly incapable of touching—nor do I know that it was pretended they could—the real evil which was grinding and devouring the people. This, in fact, was nearly altogether disregarded. For though committee after committee sat to enquire into the causes of the miseries of the *poor* of Ireland,—miseries which rent the heart, confounded the understand-

ing, and scandalized the whole Christian world,—as if the great, pressing evil itself lay beneath some hidden latent mystery, and were not already as notorious as the sun at noon-day,—no recommendation of an efficient remedy was made, no general summons issued, to grapple with the monster and subdue him ! so that the people began to believe, and the evidence, coupled with the conduct of those who proclaimed it to the world, fully justified the belief, that their unaltered wretchedness sprung from “ the fatal destinies of the land, “ the very genius of the soil,” “ the influence of the stars,” or the vengeance of God.*

The representatives of this suffering people, one

* I am well aware, however, of Mr. Lynch's exertions, but these were rather out of the House than in it, and it is a pity he was not better seconded. Had *his* remedies been vigorously applied, we had heard little of repeal.

I think I am correct in stating, that scarcely any measures were recommended by the *committees*,—the poor law commissioners did so most urgently, though with about as little success as if they had spared themselves the trouble; for though considerable sums were yearly voted for public works, still no extra exertion was made to supply for their evident insufficiency.

That I might not trust too much to impressions, being out of England while writing these pages, I wrote to a person in my establishment at home, to desire he would look over the *Mirror of Parliament*, to see what had been done by the Irish members, in these particulars, since the Reform Bill, and the result, which I give in the appendix, I think, fully bears me out in the sentiments I have expressed.

hundred and five “grave counsellors,”—(I speak it not in irony, nor yet wholly in reproach, for I presume it was but the fulfilment of her horoscope, the natural result of the condition of things—for “fate seems to lay her heavy hand upon Ireland when aught is attempted for her benefit,”) *—instead of combining in one great and generous effort to conquer “THE DREADFUL NECESSITY” which was exercising such a fearful despotism over the country, and sitting like a plague upon her,—appear to have devoted themselves chiefly in their respective stations to the great contest for place and power, as principle, prejudice, interest or inclination might lead them; thinking, seemingly, as little of these sad victims “to cold, famine, and disease,” as if they only existed in some disturbed and passing dream, or in the ghastly phantoms of a children’s pastime. Even the latest official information upon the matter was accidentally furnished through the meddling spirit of some members of the upper house, and with so little view of founding a remedy upon it, that they gave us nothing but the bare evidence.* If such then were the conduct of one hundred and five representatives from that “fair portion of God’s earth,” while she was still a prey to the ravages of this dreadful scourge, and when they ruled with almost unlimited sway in one branch of the legislature,—

* See Sir Charles Napier’s excellent essay on the present state of Ireland.

† The Roden committee.

and whose power, had they been united, would have been irresistible,—with what consistency, or upon what grounds is it, that *British misrule* is to come in for the *whole* guilt, and that they ask for an addition to their number as the only means of enabling them to seek redress? What better guarantee have we, were their numbers increased, that they would even *then* unite to shield the industrious farmer from the cupidity of his landlord, and to demand justice for the poor peasant, who carries the only capital he possesses,—his sinewy arm,—to the labour market, and finds none to employ it. Without employment, he must either starve in the midst of plenty, or take his melancholy chance in the awful competition for a plot of potatoe ground, from which, after paying an exorbitant rent, he is happy if he can eke out a bare subsistence,—for, in the ordinary course of things, “if he pays he must starve, if he does not pay he is turned out.” Is not the presumption at least in favour of a third party stepping in,—removed alike from the influence of interest, and the prejudices of a class, and bringing the remedy in its appointed time? That time does seem to be arrived; the struggle for place and power is at an end; the reign of patronage has been long extinct; the minister has nothing to fear in the exercise of justice; he is strong on every side; he has but to will the good, and do it; and if he does it he is sure to prosper:—the blessing of God will be “on him that gives, as on him that takes.”

But I see there really is another remedy in store for these ills of Ireland,—*general suffrage!* For while I was in the act of writing this, I was favoured with a copy of the *Dublin Weekly Register*, of the 13th of November last, in which I find the following passage of a speech delivered in the repeal association, on Tuesday the 9th of that month, by the Lord Mayor:—"I am for a general suffrage; that is the real meaning of the universal suffrage of the charter. I won't use the word universal suffrage, but I will give it the meaning that properly belongs to it. I will call it general suffrage, and that is to give the right of voting to every man that attains the age of twenty-one years, with the single condition that he is of sound mind, is unimpeached of crime, and resides in the particular district where he votes, for six months previous to the election, whether as a householder or lodger, I don't care, but I want to prevent all trampers that travel around the country, from multiplying their votes, or giving them in more than one particular place. Sharman Crawford will not give us anything of that kind; he is skulking from that question." (Loud cries of "hear, hear.")

General suffrage in Ireland, with an Irish parliament! Ireland is emphatically an agricultural country; she contains 8,205,000 inhabitants, of whom about two millions (*not five*) are male adults,

each with an equal right to the elective franchise.* The rural population, and those immediately connected with them, form the great majority ; these, as we have just seen, have been for ages the suffering portion of the community,—the real “hereditary bondsmen,”—“the hewers of wood and drawers of water,”—the saddest victims to the worst passions that ever ruled the human breast ; stimulated by actual suffering, their memories fraught with the accumulated wrongs of many generations ; a quick, sensitive, generous, yet perchance a vindictive people (and who are not when the opportunity and temptation arrive for retributive justice?)—such are the people, and such the circumstances under which they are to be invested with the highest power in the state. And for what purpose ? To carve out a remedy for their own grievances.

But how is this new principle to work ? The very thought of it might indeed overawe the avaricious landlord, chase him from his prey, and check him in the career of his oppression ; but would that satisfy the unsuccessful competitor for an acre of potatoe-ground?—no ; you tell the people, your turn is now come, your triumph is

* The third report of the Poor Law Commissioners returned 585,000 able-bodied men, having 1,800,000 persons depending on them, as out of work, and consequently in a state of destitution, for 30 weeks in the year.

complete, rejoice and make merry, the millenium is arrived, you have sorrowed and shall be comforted, you have hungered and shall be filled, you have suffered in cold and nakedness, you shall be warmed and clad. But, they will ask, how is all this to be accomplished? And you must answer them; all power is now yours, and you must use it. Then must they effect by law what they have hitherto been forbidden to do by violence. There will be plenty of political economists to show how every man is entitled to his living; how, if there be no employment, he must gain his sustenance from the land. Then comes the partition law; when the land has been adjudicated to him, then comes the question of rent, for rack-rents are no longer the order of the day; they could not, should not be. But that no wrong may be done, and all effected by due process of law, a statute for a standard rent is demanded, and of course voted.* All this must be, if the poor are to be relieved by repeal. For as Ireland is an exporting country to a large, to an immense amount, a free trade in provisions will then afford her no resource. For the protection of her home manufactures, she is to exclude the foreign; whence, if it were only

* The reader will remember that one of Wat Tyler's demands was a standard rent, and that one of his confederates, John Ball, preached from his well-known text to the same effect.

as a point of honour, or on the principles of reciprocity, a law of retaliation must be expected. Her commerce with England cut off, she is at fault at once.* In England, she enjoyed a sure, certain, regular, and profitable market; her linen, her corn, her cattle, her butter, her eggs, even her very vegetables, found a ready sale in every seaport. All were readily taken off her hands, and usually at a high price. But all that England has been accustomed to take from Ireland, she can procure, if need be, with as much ease, and perhaps upon more advantageous terms, elsewhere. Indeed, she must be compelled to do

* “In the present state of things, when the steam-power places Manchester almost as near to the interior of Ireland as Dublin, and to the southern and south-western extremities nearer than Belfast, it is idle to talk of excluding English manufactures from Ireland. Any rules attempted to be laid down for any such purpose, would be so easily evaded, and there would be so many temptations to evasion upon the part of the wholesale as well as the retail shopkeepers, that it would be to expose capital to great losses and eventual ruin, to enter at this moment upon new manufacturing experiments in Ireland—at least to any considerable extent.”—*Dublin Review*.

These remarks apply equally well to Ireland in a state of separation; for it would be utterly impossible for her to keep up a preventive service sufficient to hinder smuggling to any extent. It seems much wiser and more natural to employ her capital in agriculture, for which she is eminently qualified, than to attempt an ineffectual competition with England in matters in which the latter has already obtained so complete an ascendancy.

so in her own defence; for, if her barter trade with Ireland is at an end, she must endeavour to indemnify herself elsewhere, and to seek an outlet for the manufactures which Ireland used to take, but will take no longer, and which she must strive to exchange for the food which others can supply, and which she requires.

If we are to revert to the state of things before the union, all this must needs be. But let any one run over the commercial history of Ireland, even since the Revolution, and say whether it were possible for the UNITED PARLIAMENT to pass any one of those restrictive statutes, so disastrous to Irish manufacture, which were enacted previous to that measure, and adopted even by her own domestic legislature; not, as is so falsely asserted, with a view of ruining Ireland, but from the mere selfish policy of protecting the home manufacturers,—“the settled staple trade of England” more especially, as the woollen trade was then called? Would it be possible, in an *united* parliament, to proclaim the exportation from Ireland of black cattle and sheep—“a common nuisance,” and prohibit the same perpetually? Could any British sovereign *now* give that memorable answer of William the Third to an address which prayed for protection to the staple trade of England: “Gentlemen, I will do all in my power to discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland, but I will encourage the linen,”—that, as the Lords

Justices, in 1698, expressed it, being “consistent with the trade of England”?

But Ireland separated from England,—where is she to turn? If perchance she might send her corn to France, what would she obtain in exchange? why, not half what she does from England, if she were paid in money, and still less if she were paid in wines and silk, which few would have the means of purchasing at home. Let us consume our own produce amongst our own people, say they; they are hungry and want to eat. True, but you must *give* it them; for how can a man buy without money, and how can he earn money without employment? And if with the sure and ready market, and high prices, and quick return, which she enjoys now for every portion of her produce, the landlord will not, or cannot afford to employ the redundant population around him, how will it be when she is thrown upon her own resources, and the whole of her surplus produce remains in the hands of the growers? The absentees, they say, will come and consume it! But if the absentee does return, those who had followed him to England, and had there found employment through him, which they could not obtain at home, will return with him. The absentee will come and spend his income at home, and we shall prosper! but what income will remain to him? We know how small a surplus of any commodity,—especially of a commodity which

is of a perishable quality and cannot be kept long, and which where the ordinary process of nature is not checked must go on multiplying by re-production,—we know how small a surplus will create a glut and how a glut depresses the price. Isolate Ireland from the rest of the world, and this, from being an occasional accidental occurrence, will come to be her ordinary condition ; for she cannot now possibly consume her own produce. Where then is the income of the Irish proprietor ? Left to her natural state, she cannot expect even such prices as those countries from whence we draw much of our present supply ; and for the very reason, that we do draw our supplies from them, and shall cease to do so from her. Those prices, when not excited by adventitious circumstances, do not average more than half ours ; take, then, the income of Ireland at twenty or twenty-five millions, and you reduce it to ten or twelve. Off goes the interest of her debt ; off goes the interest of her mortgages : no bargain can stand ; there is a general smash, a national bankruptcy. This is the natural, necessary consequence. We all know how Ireland is mortgaged, and mortgaged chiefly with English capital. What chance has the mortgagee for his interest, when the estate is perhaps burdened to two-thirds of its value, and the income falls one half ? To sell is impossible, as all confidence is gone, and you have no security to give the purchaser. The estate passes indeed into

other hands,—into those of the mortgagee,—and you have one Irish landlord the less, and one absentee proprietor the more ; unless indeed you enact another revolutionary law, in the shape of a bill of indemnity to the possessor, and cancel all his engagements, and restore him to an unencumbered property. The English absentee, who generally ranks with the best class of Irish landlords, comes in also for his share of the loss, and the Irish poor for their share of suffering ; for the English absentee has been accustomed to look to Ireland for his income, and to expend a portion of it at least for the benefit of that country whence he receives it.

Thus without a market for their commodities, and without money for the employment of the poor, they must necessarily give them land whence to draw their subsistence in kind,—and good land too ; for they cannot locate them on an uncultivated bog, which will produce nothing until it is drained, tilled, and manured, at a much greater expense than they can possibly afford, without other resources to maintain them in the interval. To bring any great quantity of bog land into culture, it must be undertaken upon a large scale, and with a great outlay, which a bankrupt government is not so likely to provide. The closing too of the usual outlets for her commerce, the necessary check upon her navigation, the diminution of all her public establishments, the disband-

ing of her army (for of course the rule of the bayonet will be dispensed with), will all conspire to add to the number of her redundant population, and to create fresh claimants upon the land. The state would not even enjoy the resources of Spain and Portugal, in the sale of abbey lands and Church endowments, (and which, singular enough, have never yet been found to enrich any country which has fallen upon that expedient for restoring its credit and repairing its dilapidated resources;) while the property of the Established Church, when appropriated to education and the maintenance of the sick (for that it seems is the destiny which awaits it), will, in the transfer, bring its proportionate degree of misery and destitution, by sending adrift a great portion of those now dependent on it. That property, therefore, being otherwise disposed of, is not available for partition ground for the able-bodied poor, so that you have in reality no alternative but to billet them on the cultivated estates of the gentry and nobility. I had almost forgotten indeed that such a class existed in Ireland, for when universal suffrage shall have thrown the whole legislative power into the hands of the people, the former are no longer worth taking into the calculation. Whether that really would be the result or not, as far as the argument is concerned, it matters not; for if it is not expected to be so, if the House of Lords is still to act as a check upon the popular representation, there is

no cause for the change, nor any use in investing the people with the privilege of helping themselves. That, under the circumstances, they *must* help themselves or starve, I am thoroughly convinced. Look at the actual condition of England in her manufacturing districts; her immense capabilities, her capital, her skill, her industry, her credit, her prodigious, nay, gigantic means of production,—yet because her market is insufficient, her capital is lying waste, her artizans are starving, her streets are tenantless, her store-houses piled to the very ceilings with the rich and varied productions of her looms! The staple manufacture of Ireland is linen, of which England takes above fifty millions of yards annually;—her staple produce is grain, of which England consumes three millions of quarters, besides cattle, pigs, poultry, butter, eggs, &c. all of which come over, as we have seen, in such quantities as materially to affect our own markets;—let those markets then be closed against them, and this enormous produce thrown upon her own hands, with no customer but her own people,—to what condition is she reduced? * It severs all

* If they answer to this, “Oh! we shall first settle all that by treaty—it will form one item in the compact by which we guarantee our independence—the principles of free trade must be carried out.” If so, they forfeit their independence before they attain it, for they bind themselves to a state of things which they now declare to be impolitic and unjust; and one of the great objects for

her ties, robs her of her commerce, undermines her finances, condemns the proprietors of her soil to hopeless poverty, cuts her off from the society of the world, blots her out as a nation, and all but reduces her to the natural condition of man ! This is no fancied picture, for there are now it seems two millions and a half of paupers in Ireland : can you then disfranchise half a million able-bodied men, bar them out from the pale of the constitution, because you will not provide them with a resting place to qualify them for the exercise of their new-born rights ? The thing is impossible. The pauper population of Ireland must go on increasing ; this is its natural tendency, you cannot check it. They ask for repeal that the poor may be cared for. Will they think themselves cared for if imprisoned in a workhouse, upon workhouse diet ? or, if they did, can you lodge and feed them in such multitudes, earning little or nothing towards their own support ? No, the only alternative is to locate them on the land,—the cultivated land : you must not only billet them upon the land, but you must build them houses to dwell in. All this you must do, or you will soon have Ireland in the condition in which the parish of Cholesbury in Berkshire was a few years ago,

which they profess to seek that independence—the encouragement of home manufacture by the exclusion of foreign—is defeated in the very act of accomplishing it.

when the "landlords gave up their rents, the farmers their tenancies, and the clergyman his glebe and his tithes!!!" all however proving inefficacious for the relief of the growing number of paupers, so that the neighbouring parishes were called upon to bring in their quota to the common stock, and to supply the demands which the whole parish of Cholesbury was unable to satisfy. Such is the remedy for the ills of Ireland, under the happy auspices of repeal and universal suffrage! And when we add to this, internal dissension, the rights of property overthrown, all present interests scattered to the winds, neither respect for the past, nor security for the future, the lever of revolution forcing and displacing all things,—we complete the picture which the slightest reflection cannot fail to present to our imaginations. All these are the natural consequences of familiar causes, and it neither requires the political philosopher to foretell her ruin as a state, nor the political economist to warn her of her social degradation as a people. For how can it be otherwise?

In her present condition, and in the artificial state at which the world is now arrived, Ireland reposes entirely (a better system of government must assist and develope it I will allow), upon her commerce for her prosperity,—while that commerce depends upon her vicinity to, and her connexion with England.* Let her reject the advan-

* "Whatever may be the visions of some romantic

tages which nature has given her even with a profuse hand, derange all her actual relations, assert her independence, and form herself into a republic of small farmers without any market for her produce,—and if she acts up to her present intentions and professions, this *must* be so,—from that moment she places herself in the position of a new country, and descends in the scale of civilization. She returns to the first rudiments of political science; all her elements are new, and she must therefore attempt a government upon new principles; she has everything to learn, because she has everything to change.

What prospect is there of any unity of action, and agreement in purpose, under such contingencies? All are bewildered because they have no fixed principles to guide them; everybody must be busy about everything; conflicting interests and conflicting opinions will arise; the novelty of her position will baffle all precedents; newly acquired

lovers of country, it is one of the soundest and most incontestible maxims of political science, that there are some countries whose fortunes must ever be obedient to the destinies of others. The principle, which experience has confirmed in the example of other countries, seems peculiarly applicable to the condition of Ireland. To the strength and abundance of her natural resources I feel proud in bearing ample testimony; but as these must be estimated in relation to the surrounding countries, it must be confessed that she seems to have been destined to be an appendage of the English nation.”—*Hierophilos*.

rights will yield neither to authority, nor dictation; a sturdy obstinacy may seize upon those who were wont to be as docile as lambs; past promises will create high pretensions, and disappointment excite to bitter exasperation; “till confusion worse confounded” will rule the day. The vain attempt to regenerate a people, in opposition to the moral, natural, and physical laws of the universe, will at length be apparent, and a renunciation of all power, as the only refuge for peace and order, into the hands of some successful demagogue, must be the necessary consequence, who (after a short and abortive attempt at governing still in spite of the dictates of reason and experience), will be compelled to return her once more, though most sadly, sick, and languishing, to her only true and secure position, that in which Providence has placed her: for “we know that it is (sometimes) the dispensation of Providence, that one kingdom should be swayed by the wisdom and subject to the authority of another.”*

Having thus attempted to show how futile and delusive, nay, how inconsistent, absurd, and wild, are the expectations of relieving the distresses of Ireland under the united dominion of Democracy and Repeal—even taken in a more favourable point of view than I shall have occasion to argue later—I am sure you will bear with me for a few mo-

* Hierophilos.

ments while I enumerate the remedies which have been so often and so strongly recommended by those most intimately acquainted with those distresses, and most sincerely desirous of relieving them, and which, in my opinion, if undertaken by the government with sufficient vigour and efficiency, will produce results through which alone civilization, happiness, and prosperity can make progress, and the interests of the two kingdoms be consolidated.

EMPLOY, INSTRUCT, AND CIVILIZE, are emphatic words; and never were they so aptly applied as to this very question.

The most immediate and most obvious evil of Ireland is a redundant population,—that is, redundant as compared with her means of employment. The whole of her present distress is attributable to this:—the competition for land, the exactions of landlords, the crimes and poverty of the people.

The wants and capabilities of Ireland are too well known to need any illustration or any detail, suffice it to say that one-fourth of her whole surface is still a desert waste, though equally capable of cultivation as the rest,—that the remaining three-fourths are estimated to produce only one-third of what they ought to do under an improved system of culture,—that she is lamentably deficient in those means of improvement and civilization enjoyed by England, such as railroads, ordinary roads, bridges, canals, &c., and yet that no country in the

world possesses greater facilities for them all. Here is a field not only for the *profitable* employment of all her present redundant population, but for the maintenance and employment of their children's children, by which the peace, happiness, and security of the empire may be established, and an immense accession of strength and prosperity be acquired.

Rents, it is true, must fall, but not because the state refuses its accustomed protection to agriculture, but because the deserts of Ireland being colonized with Irish, the competition for land will cease, and the cultivator be enabled to insist upon a just and fair remuneration,—while the discontent, misery, and crime generated by poverty and idleness will disappear with it. But while these results are certain, it is equally clear that without the prompt, efficient, and energetic assistance of government, *nothing* can be accomplished, but with it all things:—and yet it calls for no sacrifice, for even the first outlay is sure of meeting with a speedy return in a hundred different ways. England will furnish a ready market for almost any amount of agricultural produce, while the increased prosperity of Ireland will give a stimulus not only to her own, but to the manufacturing interest of England, and the revenues of both countries will be augmented.

As it is too generally supposed that Ireland is only a burden upon the finances of England, and

that every outlay of the public money upon that country is a dead loss, or at least a draw upon our own resources, it may be well to disprove this very erroneous impression, and to show what claims Ireland can make good even upon the revenues of the United Kingdom.*

* The variations in the revenue of Ireland constitute one of those enigmas, upon which the ingenuity of the majority of politicians and political economists has long been exercised without any satisfactory elucidation. The gross receipts, in 1816, amounted in round numbers to near eight millions. The gross receipts since 1833 (for I have not the intermediate tables by me), may be fairly estimated (including duties levied in England, and not carried to the account of Ireland, such as duties upon tea) at about five millions,—without of course allowing for the present defalcation under Father Mathew's regime ;—since 1816, taxes, even according to Mr. O'Connell, have been remitted to the amount of £1,200,000, but which, I think, may readily be passed at one million and a half ; make a farther reduction of 25 per cent. for the increased value of money since 1819, and I see no mystery in the matter, nor any reason whatever to attribute the reduction to a decline in the prosperity of Ireland since that period. In 1800, the *gross* receipts were £4,387,096, including many *war* taxes. Supposing the value of money to be the same now as then, there will be no allowance to be made either way on that score ; but the lowest estimate for the war taxes must be above a million, for the revenue, in 1798, was only £3,233,519, and she had already war taxes ; the gross revenue of the respective periods, therefore, may be justly stated at three millions for the one, and five for the other. Certainly the difference is not what it ought to be, still it shows an increase fully corresponding to her increase in population ; proving also that the revenue now levied

Putting it in the most disadvantageous manner to Ireland, and the fairest manner to England, it

upon her does not bear heavier than it did at that period. If revenue only were a criterion of prosperity, then had she nearly doubled her means between 1800 and 1816; the sums levied upon her being—for 1800, £4,337,096; and for 1816, £7,950,188, whereas the great increase was no doubt owing to the stimulus of war prices. It also shows that the alleviation from taxation has been full as great in Ireland, since that period, as in England (greater in nominal amount), the reduction in England being less than one third, and that in Ireland rather more.

Not having access to a regular or authentic series of tables, I have taken these figures from an article in the *Dublin Review* for July 1836; but on reference to Colquhoun, I find that he gives the gross revenue of Ireland at the union, at only £2,684,261; and in 1813, the next revenue in British currency, at £4,822,264, 13s. 11½*d.*, without either the land taxes, assessed taxes, or property tax being extended to that country. They bear, however, about the same relative proportion to each other. Yet, if it be true, that in 1813, with one and a half million of war taxes, and an extremely depreciated currency, Ireland only yielded about £4,800,000 nett, or £5,705,030 gross, her resources must nearly have doubled since that period. I believe the estimate for war taxes to be very much too low, for it appears that the taxes laid on between 1804 and 1815 were *alone*, in the calculations of the Chancellors of the Exchequer, expected and intended to yield no less a sum than £4,629,000 annually.

It has been attempted to be shown, notwithstanding the large sums of money spent at times on public works in Ireland, amounting to several millions, that England still holds a large balance due to Ireland from remittances made to the English exchequer as her surplus revenue. The ground upon which this statement is put forth is,

will stand thus. The debt of England has doubled itself since the Union ; the debt of Ireland ought therefore to be assumed to have done the same.*

that Ireland had no interest in the war carried on between France and England, and therefore ought not to have been considered liable to any portion of the debt, or other extraordinary expenses contracted on that account. But this is so futile an argument, that it must be a waste of time to bestow a thought upon it ; as if the French revolutionary war did not equally threaten the independence of every portion of the empire. It would have been quite as just on the part of England to have insisted on the fulfilment of her contract with Ireland at the union, “ for an expenditure which she could not meet,”—that is, to contribute one million to every seven and a half raised in England, whereas her resources did not fairly enable her to do more than supply one for every ten. Neither did England attempt to carry the property tax to Ireland for this purpose, but cancelled the whole bargain. Surely then, Ireland, being an integral part of the empire, and represented in the legislature, could not claim exemption from a share of the extraordinary burdens occasioned by the war. Still, I trust, it may appear that of late years some arrears are due to her. If there be, it is an additional reason for a large and efficient outlay ; if not, it certainly should form no ground for any restrictive application of those means which may be necessary, not only to relieve her from immediate pressure, but also to insure her permanent improvement, and in which we have an equal interest with herself.

* In that same speech at Highbury, Mr. O’Connell is reported to have said, speaking of repeal :—“ Respect it as a compact ? I abhor it as the blackest of crimes (loud cheers). I will give you one specimen of the terms of the contract. John Bull owed a large sum of money, for

She then paid one million annually in interest on her debt; she ought now to pay two. The total

he was fond of the tories, and as long as he was so he would owe money. He owed £446,000,000, while Ireland owed £20,000,000. What was the bargain Castlereagh and Pitt made? They did this: they took from Ireland half of her debt, and put it upon England, and they placed half the debt of England upon Ireland (cries of 'shame'). This was an iniquity so monstrous as almost to become ridiculous. And this is the union which I am not to remedy. Shall I be told that this is language I ought to conceal from the people of England (loud cries of 'no, no')? Win or lose I shall have truth (cheers). Ireland is willing to pay her own debt, but she is not content to pay a shilling beyond, and let but these tories continue in power, and become involved, as they will most assuredly, with foreign powers, we may have verified the old saying, 'that man's infirmity is God's opportunity,' and it may chance that the misfortunes of England will in the nature of things be a subject of hope to oppressed Ireland" (cheers).

But how does the case really stand? Ireland's share of the debt at the union was £26,000,000, and Great Britain's £420,000,000; one demanding an annual separate payment of £1,000,000, and the other of £16,000,000. And these relative proportions may fairly be said to be maintained to the present day. If the debt of one has doubled, surely the other may be presumed to have done the same. The revenue of the United Kingdom, for the year ending October 1841, was, in round numbers, £45,000,000; deduct four for Ireland (which is more than it will *now* realize, owing to the happily successful efforts of Father Mathew), and we have £41,000,000. The interest of the whole debt was thirty-three and a half millions; deduct two for Ireland, and we shall have thirty-one and a half millions remaining as *the sole share* of England, while the remaining two millions of Irish revenue are

expenses of the army, constabulary force, vice-regal court, and all the other public establishments are estimated considerably under two millions ;— her revenue may be fairly stated at four millions and a half. For many years she has actually paid this sum net into the English exchequer. Father Mathew has certainly knocked off the half million, but that surely ought not to be calculated against her. On the contrary, it is an additional claim upon our respect and attention ; it proves at least

nearly absorbed in the expenses of her establishments, exclusive of sums expended on public works. How, then, can it be asserted that England has thrown half her debt upon Ireland? And why were the exchequers consolidated, but to relieve Ireland from the responsibility which was so thoughtlessly imposed upon her by the union, that her taxation should be as one to seven and a half in England ; whereas she has never yet been considered competent to yield above one to ten ; and that is precisely the proportion which she bears now in the public burdens.

If the resources of Ireland were brought into full play, under a good government, she might readily pay one in seven, and without feeling it more than she does her present taxation. Scotland, with far less than three millions of inhabitants, contributes five millions annually to the public revenue, receiving hardly any portion of it back in public establishments, and without complaining that the debt of England has just been put upon her. But Scotland has her own Church, and this has made her a contented nation. Whereas Ireland, without land tax or assessed taxes, without the excise upon post-horses, soap, and bricks, taxed, in fine, only one-sixth as much as England, in proportion to her population, and all her revenue spent within her own bounds, is dissatisfied and oppressed !

that her present misery is not of her own seeking, and furnishes a guarantee that our kindness will not be abused. We should be better pleased to lose the gains of virtue, than to prosper upon the prodigalities of vice. Half a million of money will go a long way in a country where ordinary labour is remunerated at the rate of about *6d.* a-day. But this will not suffice; we must pay up our arrears. If not done effectually, it will neither cure the evil nor bring the return as quickly as it should do.*

Neither do I see why an annual levy should not be made upon the land of Ireland, as an act of indemnity for past delinquencies of her landlords, and as a just contribution towards so interesting and beneficial a national improvement. Threepence per acre on the fifteen millions of cultivated land (making allowances for small lots, which would of course be exempt, and for the expenses of collection), ought to produce full £400,000; while a rate on houses above a certain value, varying from *6d.* to *10s.*, would make up a very considerable sum. Neither one nor the other could, I conceive, be objected to; for there would then remain no levies for poor rates but what were necessary for the sick, aged, and infirm: the appeals to private charity would nearly cease: the feelings would be spared

* See Appendix for some interesting examples of the happy outlay of capital, and the quick return which it ensures.

the daily spectacle of woe with which they are now excited; and the mind would rejoice in the comparative happiness of thousands.*

* The levy might be double on the estates of absentee proprietors, though I think it would be manifestly unjust to include under that denomination those who had a larger acreage in England than in Ireland.

It has been asserted that a removal of the redundant agricultural poor of Ireland would but aggravate the tyranny of the landlords over those who remained, inasmuch as it would lessen the salutary fear, as it is called, by which they are now said to be restricted in their rapacity. But what is the principal motive for clearing? —the impossibility of collecting the highest amount of, the difficulty of collecting even a more moderate rent from such numbers, and most of whom are compelled to leave their homes, during a large portion of the year, with their wives and families, in a state of great destitution, to seek their fortune or their subsistence where they can best find it. Remove the chief source of this evil, by diminishing the competition for land, and though rents will fall, they will be punctually paid; the landlord will be unable to eject for arrears, or to have any plausible pretence for his present system, which is probably partly occasioned by the apprehension that the evil will still be increasing on him. We must rate human nature low indeed, if, the temptation being removed, the crime should still survive. Besides which, a sufficiency of the salutary fear may still continue to operate.

It is thought, too, that the clearing will be recommenced from religious bigotry. But if Ireland be once tranquillized, as I trust she will under this new order of things, the contest between landlord and tenant will cease, and that excuse for clearing be also removed. If we are to be just, I fear we must acknowledge that too many Catholics

These are objects worth contending for ; objects which she never can accomplish by herself ; but which, under a just and strong government, she is sure of obtaining. Then indeed the truth will be apparent to all, that the union is necessary for the real interests of both countries. Providence has placed them in the position which they hold to each other, and no doubt with the most beneficent designs, but unhappily, hitherto those designs have been sufficiently marred by prejudices and the passions of men.

have, equally with the Protestants, taken advantage of the "dreadful necessity," and cleared their estates. Few have been dispossessed from *mere* religious motives, more from political, most through interest. To take exceptions upon such grounds as these, is, I think, no better than cavilling.

Besides this, schools of agriculture ought certainly to be established ; for, independently of the increased production consequent on an improved system of husbandry, it is held by some political economists, that the circumstances under which the soil is cultivated, are almost wholly capable of determining the position of a country in the scale of civilization. With whatever allowances this maxim ought to be received, at any rate there is much of truth in it, and upon this account alone ought we to be most anxious to take what advantage we may from it, to wipe out the stain which the imperfect state of civilization in Ireland, considered in reference to some sections of her rural population, has so justly affixed on the character of England, in the eyes of all travellers who visit that portion of the United Kingdom, and who have too truly described those classes as the most destitute in the civilized world.

Notwithstanding all our disappointments, I will not despair of better things for Ireland. Certainly we all thought, when, in the triumph of her efforts in 1829, she burst the fetters which had bound her in ignominy and injustice for so many ages, that the time of her prosperity was at hand,—that the days of her affliction were numbered. We waited in anxious expectation that the Spirit of God would descend upon the waters, not for the healing of a few sorrowing suppliants one by one, but of a whole nation, and at once. But it came not as we had expected. There was still “a judgment against her,”—there was yet to be mourning upon the land,—even blood must flow, and other victims be immolated ere another boon were granted. That boon also came, and we thought her joy complete; each year passed over with blessings in its train; but neither peace nor perfect justice was among them. Still there seemed a crime to be expiated, and a period of affliction to be endured; for even yet she suffers in her ancient sorrows, and her troubled spirit is not allayed.* But the remedy is at her

* Let it not be supposed that I pretend to impute the the miseries of Ireland as a just punishment for her own crimes: the ways of God are incomprehensible, and his counsels are unsearchable, and I presume not to fathom them. However this may be, the greater sin must of course rest with those who *wrongfully* inflict even His vengeance, than with those who are the objects of it, however they may have deserved it. And this observation

doors, we have only to enter and apply it. If *we* do not, others must try their skill; but the evil spirits may come in with them, and her last condition be worse than the first.

I doubt not the integrity of his intentions, or the sincerity of his views, but Mr. O'Connell mistakes the disease and mistakes the cure. He mixes poison with the potion with which he desires to heal. He has an honest object, and singleness of purpose, but he is deluded. He has too long fixed his mind upon one point to see it rightly. Thinking, talking, declaiming, acting upon this one idea, appear to have warped his judgment, and to have disturbed his powers of reasoning. With him all is bright on one side, and all gloomy upon the other. His day, if but once it dawn, is never to be chequered with a cloud. Repeal is his land of promise, while the painful interval is passed in the dreary wilderness. Could he attain it, assuredly it would not prove that region of milk and honey which his fancy so fondly paints it. He had better desist while he can, for if he persist to his latest breath, he must still be content to die with only a distant view of the term of his desires, and without

applies with peculiar force to Ireland; for whatever guilt may be her's, the guilt certainly has been double on the part of her oppressors;—first, for having provoked those crimes by a barbarous tyranny, and then for having punished them with a continuance, too often with an aggravation, of the injustice.

the satisfaction of leaving any one to succeed him in the enterprise.

Can he really flatter himself with success? The mind of Ireland is evidently adverse to Repeal; and if the thousands who are now deluded into such idle dreams of its advantages, and such false expectations of obtaining them, were as well instructed as the rest, they would be equally adverse to any such change. Let him speak with what confidence he will, must not the cloud sometimes cross the sunshine of his hopes, when he looks around him from his rostrum in the Corn-exchange, and sees neither the wealth, the talent, nor the independence of the country, helping, cheering, urging him on his course? Let him fancy as he will, that all are dull, all are slavish, all benighted in the ways of patriotism, insensible to the benefits and callous to the enjoyments of liberty, who do not think and act with him;—but will not the reflection sometimes startle him, even in his most sanguine moments, that there may be others as honest as himself; as eager for the welfare of Ireland; with as keen a perception of the true interests of the people; as capable of judging from the past, and with views as just for the future;—and that when put into the balance, they *may* outweigh him? In these days, opinion is force; there is a power in the mind still stronger than the sinews of the arm. When the hour of delusion is gone by, the empire of reason will return. It is in vain that he courts the sympathy of

his fellow-countrymen in distant lands, or that he accepts it from those with whom any willing fellowship would be a disgrace; in vain that he is driven, however unconsciously, into an unholy league with men of desperate fortunes, of turbulent spirits, and of scanty education, in every part of the empire,—men whom he honestly repudiates, but who will not so readily repudiate him;—in vain that he essays other topics of popular delusion, to gather his recruits;—add all these to the thousands,—millions, if he will,—who are now led astray by an honest confidence in his judgment; all will avail him nothing in face of the great moral force arrayed against him. He must know full well that all who side not with him are against him;—he tells it us himself;—let him survey the host, its aspect, its equipment, its position,—and then say whether the buoyancy of his hopes does not sink before the prospect,—whether the victory be so easy as he would fain have us to believe. Disunion is already in his ranks—as if to present him with a glimmering of what he might expect hereafter—for discord is the very spirit of revolution,—in Limerick, in Ulster, in his own camp. He fears it may increase. His constant exhortations to unanimity,—to “bury every by-gone cause of dissension or difference in a generous oblivion,”—sufficiently disclose that. He may keep the ground for a time, he may harass and annoy, but he will never conquer. No, he has not

the blessing of a good cause with him, as he had in his first great struggle; yet his apparent confidence is as strong; the chances of his failure never check his energies. I wish they might; but the excitement of the senate has not time to cool before the excitement of the Repeal Association begins, and the hour of calm reflection comes not. Habit too is a second nature. The constant glow of political agitation, carried to such perfection as that science now is by Mr. O'Connell, has a bewitchment about it that seems to captivate the senses. Ambition is as blind as love; Napoleon won a hundred battles, and lived to lose as many. What we do well, we do till it is daring, and daring brings the danger. Even the ambition to do good, for which I am willing to give him every possible credit, when guided by zeal, and not by discretion, has too often and too signally failed.

What might not Mr. O'Connell achieve for Ireland if he would but moderate his views; if he would but apply his great talents to real, practical ameliorations, ameliorations which would not clash with long-established and deep-rooted principles. It is this attack upon the principle as well as upon the abuse that now renders him inefficient for the benefits which he desires to confer, which weakens the sympathy, and alienates from him the good will and good opinion of all reflecting men.*

* I am sufficiently aware that Mr. O'Connell is not

In times past men fought for principles, merely because they were principles; whether good or bad, they stopped not to inquire,—perhaps they could hardly tell. But now men fight for bad principles with a full knowledge of their evil, though with the fatal delusion that their nature may be changed, and that we shall at length gather grapes from thorns and figs from thistles. But as the bad tree will never produce good fruit, so will these principles be ever true to themselves in spite of us. Are they not those before which the Throne and the Altar have ever fallen? And is it not for this that they have found favour with the Chartists? And has not that favour stamped them with their real character? Does Mr. O'Connell condemn *their* great, their paramount principle? No,—but the means by which it is to triumph. In principle he is associated with them. THE CHARTER OF BOTH IS GENERAL SUFFRAGE. Short of this, nothing is accomplished; that attained, all things follow. But what are these? Aye, there's the rub! There do we enter the regions of mystery and strife. All is contention, all obscurity. We know not whither we are carried; they who would

altogether unmindful of such matters, but I allude in these remarks more particularly to his parliamentary career: and I am happy in this opportunity of bearing witness to the very great advantage, which the founders of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain derived from his active and cordial co-operation.

retreat can find no outlet ; forward they must go, hurried along by the evil spirit they have had the hardihood to raise, and which now exerts uncontrolled dominion over them. Many perish on the way, but they are heeded not ; principle after principle is overthrown, till nothing remains but the confusion of all things. Facts reason for themselves, and history attests their truth. Revolutionary France, Spain, Portugal, the republics of South America, America herself, all in their different degrees, exemplify the workings of these principles—the wild supremacy of the people being that which governs the rest,—when from high-sounding, philosophic theories, those principles become real, effective, practical realities. Even when attempted in more remote periods,—not trespassing upon classic story for our illustration, but in the republics of Italy,—before the art of printing had brought a force into play, whose powers, when directed to mischief, are only to be estimated by the evils which now surround us, and before the combined energy of numbers working upon one point had displayed their giant strength,—they not only ever failed in establishing a rational degree of freedom, security, and happiness, but were ever fruitful of blood, war, anarchy, and tyranny. Under the Commonwealth in England, as we all know, they ran to an extravagance only exceeded by one single instance on record.

In that instance UNION AND FORCE was the

watchword ; but it was a union of bad principles, and force there was none but for mischief. The principles soon exhausted themselves in their own iniquities ; the unsteady seat of their ephemeral power was continually vacillating, till tired of its own crimes, of its own impotency, it gave way to a force resting on the iron arm of a military despotism more tremendous than had been seen on earth since imperial Rome. That despotism, however reigned for good as well as for evil ; it re-established order and religion, which the licentiousness of liberty had swept away, and at least saved the world from the farther ravages of an uncontrolled democracy. Yet the wounds which those principles had inflicted are still bleeding, nor is it in the power of man to heal them.

That these same principles are again at work is clear ; they not only progress, but progress rapidly by means which all mischievous principles now have at their command,—lecturing, debating, organization,—owing their success to the materials which they find so ready for their purpose,—the unbridled passions of the wicked, and the cravings of the distressed. And though the agitators in England may, in respect to repeal, or even in respect to any one particular object, be little better, to use Mr. O'Connell's own expression, than so many people “ shut up in a band-box” (I am far from estimating them so low as that), yet do they all look forward to the triumph of the repeal asso

ciation as the dawning of their own hopes, as the ultimate crowning of their own efforts. For, embarked in a similar cause, though upon an infinitely smaller scale,—a cause which inspires them with as deep an interest as though it were the most honoured and the most conspicuous,—it is impossible they should regard that model-school of agitation without strong and earnest sympathy.

Mr. O'Connell, most manfully,—in all sincerity I am sure,—and with a spirit worthy of the best days of chivalry, scorns and repudiates the chartists : but will the chartists repudiate him, if they can hope to benefit by his success ? He may disown them as he will, but he cannot shake them off ; they will come in upon his heels, and push him on faster and farther than he wishes or expects to go. Many a popular chieftain has been a blind instrument in the hands of others, working for very different purposes than those which he either contemplated or desired. The experience through which Mr. O'Connell has passed, and the general success which has attended him, during his long, daring, and dangerous career, has, I fear, given him more confidence in his powers than he can indulge in without presumption. His triumphant agitation for emancipation, and then for the extinction of tithes, have given him an implicit belief in his capacity for combination ; while the signal success which has accompanied his efforts in keeping the peace on so many trying occasions,

and above all, his victory over the desperate, illegal conspiracy amongst the trades' unions in Dublin, even at the hazard of his popularity, if not of his life, have imbued him with a reliance upon his own influence, which may one day prove fatal to the best interests of society. His mantle cannot fall upon a successor worthy to follow in his course, and capable of filling the difficult post to which his great talents and extraordinary energies have now raised *him*. He can trace no path for those who survive him. If he live in the memories and in the affections of the people, as no doubt he will, his living presence will be wanting to guide those feelings to any useful purpose. When Mr. O'Connell's spirit no longer presides over the multitude, repressing every nascent attempt, if such there should be, at dissent, by the majesty of his oratory, the admiration of his hearers, and the high command invested in *him* by universal accord, will not the bubble burst, and the beauteous vision disappear at once,—unless, like the fragments of a shell it scatter danger and confusion around?

While, as I am sure you will agree with me in acknowledging, we should be most willing to pay him the tribute of praise, where praise is due, we cannot surely be justified in blinding ourselves to his defects, and in neglecting to guard against them. As therefore he is upon all occasions the spokesman and oracle of his associates, and gives

the tone to the feelings and opinions of his very numerous followers, you must excuse a few comments on another passage from the speech I have already quoted, in the hope of qualifying at least the injurious impressions against England, which such mistaken, exaggerated, and unfounded denunciations are calculated to produce in Ireland.

“What chance,” says he, “I ask, is there of getting an increased reform bill? Was there ever such a preposterous thing as to think of it at the present moment, when the tories are triumphant in England, in consequence of the paltry skulking from intimidation of the voters in the counties, and the hideous venality of the voters in the boroughs? (hear, hear.) While civilized and palmy England gives this example, her landed proprietors have carried away the bigoted votes of their tenantry by intimidation, and the towns and open constituencies and boroughs have sold themselves for the filthy lucre of gain to the same party (hear). That England, that was the pride of democracy, and which derived from ancient times and Catholic institutions her democratic spirit of freedom, has now fallen into the hands of a party, who have no other feeling but the insolence of aristocracy and the selfishness of monopoly—(loud cheers)—monopoly of the worst and most frightful kind—monopoly of the poor man’s food—monopoly in the children’s bread—monopoly in the wretched meal that the mother spreads out but

scantily to her offspring, while starvation and famine are scowling on her wretched family, whose meal is diminished and whose hunger is unsatiated, because the lordly aristocrat must get his tax out of the bread before it is broken to her children.—
(Hear, hear.)”

Now, while I leave the open constituencies and boroughs which may have been guilty of what Mr. O’Connell accuses them,—reminding him at the same time, that above half those boroughs have returned representatives opposed to that party,—to defend themselves as they best can, I cannot refrain from remarking on the very great ignorance which Mr. O’Connell displays, touching the condition of the English tenantry.* That they are generally

* “In Ireland, unlike every other country, there scarcely exists any community of interest between landlord and tenant, though in bitter irony they are called ‘their benefactors;’—assuredly no other relation is recognized between the one and the other than that of buyer and seller, in mercantile language; the proprietor looks upon his land as so much merchandise, from which the highest rate of profit must be extracted, and in order to do so, the tenant is kept in a state of villainage, like the vassal of a feudal baron to his superior. The natural connexion subsisting between landlord and tenant is never cemented by that friendly intercourse so necessary in a moral and political point of view, and which generally prevails all over England and Scotland—where the landlord builds houses and farm-steadings for the accommodation of the cultivator of his land; but in miserable Ireland, he finds nothing but the ground. There is, in fact, just the same degree of sympathy between the parties, as if the one

willing to adopt the advice, and enter into the feelings of their landlords, is only a proof of the good understanding that subsists between them; and of all classes in the community,—from their scattered and isolated position, their small leisure, and their little attention to public affairs,—they must require such advice: but that a single act of *intimidation* has been exercised towards any one of them during the late elections, I may I firmly believe unequivocally and most stoutly deny, and defy Mr. O'Connell to prove the contrary. Thank heaven! *intimidation* is not yet the order of the day in England.

But to proceed. That England owes the groundwork of her liberties to Catholic times is but a just tribute to venerable antiquity; but that those were proud days of *democracy* as contrasted with the present, is, I think, an assertion which I have already brought abundant evidence to disprove. It is only necessary to look around us to be convinced, that the democratic elements of the constitution were never half so prominent or influential as at

were a tradesman and the other his customer. It is a mistaken notion to suppose, that when an English landlord remits part of his rent in consequence of a bad harvest, the concession is looked upon by him, or accepted by his tenant, as an act of charity, which it would be deemed in Ireland—the spontaneous gift of an individual of a rare genus, liberal landlords—for in England such deductions are so very common, under particular exigencies, that the farmer regards them almost as a matter of prescriptive right.”—*Dublin Review*, Oct. 1837.

present. But while there is more of democracy in action, there is more of tyranny over opinion ; for it is ever a characteristic of the advocates of unbridled liberty, that they are the first to enslave the freedom of the mind ; unless you are with them you are against them, and those who are against them are denounced as the enemies of their kind and country. Give me a rational, well-ordered liberty, which, instead of endangering, shall guarantee the stability of our institutions ; which shall maintain both individual independence of thought, and freedom of discussion, as well as the unrestrained exercise of the privileges of all, against despotism ; and which shall protect the rights of every class by preventing any one division of the commonwealth from usurping the whole authority for itself.

That is really a democracy, in the proper acceptation of the term, in which there are no classes so hemmed in by privileges that the class beneath may not aspire to become their equal,—in which none are excluded from the service of the state, in which every man is free to make his way as he can by his honest exertions, and in which talent and virtue have no obstacle to restrain them in the exercise of their attributes. That species of democracy which makes equality a first principle, and would pull down every thing to its own level, is foreign to the genius, and feeling, and associations of the people, and it can only be by dint of great

perseverance in those who are agitating for it, and great distress, and great misrule, that such opinions can make any considerable progress amongst us.

Our only chance of salvation—of passing unharmed through the fiery ordeal which surrounds us, and through which we must necessarily go, is to arm ourselves with the virtuous resolution of sacrificing all private interests, abandoning all narrow views and small expedients, and setting manfully to work upon the great and permanent improvements of all parts of the empire. We must elevate the moral as well as the physical condition of the people, so that all the elements of disunion and disaffection shall disappear together, through the beneficent workings of a good government, and of a just and vigorous administration.

But I have been led away from the few observations I was about to make upon the latter portion of the extract from Mr. O'Connell's speech. That this is anything but an honest burst of indignation from Mr. O'Connell, the natural result of an ardent temperament, and a thorough conviction of the justice of his accusation, I will not dispute; but at the same time I am not the less prepared to deny its truth. However willing I am to admit the imperfection of our present corn laws, their inefficiency for the purposes intended, the mischief they occasionally produce to all classes, and the consequent necessity of their revision, yet common justice requires that we respect the motives of

those who were instrumental in enacting them. No one, I think, will suspect Mr. Huskisson of being an enemy to commerce and manufactures, or of not having a mind adequate to his subject,—and see what he says of the then proposed alteration in the present corn bill: “If I were not fully convinced that the consumer in general, but more especially that class of consumers whose subsistence depends upon their own industry, would be benefited by the proposed alteration, it would not have had my support.” Mr. Van Buren, the late President of the United States, a most unexceptionable evidence, I trust, in the eyes of a Repealer, when speaking of the benefits that spring from the encouragement of agriculture, thus expresses himself: “Nothing can compensate a people for a dependence upon others for the bread they eat.”* These two short sentences contain an epitome of the whole object and motives of the advocates of the corn laws. The encouragement of agriculture,

* “I cannot indeed view without peculiar satisfaction the evidences afforded by the past season of the benefits that spring from the steady devotion of the husbandman to his honourable pursuit. No means of individual comfort is more certain, and no source of national prosperity is so sure. *Nothing can compensate a people for a dependence upon others for the bread they eat*; and that cheerful abundance, on which the happiness of every one so much depends, is to be looked for nowhere with such reliance as in the industry of the agriculturist, and the bounties of the earth.”—*Message of Mr. Van Buren.*

the consequent encouragement of commerce, the maintenance of the public credit by bringing all things within the range of that artificial condition in which we found ourselves at the termination of the war, and in which we have remained ever since, the general interests of the whole community, these were the ends and the intentions of the corn bill. And if any country has benefited by them it is Ireland—Ireland, a decidedly agricultural country, and which has ever found a high and ready market for her produce in England, produce which, had there been a perfectly free trade in corn, we should either have taken at about two-thirds of its ordinary price or not all; and for several years past England has been a customer to Ireland in the article of *corn alone* to the amount of full five millions sterling annually. All her other agricultural produce has maintained a proportionably high price through the operation of protecting laws, and from which, as an exporting country, she has benefited in the same degree.*

That the rural population of Ireland has not partaken of these advantages to the same extent as the English, is owing altogether to far different causes; though unquestionably they must have been

* Where is the consistency in clamouring for free trade, and entering into combinations against the use of British manufactured articles? Is not this the highest restriction of all,—absolute prohibition?

still worse off were it not for a protective system. But this is far too copious a question to discuss here in detail, and for which reason, if I can possibly find time, it is my intention to make it the subject of a separate letter: suffice it to say at present, that the great bulk of the working population of England are very far removed indeed from the condition which Mr. O'Connell describes. As Mr. M'Culloch himself acknowledges, far the greatest portion are dependent on the land, and the common labourer is in the receipt of from ten to twelve shillings a week, which at any rate furnishes him with the necessaries, and, if he be not over-burdened with children, with many of the comforts of life.* I wish the Irish peasant were half as well off as is the English at this moment. The distress however amongst the manufacturing districts is dreadful, but, from the best attention I can give to the subject, and after a careful investigation of almost everything that has been lately written on the matter, I am thoroughly convinced it arises almost entirely from other causes than the operation of the corn laws,—from over-production, and over-competition. While the Irish peasant suffers from the over-competition for land, the English operative suffers from the over-competition in the manufacturing labour market. A similar cause

* Were it not for the corn laws, he would have only from 6s. to 8s. per week.

produces similar distress in both classes, and in this respect at least, Ireland has no more ground to complain that legislation has not remedied the grievance than England. Misrule, if misrule it be, has been equal as to both. Employment, and still greater encouragement to her agriculture, are the remedies for Ireland; extensive emigration for England: and this, I trust to be able to show hereafter. I will now only observe that it is impossible it can serve any good purpose for Mr. O'Connell to indulge in such sweeping and desperate denunciations against the landowners of England, for misconduct which so many have attempted to prove against them, but have ever attempted in vain. This in reality is no question of opinion; it is a matter of fact: and any one who will take the trouble of considering both sides of the question, cannot fail to discover where the truth lies. But there seems a destiny over men's minds at the present moment, which wholly incapacitates too many of them from the calm and free discussion of any question, in which prejudice and party have at any time been concerned.

I must now return for a few moments to the observations which I had begun upon the resolutions passed at repeal meetings in Ireland.

Tithes come next. Against that grievance I find the following resolution, and one will serve as a sample of the rest, passed at a great repeal meeting, held on College Hill, in the county of Tippe-

rary, early in October last :—“ Resolved—That neither peace nor quietness can exist in Ireland as long as a vestige of that unhallowed impost, the tithe rent charge, exists in this country ; and that the appropriation of the ecclesiastical state revenues for the support of a Church establishment, composed, as it is, of only one-tenth of the population of Catholic Ireland, is unjust in principle, and insulting to the great mass of the Catholic population of this country ; and such ecclesiastical revenues ought to be applied to the extension of education, and the sustentation of the sick and hurt poor.”

Upon this same subject I find Mr. O’Connell thus expressing himself in his address to the people of Ireland, dated the 19th of May :—

“ Men of Ireland !—I arraign before you the tories upon these several criminal indictments.

“ Firstly—It was the tories who originally imposed upon your country the support of an alien Church—the Church of the minority ; giving to that Church those temporalities which, in point of right and justice, the statute law should allot to the use of *all* the people.

“ Secondly—It was the tories who sustained and have kept in the hands of that Church, by the oppression and by many a sanguinary massacre of the people, the blood-stained tithes, the ensanguined tithe composition, and *now* the more emaciating and vexatious tithe rent-charge.

“Thirdly—It was the tories who, as long I remember, continued in full force the penal laws against the Catholics; and who, having been discomfited and defeated by the quiet and majestic patriotism of the people of Ireland, now seek, in a delusive and swindling manner, to deprive us of the benefit of the emancipation bill.

“Fourthly—It is the same tories who, under the leadership of Lord Stanley, now seek by atrocious calumny to annihilate the franchise of the Irish people, and, as far as they are concerned, to repeal the reform bill.

“Fifthly—It is the same tories who have insulted the people of Ireland, and robbed them of their corporate rights, by an insufficient, a delusive, and a swindling corporate reform bill.

“Sixthly—It is the same tory faction that now seek to fill our counties with Orange magistrates, Orange and packed juries, and sheriffs, and to crowd the superior benches of justice with the most partizan, virulent, and bigoted judges.

“Seventhly—It is the same tory faction that foments and encourages contemptuous hatred of Ireland among the English people, and animates them by falsehood and calumny to entertain, in common with themselves, the most rancorous bigotry against the Catholic religion.

“Eighthly—The tories are Orange men under another name: they hate the people of Ireland, whom they desire to oppress—they vilify the reli-

gion of the people of Ireland, whom they would, in all practical ways, persecute.

“Ninthly—The tories support and most richly reward the public press that designates the brave, the generous, the moral, the temperate, and the loyal people of Ireland, as ‘murderous wretches,’ as ‘execrable villains,’ as ‘a filthy and felonious rabble!’”

Now, how the present modified, quiet, and peaceable tithe system should be *more emaciating and vexatious* than the *blood-stained* tithes of former days, is to me altogether incomprehensible; equally also am I at a loss to understand why *neither peace nor quietness* can exist in Ireland, as long as a vestige of that unhallowed impost remains. I know that Mr. O’Connell has ever been opposed in principle to the existence of tithes at all in Ireland under the present condition of that country; and so am I, as regards the interests of the great body of the people. But we are as far as the poles asunder in our opinions of their mischievous consequences in their present state, and of the *manner* in which we desire to see their extinction effected. When we remember the just indignation which the old tithe system excited in every unprejudiced mind; the extreme injustice, the inhuman barbarity which it too often inflicted upon the people; the atrocious crimes which it provoked, if it were rigidly enforced: the daily victims which it immolated, and its too well merited title of blood-

stained ; and recollect that these same tithes, as far as the *people* are immediately concerned, are altogether extinct,—blotted out from the statute book,—and that the remainder are permanently fixed as a rent-charge upon the landlord in an infinitely diminished ratio (say thirty per cent below their former value); we in England are altogether at a puzzle to comprehend, how they should be still considered in Ireland as *more emaciating and more vexatious*,—equally calculated to disturb the *peace and quiet* of the country, to war against the interests and to arouse the indignation of the people.

That the clergy of that people have a decidedly prior moral right to the Church property of Ireland, there can be no question ; and it was this conviction, coupled with the assertion of Mr. O'Connell, that the statute law *should* allot those temporalities of ALL the people, which misled me in supposing it to be the intention of the repealers to hand them over to their original destination,—into the keeping of the clergy for the use of all the people. The mistake, however, affected not the argument. The argument was that it might be a dangerous precedent, especially in Ireland, to take any species of property by force and violence, not only against the will of the present possessors, but against the will of those who now hold control over it : for to deny that the legislature has a right *de facto* over the Church property of the country

would be contradicted by the very act of their appeal to the legislature in their favour.* Only an extreme case can justify a departure from established usage and principle; the tithe rent charge does not, in my opinion, constitute that extreme case, and therefore public opinion, which is the only legitimate power acknowledged by the constitution under such circumstances, is the one to which we are restricted in the attainment of our desires; and surely public opinion is to be gained rather by a calm argumentative exposition of the facts, than by palpable misrepresentations and inconceivable exaggerations. The very objects for which the Church property is now demanded, disprove the *necessity* of its transfer. It is asked for education, and for the sick and maimed poor. Now the allowance for education may be readily increased from other sources,—they may have it by asking for it; while the sick and maimed are provided for under the poor law; and it appears to me a much more unreasonable proposition to demand it wholly for objects for which it was never but

* I never can separate in my mind the present system of agitation from one of unjustifiable violence, because it is an attempt to carry measures *against* the conviction of the great majority of those to whom the management of them is entrusted. For even the most just cause (extreme cases apart) carried by violence against those who ought to grant it by conviction, is generally attended with more harm than good.

very partially intended, than for its complete original destination. Besides, is it not folly to ask for that which we cannot have, and which may prevent us from obtaining that which we otherwise should ?

There are many great and good men of the present day,—however sanguine, and even visionary their expectations may appear to some,—who fondly look forward to other means of our re-entering into possession of the temporalities of the Church.

We reverence the Establishment, not for what she is, but for what she was : not as a stepmother who has disowned those whom she was bound to cherish, but because she was once the kind, the common parent of us all. We know that she long bore “ testimony of the light,” and we desire that all may again “ believe” through her. We reverence her for the hallowed memories which hang around her,—as a holy relic, through which the bounties of God have been most prodigally dispensed ; to which power may be again imparted, and whence virtue may again go forth. We reverence her as a sainted image before which our forefathers worshipped in spirit and in truth ; not as possessing any intrinsic merit in itself, but to be loved and venerated for that which it represents. We would fain hope that, like the widow’s son, she sleepeth, but is not dead ; we would fain believe her the very likeness even of her divine Founder

after his humiliation and death, awaiting the resurrection to which those who had witnessed his sufferings looked forward with such pious solicitude. We still behold her a splendid monument over the gloomy vacuum whence her own great spirit hath departed, but which shall be again filled with light and life, when she shall come once more to rekindle her lamp at the shrine of Peter.

Then again shall “the kings of the earth bring their glory and honour into it,” and she shall come forth as a temple worthy of the living God, in which art shall exhaust her treasures, and the pious votary shall exclaim with rapture, “O Lord, I have loved the beauty of thy house.” The Holy of Holies shall again visibly reside within her sanctuary, and men shall bow the head and bend the knee when they approach her altars. On those altars the victim of propitiation shall again be immolated; her ministers shall be clothed in their “robes of glory;” the incense shall wind its perfumed wreaths to her echoing roof, while the *GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO, ET IN TERRA PAX HOMINIBUS* shall resound within her joyful precincts, and she shall once more unite in blessed chorus with all the faithful upon earth, and with all the saints and angels in heaven. Thus invigorated, and thus arrayed, shall she go forth conquering and to conquer, to crush the head of the serpent and triumph on the hills of Sion.

Such is the revolution which we seek, and such are the destinies which we desire to see accomplished in her. We would despoil her of the error with which she is encompassed, and of the darkness that covers her, that she may again shine forth as “the light that enlighteneth.” We do not pray that she may die a material, as well as a moral death, but that she may be converted and live; be again a paraclete to the afflicted sinner and the troubled soul; and that thus the people of Ireland may regain possession of their long lost inheritance. However this may be; in the ways of God it is sometimes safer to rely upon the graces of heaven, than upon the machinations of men.

In venturing to offer a few observations upon the interference of the Irish clergy in politics, I know that if I do not lift a very rash hand, at least I am touching a very delicate and sensitive chord.

That under ordinary circumstances it is neither their province nor their duty so to interfere, I am enabled to show, by quoting the instructions of their own bishops, assembled in their annual synod in Dublin, in February 1830, signed by the whole hierarchy. They contain such excellent advice, delivered in such a truly Christian spirit, and are so applicable to the present moment, that it is important to bring them again to our recollections.

“ The Archbishops and Bishops, whose names are undersigned, to the Clergy and People of the Catholic Church in Ireland, health and benediction.

“ Beloved Brethren in Christ Jesus,

“ Being assembled in Dublin to deliberate, as our custom is, on our own duties, and the sacred interests confided to our care, we are urged by the charity of God, and the love we bear you, to address to you the following brief instruction.

“ And first we give thanks to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that not only you continue to be of one mind, labouring together in the faith of the Gospel, but also that this Gospel increases and fructifies amongst you, so that your improvement is manifest to all, whilst your faith is spoken of throughout the entire world. Be mindful, however, that ‘neither he that planteth is anything, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase.’—1 Cor. iii. 7. As also, that ‘he that shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved.’—Math. x. 22.

“ Indeed, beloved brethren, the present should be to us, and to you, an acceptable time; not only on account of your advancement in virtue, but also because our divine religion has, of late, been somewhat relieved, and your civil rights greatly extended. Since we last addressed you, a great and beneficent, and healing measure, has been enacted by the legislature for your relief.

“ Only last year, and this country was agitated from end to end, from its extremities to its very centre. The dominion of the passions prevailed over the dominion of the law --and men, born to love each other, contended to almost the shedding of each other's blood; the public interests were neglected or forgotten; the ties of kindred were broken; the power of government was weakened; the laws themselves were paralysed; and religion, which used to silence passion, and consolidate the public peace, was unable freely to discharge her functions. It was at this time that He, by whom kings reign, and legislators decree just things, arose,—and, as it were, said to the sea, be still,—and to the north wind, do not blow. Our gracious and beloved sovereign, walking in the footsteps of his royal father (whose memory be ever cherished), commiserated the state of Ireland, and resolved to confer upon her the inestimable blessing of religious peace. This great boon became the more acceptable to this country, because, among the councillors of his Majesty, there appeared conspicuous the most distinguished of Ireland's own sons; a hero and a legislator—a man selected by the Almighty to break the rod which had scourged Europe—a man raised up by Providence to confirm thrones—to re-establish altars—to direct the councils of England, at a crisis the most difficult, and to staunch the blood, and to heal the wounds

of the country which gave him birth. An enlightened and wise parliament perfected what the sovereign and his councillors commenced, and already the effects of their wisdom and justice are visible, and duly appreciated by all the wise and good. The storm which almost wrecked the country has subsided, whilst social order, with peace and justice in her train, prepares to establish her sway in this long distracted country.

“And is not the king, beloved brethren, whom, by the law of God, we are bound to honour, entitled to all the honour, and all the obedience, and all the gratitude, you can bestow? And do not his ministers merit from you a confidence commensurate with the labours and the zeal expended by them on your behalf? And that legislature, which raised you up from your prostrate condition, and gave to you, without reserve, all the privileges you desired—is not that legislature entitled to your reverence and love? We confide that your feelings on this subject are in unison with our own, and that a steady attachment to the constitution and laws of your country, as well as to the person and government of our most gracious sovereign, will be manifested in your entire conduct.

“Labour, therefore, in all things, to promote the end which the legislature contemplated in passing this bill for your relief, to wit, the pacification and improvement of Ireland. Let religious discord cease—let party feuds and civil dissensions be



no more heard of—let rash, and unjust, and illegal oaths, be not even named amongst you; and if sowers of discord or sedition should attempt to trouble your repose, seek for a safeguard against them in the protection afforded by the law.

“ Be sober and watch, so that no one may have evil to say of you; give way to anger rather than contend with an adversary, so that nothing on your part may be wanting to promote peace and good will among all classes and descriptions of the Irish people.

“ To our venerable brethren the Clergy, of whatsoever degree, we propose, with reference to what here follows, our own example; they will copy it in their lives, and adhere to it as a rule of conduct. We united our efforts with those of the laity, in seeking to attain their just rights, and to attain them without a compromise of the freedom of our Church. Success attended our united efforts, because reason, and justice, and religion, and the voice of mankind were upon our side. We rejoice at the result, regardless of those provisions in the great measure of relief which injuriously affect ourselves, and not only us, but those religious orders which the Church of God, even from the Apostolic times, has nurtured and cherished in her bosom. These provisions, however, which were, as we hope and believe, a sacrifice required, not by reason or policy, but by prejudices holding captive the minds of even honest men, did not prevent us from even

rejoicing at the good which was effected for our country. But we rejoiced at the result, not more on public grounds than we did, because we found ourselves discharged from a duty, which necessity alone had allied to our ministry—a duty imposed on us by a state of times which has passed, but a duty which we have gladly relinquished, in the fervent hope, that by us or by our successors it may not be resumed. These are the sentiments which the spirit of our calling inspires, they are the sentiments which never ceased to animate us, and which our Clergy, always obedient to our voice, will cherish along with us, that, as the Apostle commands, ‘all may say the same thing, and there be no divisions amongst us.’

“As to the rest, beloved Brethren, Clergy, and Laity, we charge you to be stedfast in the faith; preserve this faith unimpaired and unsullied, for it is ‘a best gift from above’ (James i, 17), and surpasses all whatsoever this earth or its rulers can bestow. Be not weakened by distress, or influenced by seduction. Guard from danger the children of your affection, whom our Father in heaven has confided to your care. Let no wild fanaticism, alike injurious to the Church and to the State, find access to your families, or be blended with the education of your children. Hope with us, that upon this subject of education our reiterated prayers, founded as they are upon justice and the public good, will be heard favourably by a govern-

ment and legislature, anxious only to promote the public interest and consolidate the public peace.

“ Beloved Brethren, farewell! And may the peace of God, which surpasseth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus. (Phil. iv, 7.)”

Given at Dublin, February 9th, 1830.

✠ PATRICK CURTIS, D.D.	✠ THOMAS KELLY, D.D.
✠ OLIVER KELLY, D.D.	✠ D. MURRAY, D.D.
✠ W. COPPINGER, D.D.	✠ ROBERT LAFFAN, D.D.
✠ CORN. EGAN, D.D.	✠ MICHAEL COLLINS, D.D.
✠ P. M'LAUGHLIN, D.D.	✠ WM. KINSELLA, D.D.
✠ JOHN MURPHY, D.D.	✠ WM. HIGGINS, D.D.
✠ JOHN RYAN, D.D.	✠ EDMOND FRENCH, D.D.
✠ PATK. M'MAHON, D.D.	✠ JAMES BROWN, D.D.
✠ PATK. M'GETTIGAN, D.D.	✠ ROBERT LOGAN, D.D.
✠ JAMES KEATING, D.D.	✠ EDWARD KERNAN, D.D.
✠ JAMES DOYLE, D.D.	✠ JOHN M'HALE, D.D.*
✠ WILLIAM CROLLY, D.D.	✠ THOMAS COSTELLO, D.D.
✠ THOMAS COEN, D.D.	✠ P. M'NICHOLAS, D.D.
	N. FORAN, D.D.V.C.

These instructions were evidently intended to be permanently respected, and in 1834 were still farther strengthened by the following resolutions, adopted by another general convocation of the archbishops and bishops, and which was published in the *Ordo Divini Officii* for the year 1835 :—

“ Resolved that our chapels are not to be used in future for the purpose of holding therein any

* Archbishop M'Hale now disowns his signature.

public meeting, except in cases connected with charity or religion ; and that we do hereby pledge ourselves to carry this resolution into effect in our respective dioceses.

“ Resolved, that while we do not intend to interfere with the civil rights of those intrusted to our care, yet, as guardians of religion, justly apprehending that its general interests, as well as the honour of the priesthood, would be compromised by a deviation from the line of conduct which we marked out for ourselves, and impressed upon the minds of our clergy, in the pastoral address of the year 1830, we do hereby pledge ourselves, on our return to our respective dioceses, to remind our clergy of the instructions we then addressed to them, and to recommend to them most earnestly to avoid, in future, any allusions at their altars to political subjects, and carefully to refrain from connecting themselves with political clubs, acting as chairmen or secretaries at political meetings, or moving or seconding resolutions on such occasions ; in order that we exhibit ourselves in all things in the character of our sacred calling, as ministers of Christ, and dispensers of the mysteries of God.”

I find, however, no evidence of any direct interference on the part of the superior clergy since that period, and cannot otherwise account for their silence than by presuming that, finding their remonstrances ineffectual, they had not the means

of pressing the matter farther. No canonical offence, I imagine, was committed in disregarding them, and the power of the bishop was therefore at once arrested. For we can hardly fancy that the bishops who, in 1834,—when neither the tithe composition act, nor the municipal reform was yet completed,—justly apprehended that the general interests of religion, as well as the honour of the priesthood, would be compromised, by the conduct which they then so unequivocally condemned, should have changed their opinion since, and have seen a justification in any subsequent alteration of circumstances, for a violation of their own injunctions.

This, however, leads us to consider whether,—in *their* estimation at least,—a sufficient provocation might not have arisen from Lord Stanley's registration bill, for the activity which has of late years been displayed by the clergy in aiding and abetting the political meetings of the people; whether the times which had passed were not restored; and whether the gradual extinction of the liberties of Ireland, and the consequent return of oppression and persecution of their religion, were not again presented to the quick, penetrating, and suspicious mind of the Irish nation, as within the range of possibilities. If such, then, were the impressions made upon the people by the powerful and highly charged appeals of Mr. O'Connell, and the active exertions of the Repeal Association, one cannot be surprised at the degree of anxious ex-

citement which the most distant prospect of the recurrence of those visitations from which they had but so lately escaped, should awaken within them. They were sure to revive in full all the bitterness of their past sorrows; those sorrows which they had generally borne with a most exemplary patience, and which they knew to be unequalled in the history of the world. Then, indeed, was it easy to persuade them that repeal was "the only permanent and rational mode of procuring freedom and prosperity for Ireland." Under these circumstances, and in the absence of the gentry, who are either adverse to repeal, or too thinly scattered, or too disadvantageously circumstanced to take the lead in their proceedings,—the clergy might conceive it a matter of prudence to guide and counsel them in their excitement. If this be acknowledged as a justification of their interference, *they* must also recollect that when they do step forward on the theatre of politics, we have then a right to consider them equally subject to the scrutiny and animadversion of the public, as any other public characters: and it is in this quality alone that I presume now to advert to their conduct.

Putting the wise instructions, and the earnest recommendations of their bishops out of sight, we will suppose them to be under no other control than their own discretion. They had then, of course, a right to the free exercise of their own opinions, and supposing them to be wrong, the

only blame that we can attach to them is an error of judgment. That their interference was ill calculated for its object, I have no doubt, providing that object were the defeating of Lord Stanley's bill. It was impossible that it could answer its ends, for it could not but increase the virulence of the party opposed to Ireland, and tend to alienate many who were otherwise well affected towards her. It was but arming the promoters of that bill, by illustrating the justness of their reasoning, and proving how dependent the people were upon their political leaders. But was there no excitement previous to Lord Stanley's bill? Was not the repeal association already formed? Might not that bill be considered nearly as much a consequence of agitation, as an occasion for it? No one laments and condemns that bill more than I do; it was too just a cause for alarm not to create a great additional excitement. It re-opened all the wounds which were in the process of healing, and detracted, at least in the eyes of the people, all the merit from all the former graces which parliament had conferred upon them. It was a most "untoward event," and so stringent in its nature that there are those who think it very doubtful whether Lord Stanley was himself aware of the extent of the inroads it might make upon the franchise. But had the privilege of the franchise been used in Ireland without compulsion from either party; had property been permitted to

exercise its natural influence, we certainly had never heard of that measure. Though after the settlement of the tithe question, the sea of agitation had subsided, still ever and anon there came fitful gusts over the waters,—such as the Precursor Society,—just sufficient to remind an attentive spectator that the elements were only hushed for a time into a sort of convulsive repose, from which they might be roused at any instant, and burst forth again with all their former violence. It was, therefore not to be wondered at, that those who looked with an evil eye upon such things, should have been busy to discover a means of preventing the expected mischief. The expedient fixed upon, was most unfortunate. The granting a full measure of municipal reform would have been a much more likely remedy. But this also was refused as a part of the same scheme,—the destruction or prevention of an influence which alone obstructed their own return to government. Under ordinary circumstances, a full measure of municipal reform could never have been refused to Ireland; but *now*, it was only contemplated through its relationship to the comparative strength of the two great contending parties. It had no chance of a fair hearing. The only question was, as I have already observed,—will it or will it not increase the few obstacles we have yet to surmount in our advance towards power? The whole history of politics for the last six years may be considered as but a continued

exemplification of the evils of agitation ; for what was it that produced the slow but steady reaction throughout the country, except the alarming violence of the movement party both in England and in Ireland ? Be it however well understood that I attach infinitely greater blame to those who first provoked that violence by too obstinate a denial of justice, than to those who accepted the provocation.

It has been asserted upon authority that Mr. O'Connell predicted, not indeed the fate of Lord Stanley's Bill, but the conduct of the House of Commons in its regard. "I know," he is reported to have said, "the materials of which the British House of Commons is composed ; I know that Stanley will have a majority in that house for his bill, because his bill is injurious to the liberties of Ireland ; and, if his bill were worse, Stanley would have a greater majority to support it." Such was Mr. O'Connell's opinion of the House of Commons in 1840,—a house which during a few successive previous years (whether in one parliament or another it matters not), had passed bill after bill with a full instalment of justice for Ireland ; which had annihilated ten Protestant bishoprics and a hundred parishes at one sweep ; which, under his dictation, had defended the appropriation clause with a fatal pertinacity,—for it had only the effect of prolonging a blood-stained contest for tithes, the pressure of which, that house wholly and entirely removed from the poorer classes, and lightened

upon the richer,—that house, which, session after session offered her a complete measure of municipal reform ; which forced upon her a poor law in opposition to many of her own members, for the relief of her destitute population, and to teach the landowners that “ property has its duties as well as its rights ;” which had broken down the monopoly of education, and opened its treasures to the attainment of all ; which had given her a jury bill to put an end to that scandalous system of “ jobbing” which had so long oppressed the people ; which had passed statute after statute for the improvement of the public administration of justice throughout the country ; which,—besides large sums to local improvements,—had voted half a million a year for the board of works, and two millions and a half for a railroad ;* which in fine, a few years back would have refused nothing to Ireland that she could in reason ask or expect !—

* Though this beneficent intention was not carried into execution for want of funds, surely the Government never could have resisted the application of the Irish members, had it been urged with vigour, to guarantee its accomplishment by others, under similar encouragements given by France to English capitalists for a similar purpose. Would not then the two millions of British capital which has travelled across the channel to construct a railroad from Havre to Paris, where we shall derive little benefit from it, have been transported to Ireland, to carry one across that country,—an immense boon for her unemployed poor, and for the general interests of the empire ?

yet this is the house which Mr. O'Connell suspected of enmity to Ireland, and which, in fact, did actually give, though by small majorities, four approving votes to the Registration Bill! Is not this judgment upon the house, also the strongest judgment upon agitation? For how could such a revolution be brought about in so short a space,—that from so generous a benefactor, it should become a foe; so even as to conspire against those very liberties which it had so lately given? How could all this be, without some strong exciting cause to produce it? and what was that cause but agitation?

If Ireland had gained by agitation on the one hand, she has certainly lost by it on the other. It is a remedy which may easily be indulged to excess,—which, if persevered in unnecessarily, will ultimately undermine the constitution of the patient, and disappoint the expectations of him who prescribes it. It is high time to change the system, and to try some safer and more efficient treatment.

It certainly was a great misfortune,—it can hardly be called a want of foresight,—that the government did not propose a measure of their own, at a much earlier period, as a remedy for the well known evils of the present registration in Ireland. Lord Morpeth's bill a few years previously, would have been gladly accepted by a large majority.

Evident, however, as was the reaction against Ireland, I conceive it would be very unfair to consider Lord Stanley's bill as a just indication of the real sentiments and feelings of the greater part of those who supported it. It was not the bill of the party now in power; *they* only supported it conditionally, and have already formally disclaimed and abandoned it. Ought not then those who made it the chief ground of their hostility, to abandon that hostility also? Common justice seems to require this.

It may be difficult to unravel the wiles and tactics of a hot, close, party warfare,—one which grew hotter and closer every day; which, in the nature of things, gained in acrimony as it advanced to a crisis,—and which, if successful, was to crown with triumph one of the longest, most patient, persevering, and arduous struggles in the political history of the country; and he who would measure events, and estimate feelings and principles by detached and isolated incidents in that history, would most probably be mistaken. The Registration Bill was too good an opportunity to be lost in the narrow field of contention, to which the two parties were reduced. It gave the invading force a strong 'vantage ground for a series of skirmishes, success in any one of which might lead to the complete overthrow of their antagonists: it imparted fresh courage to their ranks, drove the enemy more and more within his intrenchments,

and did, at length, compel him to surrender, under a combined and general assault, upon no other terms than the promised "moderation" of the victors.

However Lord Stanley's bill might justify agitation, supposing that agitation had been a means available to its end,—and however, till it was disclaimed by Sir Robert Peel, it might justify mistrust of that party which had taken advantage of Lord Stanley's great abilities, and great powers of doing mischief to those to whom he was opposed; yet, when I put forth the sentiments which have brought down so many reproaches on my head, Lord Stanley's bill had been withdrawn—the no-confidence vote had passed—Parliament had been dissolved—the new elections had taken place—the relative strength of parties was apparent—Sir Robert Peel's watchword of "moderation" had been emphatically proclaimed—the government papers had echoed the sentiment—the joy of triumph seemed to have infused new feelings into the whole party, which was quite strong enough to stand without leaning for support on the small, violent section, which had all along encumbered *it*, but for which, it was clear, that party had as little sympathy, as the whigs had for the radicals and repealers; all things, in fine, conspired to render it evident to any who were willing to judge fairly of the signs of the times, that a new era was at hand. It was under these circumstances that I

could see no longer any excuse, even in the irritation so justly caused by Lord Stanley's bill, for the continuance of the agitation which that ill-favoured measure had called forth.

This disclaimer of Sir Robert Peel, came with double force, when we connected it with his solemn and deliberate declarations in his celebrated speech on the "want of confidence" motion in 1839, when he voluntarily and unhesitatingly avowed his determination, should he ever return to office, of standing by "the fair and honest execution" of the Catholic Relief Bill. On the same occasion, and in language as strong as words could possibly make it, and in a manner as emphatical as any public man ever yet laid down and expressed a public principle for the guidance of his future conduct, did he repudiate the idea of his being fettered and over-ruled by the extravagant pretensions of men, who might give him their support only upon their own terms, and on condition of controlling him in the free exercise of this his avowed declaration.*

* "But even if the avowal," said he, "of my opinions, and the declaration of the principles on which I would act with respect to the poor law, with respect to the relief bill, and with respect to their fair and honest execution; if these should lead to the painful results of a diminution of confidence in my friends and supporters, then I frankly declare to you, that however painful that would be, I should prefer it to the purchasing the continuance of that

It was also fair to calculate—and the calculation was much strengthened by a review of the conduct of Sir R. Peel on the passing of this same Catholic Relief bill,—that they who survive a long political struggle, may come out of it very different from what they were when they went in. They may have lost in prejudice, and may have gained in experience.

support by withholding my opinions, or by my acquiescence in doctrines which I really repudiate (cheers). I do not believe that the opinions I profess are incapable of execution; but this I frankly say, and you may depend upon it, though I cannot answer your question as to the principles on which her Majesty's government can be conducted by me—this I can answer, that if it be conducted on other principles than those which I avow, then I shall be no party to it (hear). I have no such satisfaction in office that I can consent to the retention of office upon the condition of being the instrument in carrying into effect other men's opinions (cheers). My ambition is of another order. For any private object I want not office. I want not any distinctions that can follow office. I am contented with the power that I now exercise—I am contented with the confidence that I now enjoy (cheers); and I never will consent to hold office on any terms dishonourable, to or inconsistent with myself, or inconsistent with the constitutional functions of a minister; and I never will consent to hold office if my opinions on political affairs be overruled, or if my supporters only support me on the condition of my adopting theirs (cheers). Whether these opinions are capable of being reduced to practice, I know not. I am not aware whether it is possible to procure such support as to be able to reduce them to practice: but they are those on which I mean to act in and out of office.”—*Dublin Review*, xvii. p. 263.

He who learns neither wisdom nor virtue in his passage through the world, is unworthy of the task of guiding others through difficulties and through dangers ; and I will not believe that our present rulers are so blind as not to see what has been passing around them, or so senseless as not to profit by it. I will not believe that any statesman, who has been in the habit of fixing his attention upon the great and varied scenes of European politics for the last thirty years,—whose mind is sufficiently enlarged to comprehend the advantages of good government, and to estimate the dangers of bad,—and who is duly impressed with the immense importance of the station to which Providence has raised him,—I will not believe that he will be found wanting in the noble charge now entrusted to him, of regenerating a whole people, of annihilating those party feuds, and of enlarging those narrow views, by which our legislation has been so fatally distinguished for so many years ; which cripple the power of the country ; undermine her resources ; leave her a prey to internal divisions ; abandon such large sections of her population to poverty and vice, and to the sport of cunning and malignant men ; which expose her as a paradox before the moralist and the philosopher,—puzzling the moralist to discover under what influences peace and virtue may prosper,—and tempting the philosopher to consider whether the most rational

degree of liberty has any advantage over despotism, and whether the one or the other is capable of conferring any real blessings upon mankind. If Sir Robert Peel will but survey the scene before him, from those heights of power from which he now commands, and will rise superior to all those jarring and petty interests which may still endeavour to weigh him down and fix him within the confined sphere to which he, and those who have gone before him, have been so long condemned, his name will be for ever associated with the noblest achievements of a statesman, and he will not only enjoy the envied gratification of healing a suffering people, but of leaving, under the auspices of a generous and benignant sovereign, a happy, prosperous, and united empire, as a blessed and invaluable legacy to his successors.

Now let us return for an instant to the proclamation of the 19th of May.

To the first indictment, that it was the tories who *originally* imposed upon Ireland the support of an alien Church, I think they might fairly plead not guilty, if it were only on the plea of injustice to the memory [of Henry the Eighth, Elizabeth, and her mild and tolerant successors, as no small movers in that work, and as no way applicable to the present times.

Against the second, the same defence might be set up, with a challenge to prove how the present tithe rent-charge is *more* emaciating and vexatious

than the old system, which was really one of intolerable oppression and injustice.*

* Surely Mr. O'Connell knows—no man better—that the very same statutes which had been enacted in England, for forcing Henry's supremacy and the dissolution of monasteries, were passed in Ireland, and passed by her own parliament, which proved just as servile, and just as greedy for the participation in the booty as that on the other side of the channel. The work steadily proceeded under Edward the Sixth, though with much less rapidity than in England, owing to the greater attachment both of the people and the clergy to their religion, and the greater difficulties of enforcing the law. "At the time of Edward's death," says Brennan, "the state of Catholicity in Ireland was deplorable. Under Elizabeth, the Irish Parliament, such as it was, passed the same persecuting laws that had been enacted in England, and effected the same legal and forcible establishment of the Church, allowing for the different condition of the two countries. Under William the Third, though the articles of the treaty of Limerick had received the sanction of the great seal, some of the more violent *whigs* pronounced them dishonourable to the arms of William, and unjust to his friends and supporters; and in 1691, before he had convened an Irish parliament, the English *whig* administration excluded, by an English act, the Catholics from all offices and emoluments, and from a seat in either House of Parliament;—enactments which the Irish *whigs* were too eager and happy to receive." "The Irish whigs of that day," says Plowden, "were the relics of the Oliverian party, avowing no other principle than that of retaining monopoly of power in the few over the bulk of the nation, and acting thereon with an arbitrary severity, which rivetted the physical power of the kingdom in resistless thralldom." — *Plowden's History*. The establishment throughout had remained as much in the hands of the

The third and fourth fall to the ground, by the disclaimer of Lord Stanley's bill. The fifth cer-

Protestants as it had been at the death of Charles the Second; and the Protestant bishops, and not the Catholic, sat in the parliament of James the Second. In 1695, a whole string of persecuting laws was again passed against the Irish Catholics, by the men who had triumphed in the cause of civil and religious liberty; and on the 1st^o of May 1698, all bishops, vicars-general, and friars, were banished the kingdom, to the number of about 500! Upon what ground, then, is it that the *people* of Ireland are informed that *it was the* TORIES *who* ORIGINALLY *imposed upon their country the support of an alien church?* Heaven knows they have sinned enough without making them blacker than they are. But I suppose Mr. O'Connell will say of all this tirade against the tories, "that truth warrants *most* of it, and our little *astutia-politica* warrants the rest."—(See *Note to O'Connor's History of the Irish Catholics*, p. 118.)

"The preamble of the 7th of William, ch. 21, breathed the most rank malignity against the Catholics; it set forth that the Papists countenanced the robberies and outrages of the tories and rapparees: and as these depredators were of the lowest class, and consequently Catholics, it enacted that the Papists in each barony and county should make reparation for all damages committed by Papist tories, and rapparees: but, by way of mockery, a clause was added, that if the depredators should happen to be Protestants, the Protestant inhabitants alone should be liable to the reparations. The lords concurred with the commons in those several measures, and by a vote excluded the Catholic peers from their house, and all privilege of parliament. The Irish council, consisting chiefly of whigs, the descendants of the regicide followers of Cromwell, took advantage of the king's absence, to convert his recommendations of favour into instruments of ruin. They prepared a bill purporting to

tainly stands its ground, though, it is some consolation to think,—if Dublin and Cork and Lime-

confirm the articles of Limerick, but which was in fact a gross violation of these articles. The council calculated probably that the omissions in the bill, if even laid before the king, would escape the notice of his majesty, then engaged in continental politics; and that the title would conceal the iniquity of its provisions.”—*O'Connor's History of the Irish Catholics.*

As the following appears sufficiently apt for the occasion, I shall also quote it:—“Tumultuous petitioning was one of the chief artifices by which the malcontents in the last reign (Charles I) had attacked the Crown: and though the manner of subscribing and delivering petitions was now somewhat regulated by act of parliament, the thing itself still remained, and was an admirable expedient for infesting the court, for spreading discontent, and for uniting the nation in any popular clamour. As the king found no law by which he could punish those importunate, and, as he deemed them, undutiful solicitations, he was obliged to encounter them by popular applications of a contrary tendency. Wherever the church and court party prevailed, addresses were framed, containing expressions of the highest regard for his majesty, the most entire acquiescence in his wisdom, the most dutiful submission to his prerogative, and the deepest *abhorrence* of those who endeavoured to encroach upon it, by prescribing to him any time for assembling the parliament. Thus the nation came to be distinguished into *petitioners* and *abhorrrers*. Factions indeed were at this time extremely animated against each other. The very names by each party denominated its antagonist, discover the virulence and rancour which prevailed. For besides petitioner and abhorrrer, appellations which were soon forgotten, this year is remarkable for being the epoch of the well-known epithets of WHIG and TORY, by which, and sometimes without any material difference, this island has been so long divided.

rick are to be taken as fair specimens of the workings of the new system,—that that system does not turn out so bad, as was anticipated by those who so justly insisted upon a larger measure.

The court party reproached their antagonists with their affinity to the fanatical conventiclers in Scotland, who were known by the name of whigs: the country party found a resemblance between the courtiers and the Popish banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of tory was affixed. And after this manner these foolish terms of reproach came into public and general use; and even at present seem not nearer their end than when they were first invented.”—*Hume's History of England*.

“ The leaders of the English whigs had used the cause of Irish Protestantism as a popular watchword in their war against the Stuarts; and they could not now venture directly to contradict their former assertions, by acknowledging them to be oppressors, and thus vindicating the resistance of the Catholics.” “ During the reign of Anne, England attained to greater prosperity and influence than she had acquired since the reign of Cromwell; but Ireland, by the ferocious acts of her own legislature, was reduced to a state of wretchedness almost unexampled in the annals of tyranny and suffering. The whig ministry of England was now caught by its own devices. They had excited and maintained a popular clamour against Popery for several years, in order to strengthen their influence; and now, it was to be feared, that, if they acted justly, they would themselves be driven from their posts as friends of Papists. They knew, however, that the Irish parliament was composed chiefly of dissenters, and therefore inserted the clause imposing the sacramental test, hoping that this would cause the rejection of the entire measure. But the English ministers had formed too high an estimate of the consciences of the Irish faction. They sanctioned the clause almost without

The seventh, eighth, and ninth, are fully disposed of by the altered tone of the journals which support the new administration, by the express disclaimer of Sir Robert Peel, and of the Irish executive, unless indeed the violent language of the Corn Exchange, and the vituperations of the repeal press, shall recall the evil in all its atrocity.

I have just glanced at these several articles of

debate. The factions that divided the English parliament through the entire reign of queen Anne, extended their influence to Ireland; and the parties of whig and tory, high Church and low Church, assailed each other with unmeasured violence. They agreed only on one point,—the necessity of persecuting the Papists. The clergymen of the established Church, and the majority of the Lords, were tories; the whigs were superior in the Lower House. The accession of George I gave the whigs ascendancy in Ireland, but produced little or no change in the general circumstances of the nation.” —*History of the Civil Wars in Ireland*, by W. C. Taylor.

What just purpose, then, can it answer, to insist upon continuing the use of terms of odious import, when the principles to which they applied are no longer professed,—and they are not only not professed, but absolutely repudiated. “This bill” (the Catholic relief bill), said Sir R. Peel, “will restore equality of civil rights.” Many equally strong professions upon his part of maintaining the principles of the Reform bill, might be cited in proof of adherence to the more liberal system of the present day. When then the principles which those terms were wont to designate are no longer in existence; and even if they werê, when the power to give them effect has altogether vanished, can it answer any other object than to perpetuate discord and animosity, to persist in asserting that they remain as violent as ever?

impeachment, for the purpose of arriving at the one which justice obliges me to say, bears upon its front a strong semblance of truth. The law appointments are certainly, for the greater part, most unfortunate. This is the more to be lamented, as there are no people in the world more avaricious of justice than the Irish, because none have suffered so much from a long and fatal experience of injustice.* Our regret is infinitely heightened by the apprehension lest those salutary influences which had been extended over the whole length and breadth of the land, with such a singularly happy effect, by the impartial but vigorous administration of justice under Lord Normanby, should be weakened, if not extinguished. For no system of judicial administration can be perfect, in which those who come before the tribunals of the country, whether it be as offenders against the laws, or as suitors for redress against offences committed upon themselves, shall not *feel* that “right and reason are done them.”†

* “No nation,” says Sir John Davis, attorney-general to king James, “love equal and impartial justice more than the Irish.” Lord Coke gives the same character of them, and adds, “which virtue must necessarily be accompanied by many others.”

† When the parliament of Richard the Second required that “all those employed in the administration of the laws should be sworn before them to the due discharge of their duties,” the object was, as they expressed it, “so that every person thenceforth should *feel* that right and reason was done him.”—*Rob. P.* 1, *Ric. II.* 14.

“It is wonderful,” says an excellent article on this subject, in the *Dublin Review* for July 1836, entitled *Pacata Hibernia*, how great a change may be wrought in the frame and temper of society, and what important effects may be produced upon its general peace and security, by the honesty of rulers. The criminal law of Ireland has not undergone any change,—the same terrors surround, the same sanctions confirm it. The machinery by which its operations are conducted and its penalties put in force, is unaltered: the judges are the same, the jurors and official prosecutors nearly so; the magistrates and police are the very persons who were active instruments in maintaining a system, in which obstinate prejudice passed for integrity, and cruelty for wisdom. But the controlling spirit is changed, and under its chastening influence, behold all things are become new. The spirit of British law walks abroad in pure and genial splendour, grave but not severe—stern but not unfeeling; and the same words, the same sentences, which heretofore called forth expressions of rage from the lips, and left ashes of bitterness in the hearts, of the bystanders, are received with patient and acquiescent deference, because they are felt and acknowledged as the faithful wounds of a friend.

“Hence the recent decisions of the tribunals have had a moral effect, which they never before were known to produce in this country. The

common people are now persuaded of two facts very useful to be practically known amongst them; namely, that the law is too strong to be resisted with impunity; and that its protection, as far as it can yet be made to extend, is afforded equally and alike to all who need it. It is a new thing in Ireland to hear the country people, on their return home from the assizes, acknowledging that every man has had justice—fair play for his life, and a fair trial for his liberty.”

This indeed is a state of things which it is most unwise to put in jeopardy. But we must hope for the best. As the people love justice for themselves and equally admire it in others, let them extend it to the new government, and condemn not till they are proved guilty of the treachery of which they are accused. The government may strike the key, as did Lord Normanby, and the note will run through every ramification of the machinery of justice, and its harmony may still be true.

Let us see an instance in which impartial justice shall not be done, in which we have *an orange-packed jury, an oppressive tyrannical magistrate, a fiery partizan for assistant barrister in the county courts, and malignant enemies to Ireland exercising their bigoted sway upon the bench,*—let us see this, and I will abandon all hope of an equitable government for Ireland under a conservative administration. But till this be *done*, till we see their words belied by their actions, I

will rather confide in their professions, than distrust their sincerity; because those professions are supported by reason, policy, and common sense, and are in keeping with the more benign and enlightened spirit of the age. Men are the creatures of circumstances; and why should we select any individuals, or even any class of individuals, as alone insensible to their influences? Should we not rather trust to what we see around us, and rely upon the truth and efficacy of that axiom of one of the most gifted men that ever lived, *tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis!* If we are deceived, we are deceived on the right side, and we put them upon the wrong. It is well to assume an attitude of defence, but is it just or wise to enter into a compact of uncompromising hostility? If the evil is to come we cannot arrest it by provoking it. Is it not better to reserve to ourselves the satisfaction of knowing, that no folly and injustice of ours have merited the treatment we predict, while every future attempt to arrest the scourge, should it fall upon us, would derive both strength and dignity from our past forbearance.

But if the leaders of the association continue to instil mistrust into the minds of the people,—nay, if they impress them with a settled conviction that justice will never reach them, let the administrators of the law be ever so impartial, they will not believe it; they will persuade themselves against their very senses. It is poisoning the source of justice

at once, and driving the people beyond its precincts. All this is the more to be lamented, both the appointments themselves, and the triumph they have given the repealers in the *apparent* verification of their predictions,—for circumstanced as they are now, the people are altogether inaccessible to argument, are placed beyond the reach of controversy. Every case is presented to them only through the testimony of Mr. O'Connell, the declamations of the Corn Exchange, and the resolutions of their public meetings; upon these, and upon these only, is their verdict given. These are their political class-books; these their principles of political economy; these their charter. Every event is ready traced and coloured before it comes to them; they must take it on trust,—they cannot discern it by their own judgment. The same process goes on with those who guide them in subordinate situations: these in their turn give additional truth, perhaps additional colouring to the picture, and a deeper weight to the mandates of the association, of which they are themselves members, one and all professing the most unbounded confidence in, and all but unlimited obedience to, the leadership of Mr. O'Connell. The people indeed are made to play a most important part, but without any true knowledge of the character in which they perform. Had they the opportunity of judging for themselves, their shrewd powers of discrimination would undoubtedly bring them to a juster appreciation of

the real wants of Ireland. But now a noble quarry is selected for their aim; to that is their attention riveted, while they are hood-winked to all things else. The unfeigned interest, however, which they take in these matters will be fully understood, when we reflect upon the amount of real suffering amongst them, the splendid prospects of relief which are held out, their surprising quickness and intelligence, which enable every one to take in what he hears, and their long habits of political excitement and combination.*

If the clergy consider it their duty to lead the

* Upon one occasion, in the fulfilment of his mission, Father Mathew thus addressed the people:—"The scene which they were then witnessing before them was one which would be attended with the greatest blessings to their common country. The history of Ireland in times past was the blackest on the book of time; but henceforward it would be equally remarkable for peace, prosperity, and the total disappearance of religious differences. Teetotalism and charity would heal the wounds which were inflicted by political and religious dissension and bigotry. All creeds and classes will live together in unity and harmony, and, in a word, as Christians should live. The Divine Redeemer has said,—'By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, that you love one another.' The word charity is misapplied when it is referred merely to alms deeds, which are, in fact, but the effect of charity." No wonder that the Almighty has blest the labours of a man gifted with such sentiments as these,—sentiments well deserving the attention of all, of whatever rank, condition, or profession they may be, who are so wonderfully keen in

people in their politics, at least they ought to be cautious and circumspect in the manner of fulfilling that duty : it is not to be done with the fiery zeal of the puritan, but with the meekness and charity of an apostle,—truth and justice should be their motto,—truth and justice not only towards themselves, but even towards their enemies. Above all, should they abstain from any alliance with bad, or even suspicious principles. A principle may be very honest in those who hold it, but yet very mischievous in its own properties. The duty of a politician is to instruct himself before he advises others ; and politics in these days are so mixed up with a multitude of circumstances and interests, and often so dependent upon nice and subtle questions, so complicated in their nature, and so varied in their relations, that the most experienced move with uncertainty and mistrust, and are sometimes deceived, even when they are the most confident. He whose time belongs to other and higher duties, and yet feels himself called upon to meddle in matters foreign to his avocations, and of which he must necessarily have but an imperfect knowledge, because he wants both the leisure and the opportunity of supplying his deficiencies, is driven

diving into the reins and hearts of others, and discovering all the malice, hypocrisy, and selfishness, by which they fancy them to be actuated.

See a short notice in the Appendix on the progress of the Temperance movement.

to the alternative of pinning his faith upon the opinions of others, and trusting to the guidance of those on whom he has the most reliance. In Ireland, the whole confidence of the people is reposed in one man; and I am not surprised at it, inasmuch as that man has done more for them than any other,—as much perhaps as any one man has yet done for any country. Still that individual is not infallible; he conscientiously thought that he advocated the cause of liberty and religion when he lent his powers to aid the movement party in Spain. But what says he now? That he, who is the upshot of the revolution which Mr. O'Connell fostered and protected, is "a man who has combined all the villainy of a jacobin with the rigid and sanguinary cruelty of a tyrant!" Whether, in this particular, he says what is true or not, is little to the purpose, for the evils of Spain are manifest; but it proves Mr. O'Connell not to be infallible even in his own estimation. Many are of opinion that Espartero is the puppet of the Jacobin party, and is no longer a free agent. And many also believe that, had we not interfered, Don Carlos would have reigned in Spain; but he would not have ruled as a despotic monarch, his power would have been limited by the constitution, or the constitution would have overthrown him. I am quite willing to acknowledge the purity of the motives, which actuated both the late government and Mr. O'Connell in dealing with this question. They

saw, as *they* viewed it, liberty on the one hand and tyranny on the other, and they did not hesitate for which to declare. Forgetting that absolutism in Spain could not be tyranny; that as long as the municipal liberties remained, and they had never yet been violated by any sovereign, despotism could not press upon the people; they committed the usual fault of applying their principles irrespective of circumstances. They fancied that as liberty was well understood, and capable of maintaining itself erect and sound in England, it was the same in Spain; that they had the same materials, the same feelings to work upon, and therefore the same success to expect; whereas, liberty in Spain was evidently already verging towards licence, and rather required limitation than extension. They unwittingly pandered to the ambition of a weak but aspiring woman, whom the liberty they had nestled and hatched soon drove from the position in which they had placed her, to give way to a wily and powerful adventurer. The head of the storm had all along been visible in the horizon, but it was unheeded; it advanced, however, and by degrees its ravages were felt, till at length, the deluge, which it required no prophet to predict, came rolling on with redoubled force. It has swept away the best institutions of the country, while the balance of power, the basis of their ancient constitution, in this age of renovation remains unrestored;*

* “ Thus the imprudent zeal with which the Castilian

the rights of property have been invaded ; the patrimony of the Church and of the poor has dis-

nobles had supported the regal prerogative, in opposition to the claims of the Commons during the commotions in the year 1521, proved at last fatal to their own body. By enabling Charles to depress one of the orders in the state, they destroyed that balance to which the constitution owed its security, and put it in his power, or in that of his successors, to humble the other, and to strip it gradually of its most valuable privileges."—*Robertson's History of the Reign of Charles V.*

On a motion for returns made by Lord Mahon, June 24th, 1835, at the commencement of his speech, Mr. O'Connell said,—“ Our interference in the affairs of Spain has been objected to, but I am sorry it has not been carried much farther. I wish that it had extended so far as to effect a restoration of their privileges to the Biscayans and the people of Navarre, for I am sure that such an act would have done more for the cause of constitutional liberty in Spain, than almost any military aid can achieve without it. . . . I must protest against Don Carlos being called ‘ king of Spain ’ by any member of this house. We have recognised the right of the queen of Spain. . . . Don Carlos has as little title to the character of king of Spain, as he has chance of gaining the throne, *now that the arm of British valour is let loose against him.* Interference has been objected to ; but I contend that we are justified in interfering *on the side of constitutional liberty.* It is in the interest of every free state to support the *cause of freedom.* Let it be remembered that the Holy Alliance though asleep is not dead ; and its members will take every opportunity that presents itself of touching on civil liberty. . . . The honourable member for Dover complains of the introduction of foreign troops into Spain. He would not do so if he were a whig, for he would not in that case have banished from his memory the fact that

appeared ; the executive is no longer a guarantee for order, but is constrained to yield to the caprices

our glorious revolution, in 1688, was greatly aided by the introduction of whole battalions of Dutch troops." In the subsequent year, 26th of February, speaking on the affairs of Spain, Mr. O'Connell said,—“ The cause of Don Carlos is that of absolutism, and that of Christina is the cause of *constitutional liberty*. There is something unnatural, too, in the alliance that has been formed in support of the cause of Don Carlos. That prince is so much of a Catholic, that he has arrived at the stage which those who regard Catholicity as superstition, call ‘ Popery.’ And yet, notwithstanding this, the most violent ‘ No Popery ’ men in this country have rallied round his cause. By this conduct they show, at all events, that their opposition is not to the abstract principle of Popery, but to Popery when allied to liberal institutions.”

As even the most insignificant details are now interesting in Spanish affairs, I subjoin the following particulars which I have lately received from a friend of mine at Madrid :—

“ 1st. All the religious orders have been abolished by the Cortes. However, in the Basque provinces, which enjoyed many privileges, they existed up to the late attempt of October, when the monastic orders, together with the privileges and rights of the provinces, were suppressed.

“ 2nd. The Cortes of 1837 deprived the clergy of their tithes, and the Cortes of 1841 dispossessed them of the whole of their property. The government pays them extremely ill, so that the greater part live in extreme misery. Moreover, to aggravate their calamities, the government has issued orders that all the monks and friars residing here, not natives of Madrid, should go into the provinces. This cruel act leaves these unhappy men without any resource ; here they occasionally obtained relief from their friends, and found the means of subsistence, but in the

of an armed and licentious populace. In Catholic Spain, Catholicity is become a persecuted sect ; her

small provincial towns, where they are unknown, and where there are few people of fortune, they will be reduced to the greatest distress.

“ 3d. The clergy have no representation whatever, either in the Cortes or in one or other of the *estamentos*. No clergyman can be elected for the Chamber of Deputies, but may be chosen for the Senate. The nobility is not represented in either of the two houses, nor had they any representation in the constitution of 1821 ; but the deputies to the Cortes may be chosen indifferently from either the nobility or commoners. By the constitution of 1837, the representative system of 1821 was altered, by dividing the legislative power into two Chambers, the Deputies and the Senate ; both are elected by the people, but for the Senate they nominate three for each seat, one of whom is chosen by the sovereign. Electors are qualified to vote by the payment of a certain contribution. Espartero enjoys the whole of the executive, and the government is now a complete military despotism.

“ 4th. The Regent, Espartero, possesses neither talent nor powers of mind which might enable him to act as a statesman, and give the right impulse to the revolution which he commenced ; however, he is an ambitious man, aiming apparently at still more power than he yet possesses. He is jealous of any superiority that might place him in the shade ; and he is a vulgar, uneducated man, without cleverness to supply the want of instruction. He is surrounded by some clever, but wicked abettors, who partly direct his movements. The general opinion is, that unless we have a foreign intervention, we shall soon have a republic, and Espartero will be declared consul. The republican party gains strength every day.

“ 5th. The church property sells for about one-fourth of its value, and only those who have faith in the continuance

people are all but cut off from the centre of unity, and she herself is all but obliterated from the catalogue of nations.*

of the present system purchase it. The chapter of Lugo, an ancient town in Galicia, made a most submissive representation to the president of the town against the spoliation of the chapter which had been ordered. What was the result of an act which even the most tyrannical government might have excused? The whole chapter were arrested and transported to the Balearic Islands for eight years!! In Zaragoza almost a similar case occurred, and the chapter has been cast into prison, and condemned to be transported into Africa. I could mention a hundred other similar instances, if my paper permitted."

Such is the constitutional liberty we have achieved for Spain, and such are the blessings of democracy!

* What, again, have been the blessings which democratic institutions have bestowed upon the republics of South America since the assertion of their independence? Anarchy, civil war, and bankruptcy. Mexico, Texas, Buenos Ayres, Lima, Peru, and the rest,—without, I believe, one exception,—every one of them beginning with a fair start and fine professions, so as to inveigle us all out of our money and then leave us,—have been almost ever since, and still are, the sad victims of unbridled ambition, and the worst passions of our nature; and this, too, without a difference of religion as an additional exciting cause. There is an old adage, and not the less wise for being old, that "a wild duck never yet laid a tame egg." Democracy is liberty run wild, and cannot produce but a wild and disordered progeny. Engraft repeal upon universal suffrage, and you will have the wildest democracy that ever yet existed.

It may almost be worthy of remark, that Spain and Portugal have suffered all their impoverishment without

Was Mr. O'Connell a true interpreter of these presages? Were the consequences such as he either desired or anticipated?—And yet he spoke with confidence, and urged the cause with his usual vehemence. British policy never made a greater mistake than in encouraging the movement party in Spain, and espousing the cause of Christina. She who had seated her infant child upon the throne which belonged to another,—while the certain reward of her usurpation was civil war to her people, and thralldom to herself in the hands of every faction that might be uppermost for the time,—by means at the very least as questionable as those which she is said since to have employed for the overthrow of the power which she had sanctioned or created for that very purpose,—became the dear object of our solicitude,—worthy of the blood of British subjects, and the waste of British treasure. They who benefited by the first intrigue, have since exiled her for the second, and yet they are applauded in their turn for their adherence to *principle*, and honoured as the assertors of constitutional liberty! as if the first delinquency had not been much greater than the

passing through any commercial revolution, such as must necessarily overwhelm Ireland, should she ever arrive at repeal. Let her not rely upon America; she will never take her manufactures if she can get them cheaper elsewhere; and as to her corn and cattle, it would be sending coals to Newcastle.

second both in its manner and object ; for though the constitutional forms do not appear to have been violated in either, yet to accomplish the first, a mere farce was played off, a burlesque on constitutional representation. But the one paved the way towards the licentious tyranny of the majority, the other endeavoured to restrain it. Christina's attempt to rule the storm she had raised was not likely to succeed. Spain has not yet paid the penalty of her treason, nor has the revolutionary frenzy yet run its course. Mr. O'Connell sees it, and now sees it clearly,—but it is too late. He threw his weight into the scale of revolution, and it has turned up the “tyrant” Espartero. In Mr. O'Connell's indignation against the cruelties of Espartero, and against the manifold injustice, and iniquity of the irreligious, jacobinical, party now reigning in Spain, I fully and cordially concur ; and if Mr. O'Connell will accept of my applause, I give it him for the frank and honest and conscientious manner in which he denounces the atrocities which are at this moment perpetrating in that once happy but now unfortunate and distracted country. But while I admire his honesty I cannot discover his consistency. “As a lawyer,” he says, “I felt that Don Carlos had no title to the Spanish throne.” But was there ever such a farce enacted as the title of Isabella?—passing off the old cortes of Spain as the representative of the people, summoned as it was as a mere office for

registering the fiat of the sovereign, who had twice destroyed the free constitution to which he had given his solemn sanction? — that very cortes which, had it exercised its own will, would gladly have elected Carlos for its sovereign, for they were in unison one with the other. This was just the power by which Carlos would have governed if he could, and it was just the power that would have bestowed the sovereignty on him had it dared to do so, and yet it was that which was employed to dethrone him. Does it not rather savour of subserviency to regal power, for a constitutional lawyer to find so good a title in such a deed?—a deed which set aside him who was the rightful heir by the fundamental law of the kingdom for more than one hundred years past,—a law fully, freely, and deliberately enacted,—and this without any actual or even imputed crime, in favour of an infant, who, with her crown was to be the certain inheritor of civil war, and the certain victim of the coming troubles. Yet this was the right which Mr. O'Connell, as the lawyer of a constitutional monarchy, thought we ought to respect till *the Spanish people* should desire it otherwise! Why then not leave that people to judge for themselves? Why, when the struggle was begun, throw our weight upon one side or the other? and go out of our way to interfere in the internal concerns of others? That Don Carlos would have been carried in triumph to Madrid by the brave Biscayans

under that immortal hero Zumalacarregui, aided by the clergy, the nobility, and a large portion, if not a majority, of the people, there can be little doubt, had not foreign interference prematurely arrested the course of that able, valiant, and loyal soldier. Even at last Don Carlos only failed by treachery; or, without the advantage of any high personal qualifications, he might have stood his ground to this very day, till he could have found another Zumalacarregui, or perhaps an O'Donnell, to carry the cause of loyalty and religion to a successful issue;—and much of both are still said to exist in Spain, only wanting encouragement and opportunity to bring them into action. But Don Carlos was a “cruel monster,” says Mr. O'Connell, an unworthy prop to Catholicity; and true it is that that very cruelty may have marred all his prospects, and rendered him unworthy of the post which Providence had otherwise designed for him. Heaven forbid that we should seek an apology for cruelty,—we should condemn it even at the risk of offending against justice. But if Don Carlos were cruel, what made him so? Was it not this very *legal* act of his brother Ferdinand, which cut him off from the throne of his ancestors, and drove him into a civil war,—one of the inseparable attributes of which is barbarous cruelty? Still he was not more cruel than his enemies, nor perhaps than our present *pet* Espartero; and could he have reigned so as to prevent liberty

from growing into licence, he had saved his distracted country from all the blood that she has yet to shed before the wrath of Heaven be appeased, and from all the miseries she has to endure ere the tyranny of the jacobins be satiated.

But who is this Espartero, upon whom Mr. O'Connell is so indignantly pouring the bitterness of his wrath? Is he not the worthy offspring of revolution? And does he not hold the power with which it has invested him by as good a *legal* right as did Christina? and by a better than did Isabella when first she was seated on the throne?

But while all these denunciations against Espartero do but satisfy me the more of the sincerity of Mr. O'Connell's professions, and of the honesty of his views, they equally convince me of the little reliance we can place upon his judgment. It was not to be wondered at that prejudice against Catholicity on the one hand, which was glad to level a blow against it at all hazards,—or that utter indifference to religion on the other, which is apt to make men equally reckless of consequences,—or that ignorance of the real state of things, which is as rash as it is blind, should have warped the minds of many from a just perception of these matters. But that Mr. O'Connell should alone have been blind to what every one who wished well to order and religion could so distinctly see, is but another proof how easy it is for some darling theory to rob even the wisest of their wits. Otherwise, how

came it that he foresaw not the calamities which he now so feelingly deploras? Is it anything so extraordinary that a tyrant should spring from revolution? Has it ever happened otherwise? Is it anything so wonderful that Jacobinism should be the enemy of religion? Has it not always been so? In what did all this Jacobinism in Spain originate, but in the contagion of French republican infidelity?—and what did this infidelity produce, but the wildest crimes that ever yet disgraced the name of liberty? Did not these liberty-men in Spain, show the cloven foot from the very beginning? No sooner were the first democratic institutions formed in 1820-1821, than the rights of property were attacked, individual liberty invaded, and the Church plundered. No purchasers, however, could be found; and, when Ferdinand restored the former order of things, the monks returned to the property and homes of which they had been so unjustly dispossessed, from which Christina and her Jacobins again expelled them.*

* In estimating the effects of revolutions such as these on the happiness of the people, we must ever recollect that in Catholic countries religion had covered them with institutions of piety, charity, and learning. To these did the people look for their resource, and never failed to derive immense advantage from them, while they have ever been the first objects of revolutionary fury, because they presented the easiest and the richest booty.

Even the free cantons of Switzerland cannot keep their hands off the conventual property, and the liberties of the people; they cannot reform without subverting; while

And yet Mr. O'Connell fancies that these same scenes would not be again enacted, if, urged by a chivalrous zeal, worthy of better times, he could send forth 20,000 brave Irishmen to drive Espartero from the power he has usurped. That they would accomplish their errand, I have no doubt; but then they must encamp at the foot of the throne, lock the door of the Cortes, and never more dream of revisiting their native land, or Jacobinism would be again as rampant as ever, the moment their backs were turned. It is not Espartero,—cut off one and you will soon find another; it is the system—it is a villainous democratic spirit, springing from infidelity and iniquity, which is the real curse upon the land. There are plenty of Esparteros in store, and no lack of workmen, as long as there is mischief to be done. And, come from whence it may, if it come in the shape of revolution, levelling ancient institutions, and rooting up old rights and old associations, the same ruthless ravages will mark its path, in the moral as well as the physical world.*

the check given by the General Diet to the work of confiscation in Argau, has even occasioned an entire revolution in the remote and quasi-Protestant canton of Geneva.

* As this speech is an interesting specimen of Mr. O'Connell's peculiarities of mind, and, as I think, a strong proof of his sincere desire only to do good, (though I lament as much as ever that the means he too frequently employs are, in my estimation, just as much calculated to do mischief,) I have given it in the Appendix. I am happy

Much, indeed, of the future is ever wrapped in the dark, mysterious ways of Providence; but some things there are so plain, so palpable—effects so certainly and so clearly flowing from the irresistible dominion of well-known causes, “that even fools shall not err therein;” and one of these things is this—that revolutionary democracy is the heaviest curse, next to apostacy, and which, in a greater or lesser degree, it must bring with it,—that the vengeance of Heaven can inflict upon a country. That universal suffrage is democracy,—and that democracy, under a mixed form of government, is revolution, cannot be questioned. The best proof we have of the estimation in which universal suffrage is held for the purposes of revo-

to say, however, that I entirely agree with him in his encomiums upon Louis Philippe, for his conduct towards the clergy: and still more do I applaud him, because the whole bent of his policy has been to repair the evils of the folly of Charles X, not by encouraging democracy, but by repressing it. Charles X first gave licence, not liberty, to his people, then punished them for using it, and at length endeavoured to wrest it from them by force. Yet it is to be feared, that the seeds of future miseries are still in the ground, only waiting for the proper season to spring up and luxuriate again, when the chilling power which now binds them shall be withdrawn. All, however, is in the hands of Providence, and we must hope that these evils may be averted, in consideration of the great progress which you know religion to have made of late years, through the apostolic labours of the clergy whom Louis Philippe has so wisely protected.

lution is, that the French republicans are now aiming at it. That this aim is *legal*, and some will say constitutional, is its most dangerous feature, because it can be legally agitated, and the vices and the passions of men openly and constantly taken in as auxiliaries in the cause. Let people quibble about it as they will, this agitation for universal suffrage and repeal, is of a direct REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY. Mr. O'Connell, I am sure, believes that he can "ride the whirlwind and direct the storm;" and so he may: but, it is still more certain, that the whirlwind will survive him, and not suffer the mastery of any other man. Its ravages will come after him,—"*après moi, le deluge.*" O'Connell is a being of many generations; it is too much to expect two O'Connells in succession.

Even in case of succeeding in his favourite scheme of a separation of the legislatures, Mr. O'Connell would pass from a far different task than that of guiding a repeal association, whose only office is to register the edicts of their leader—to the management of a popular assembly, the representative of new-born rights, with every individual member in possession of equal power and privileges with himself, and exercising those privileges under cover of the ballot; for if the ballot be a necessary defence against external influence upon the franchise, surely it must be equally so amongst the representatives of universal suffrage,—for the reign of influence is to be at an

end, and reason alone is to exert her sway. He whose ambition is to lead, may sometimes be compelled to follow, and the feeble and multifarious items of a national convention may prove too powerful even for the genius of one who now governs without a rival.

Portugal, too, is another happy example of the success of revolutionary principles. Ill-gotten wealth has no right to prosper; you never can enrich the treasury with the spoils of the poor,—and with all her plunder, she is unable to face the public creditor. Religion is fettered and discouraged—her commerce is decayed—her provinces are over-run with banditti—and the whole commonwealth is ill at ease, because the evil principle is still alive, ever watchful of the opportunity for labouring in its vocation, and disturbing even the work of its own hands. Yet it was with the best intentions that we interfered with her internal concerns,—to assist a party which I believe to have been much the weaker,—to overthrow the dynasty and change the constitution,—to dethrone a sovereign whose legal right was at least as good as Isabella's, and whose tyranny and injustice never could have equalled that of her present rulers.

Bad principles are treacherous allies; they win our confidence by appearances; and then betray us when we have no longer the power to resist. And here is the danger; once they get a-head,

they carry us along with them ; they are unmanageable in their very nature, and while they admit of no mastery over themselves, they are a hard master over others, and will infallibly drive where they cannot lead. It is these principles that I impeach, and not the men who use them : for it is impossible that they who use them can be aware of their force or of their tendencies.

Can his followers now, I ask, place that implicit reliance upon Mr. O'Connell's leadership, which shall invest him with all the attributes of a living oracle, and justify them in passive obedience to his will ? Is everything to prosper at his bidding ? Is he gifted with the power to turn evil into good ? Can he change the nature of things ? Let them beware then how they attach themselves to a cause that has enlisted principles into its service, which are not only subversive of all present interests and all present institutions, but which have never yet, since the foundation of the world, been productive of anything but bloodshed, misery, degradation, and servitude at some stage or other. Can we flatter ourselves that Ireland is to be the first and only exception to the general rule ? Even a hasty perusal of her history would, I think, convince us of the futility of any such expectation.

Above all things ought the clergy to be careful, in their communications to the people, to avoid all that errs against fact, all exaggeration, all unnecessary subjects of irritation, all unfair and unjust re-

presentations of the opinions and conduct of others. Why not try for a season at least the virtues of patience and forbearance? Why not “bury all by-gone (injuries) in general oblivion?” Are we not instructed to overcome evil with good? Is railing to be conquered by railing? “Give way to anger rather than contend with an adversary, so that nothing on your part be wanting to promote peace and good-will among all classes and descriptions of the Irish people.” God grant they may reduce these words to practice! It is seldom that man is contented with the blessings he enjoys; it is therefore more congenial with the order of Providence, even to paint those blessings in brighter hues, than to shade them with the evils by which they are accompanied.

The Irish clergy have acquired too high a reputation from the exemplary performance of their spiritual duties, to permit me to fear that they will lightly risk it. Here is another motive for caution. Let them be ever so assiduous in those duties, once they appear unnecessarily to step out of their vocation, and to swerve from the spirit of their calling, the wicked tongue will be sharpened against them; the good will be forgotten, and the exceptions only remembered. If they persist in their present course, they must either show that “reason and justice, and religion, and the voice of mankind are on their side,” or “the honour of the priesthood will be

compromised," and they will be held guilty of that "wild fanaticism, alike injurious to the Church and to the State, and which will drive for ever, from the shores of Ireland, the *inestimable blessings of religious peace.*"

However few, or however many of the clergy are now members of the association, I am confident they are, or at least they believe themselves to be, as far removed from any revolutionary spirit or proceedings as if they did not belong to it; and no doubt, they would be the first to say, with the admirers of the French Revolution in its infant stage, that they defy their opponents to discover in their language or conduct one word or action "not in the highest degree favourable to peace and stable government."* Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from reminding them of the opinions of one of the soundest politicians that ever lived, whose penetrating mind foresaw the evils which short-sighted patriots were fast accelerating,—"that politics and the pulpit are terms that have little agreement. No sound," he adds, "ought to be heard in the Church but the healing voice of Christian charity. The cause of civil liberty and civil government gains as little as that of religion by this confusion of duties. Those who quit their proper character, to assume what does not belong to them, are, for the greater part,

* Mackintosh.

ignorant both of the character they leave, and of the character they assume. Wholly unacquainted with the world in which they are so fond of meddling, and inexperienced in all its affairs, on which they pronounce with so much confidence, they have nothing of politics but the passions they excite. Surely the Church is a place where one day's truce ought to be allowed to the dissensions and animosities of mankind."—*Burke on the French Revolution.*

That this wise axiom should be the general rule there can be no doubt, and the gravest circumstances only can justify a departure from it. Those who find themselves under the necessity of following the exception instead of the rule, should however remember that they must expect the animadversions of the world to fall heavily upon them, unless the world is capable of comprehending and appreciating that necessity.

To those to whom such observations do not apply, they can afford no just cause of offence; while those to whom they may apply, will see the rule by which the world will judge them. There is frequently more in the manner than in the deed: and they who, considering it necessary to quit their proper character, and assume that which does not naturally belong to them, however justifiable they may be in so doing, should at least be careful never to sacrifice the *suaviter in modo* to the *fortiter in re*. If any such there be, who, in defiance

of public opinion, and in their love for country, forget the dictates of charity,—which is the essence of religion,—and enter upon their new career with an ardour and an enthusiasm that urge them to pursue a course fitter for a fiery demagogue than for a minister of peace, then they cannot be surprised if even those, who are the most disposed to judge them with indulgence, should fancy they descried a spirit of innovation, and even of malevolence, lurking beneath the cloak of patriotism, derogatory both to the dignity of the minister, and at variance with the precepts of the gospel which he preaches. If there be any so blinded by zeal, that they are ready to attack both friend and foe, and scruple not to pervert even the truths of history to replenish their exhausted quiver with weapons proscribed from every legitimate warfare, merely that they may enjoy the ignoble pleasure of gratifying the spleen of the politician, where they ought to have fulfilled the duties of good fellowship and good-will,—who mingle the notes of war with the song of triumph, and the language of future defiance with thanksgiving for past deliverances,—then we can only lament that the strictures of Burke have again found their illustration. As we know that such men have been, that they have grown out of the circumstances of the times, —men whose very nature has been changed by the polluting atmosphere into which they have so rashly ventured,—it is therefore but prudence to

presume that they may be again; and these are they of whom Burke speaks,—“ignorant both of the character they leave, and of the character they assume, and who have nothing of politics but the passions they excite.” When such things befall those who wander beyond the bounds of their calling, it seems but a just punishment for their presumption, that they should thus perish by the danger which they have courted.

These remarks of Burke, so congenial to the truly apostolic admonitions and instructions of the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland, of the year 1830, apply equally to the clergy of both establishments; and it has ever appeared to me the height of injustice, that the Protestant minister should be permitted to disport himself with impunity, and even with applause, in the heated arena of politics, till all mark of his calling be obliterated from him, while, if the Catholic indulge in the same intoxicating scenes, he is immediately held up as an object of just indignation before the public—as only fit to be hooted back with ignominy to his own quarters.

Government on the other hand must give no provocation,—they must afford them no pretence for saying, “that the times which had passed are returned.” When those admonitions were penned, the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were at the head of affairs; the fact therefore of their return to office does not of itself bring back those

times : nay, in the interval, they have been parties to every subsequent measure for “ *the pacification and improvement of Ireland ;*”—measures, I firmly believe, as unexpected by the clergy of that day, as they ought to command the gratitude of the present. And yet, how far are we still from the inestimable blessing of religious peace ? How near are we not to that very condition, the happy release from which that admonition so beautifully and so feelingly depicts ? “ Only last year, and this country was agitated from end to end, and from its extremities to its very centre. The dominion of the passions prevailed over the dominion of the law—and men born to love each other, contended to almost the shedding of each other’s blood ; the public interests were neglected or forgotten ; the ties of kindred were broken ; the power of government weakened—the laws themselves were paralysed, and religion, which used to silence passions and consolidate the public peace, was unable freely to discharge her functions.” While then it is the duty of the clergy not wantonly to aid in bringing back this deplorable condition of things, it is still more the duty of the government to abstain even from the semblance of that which might provoke them to it. It is preposterous to suppose that Ireland can now be governed on *tory* principles ; *she cannot be so governed, and the government have assured us that she shall not be so governed.* THE DIFFICULTY

of Ireland must be overcome: it cannot be subdued by coercion and restriction. They may still cut out the evil at its root, by justice and conciliation, "by a kind and paternal executive, by employment and education." They perhaps might have done so upon easier terms, had their law appointments been of a more winning character, and had not their conduct in the distribution of other offices savoured of a disposition "to couple practical exclusion with the nominal equality of the Catholics."* It may be no harm that the difficulty

* "I would here suggest," said Sir Robert Peel, in debating the Catholic question in 1827, on the motion of Sir F. Burdett, "a question to my right honourable friend. I would say—when you have placed the Roman Catholics upon an equality in point of law, do you really and fairly mean to admit them to an equality in point of actual enjoyment of offices? And if you do, do you hope to see at some future day that state of affairs, in which a Roman Catholic and a Protestant shall be administering equally and conjointly the concerns of a Protestant state, and a Roman Catholic shall be found as efficient and constitutional a minister of a Protestant crown as a Protestant? If you do not mean to say that you look forward to this state of things—if you mean to give the Catholics nominal equality, but feel it necessary in respect of these affairs to provide for their practical exclusion, I say, sir, that that practical exclusion coupled with that nominal equality, will be far more galling to them than any political disability under which they at present labour, because it will be an exclusion upon personal grounds." In mixed states upon the continent, I have never heard of any question arising upon the religion

has increased upon them, because their measure of good must now be the fuller. You know that I always thought the government of the whigs was the best for Ireland, because I thought that a friendly executive in that country was necessary for the consolidation of its peace, and for insuring the confidence of its people in the administration of justice. But as the whig ascendancy is at an end, is it not wiser to consider how its loss may be best supplied, than to chafe and fume in unavailing regret at its departure ?

The whigs went even beyond what the policy of party dictated in their friendly disposition towards Ireland ; still they ever failed to give satisfaction to those who formed, guided, and represented the feelings of that country, while it was these very men who turned the tide of popular favour against them in England. After a long and difficult struggle, the question was put to a fair issue, and the party now in power came in with a force and triumph which even astonished themselves. Contrary to all expectation, a reaction had even taken place in Ireland, and no less than eight votes have been lost to the liberal interest in that country. The Whigs

of the parties in discussing their qualifications for political offices. The late Prince Hatzfeld, who held a high situation under the Prussian government, was a Catholic. Not many years since, the minister of the king of Bavaria was a Protestant, while the minister of the king of Wirtemberg was a Catholic : and the present prime-minister of Louis Philippe is a Protestant.

had long ceased to be capable of effecting any farther beneficial legislation for the redress of Irish grievances, they could only govern by the law as it then stood; it had even become questionable whether they were strong enough to ward off any mischief that might be aimed at Ireland, either from malice or party tactics. They were therefore of no farther service than as a friendly executive; even the bounties to which they had pledged the generosity of Parliament were compelled to stand by, since their funds would not allow them to apply the very handsome sum allotted to a railroad, necessary as it was for the immediate relief of the unemployed population of Ireland; while the remedy which they at length ventured to propose for the replenishing of their exhausted coffers, and the revival of trade (the 8*s.* duty on corn), might have proved more than a tax of twenty per cent. upon the whole rental of both kingdoms. As far as Ireland was concerned, the whigs had long been politically dead; they are now altogether gathered to their forefathers. They deserved a much better fate for their long and arduous struggle for civil and religious liberty. Well seconded by the people, they have effected great things. They have cleared the ground of the tares and cockles which had well nigh choaked the harvest, and if they have not left a richly cultured inheritance to their successors, at least they have bequeathed them a fair and open

field for any new improvements. God speed them in the use of it!

But as these same whigs, these true and sincere, though oft-calumniated friends to Ireland, cannot be resuscitated, and as the conservatives are stout and strong upon their legs, the choice is no longer with ourselves. Have them we must, whether we will or no. There is a homely saying, that it is better to make the best of a bad bargain, and this is what wisdom tells us we ought to do. Though convalescent, we are too sick to remain as we are; we must either decline or amend. But we shall never consent to be handed over to the rash experiments, which a host of inexperienced political practitioners are so eager to try upon us. No! there is but one straight-forward course, not to meddle with what is sound; leave well alone, but to cure what is ill. Poverty and hunger constitute the disease of both countries. In Ireland there are from four to five millions of acres of land capable of cultivation, and not cultivated. Upon the verges of that desert, inviting them to labour, and promising an abundant produce, are hundreds of thousands who are doomed to idleness and famine. Year after year, multitudes are drafted off at a great expense, in a vain attempt to diminish the misery of those whom they leave behind. In England, too, the people are crying out for food and work; and while the Irish peasant could raise food in abundance, the English operative can supply him with manu-

factured commodities, and reciprocal interests are established in the very act of relieving the miseries of both. We are yearly becoming more dependent upon foreigners for our food, and more hampered for a market for our manufactures, and yet we have still immense unapplied resources for both at home. This cannot be repeated and expressed too often. Would it not be much wiser to agitate for this than for universal suffrage? This last they cannot have; the former they may. If a man ask for bread you may as well offer him a stone, as give him the elective franchise as a remedy for his hunger. We shall soon see whether there be not already a power in the state capable of relieving its difficulties without endangering its peace; and whether we have yet as much freedom as we can enjoy, without the risk of provoking licence, and then tyranny. I am much mistaken if the corrective qualities of the constitution, as it exists now, are not equal to its conservative.

In all the resolutions and petitions I have seen, I have not found one for the EMPLOYMENT of the people. They ask for a landlord and tenant bill, and a very good thing it might be; but every man is not a tenant, and if you leave other things as they are, it may only diminish the number of tenants there are now, as many landlords may not wish to have them upon those terms. You must first endeavour to bring the Irish landlord and

tenant nearer to the condition of the English, giving each an interested dependence on the other. They propose to encourage their manufactures by combining to drive others out of the market; but this is both vicious in principle, and impracticable upon an extended scale. It militates against the freedom of trade, for which many of them are so clamorous, and until they can turn out a better and a cheaper article, men's patriotism will cool before they will long continue to buy a dearer and a worse. The only way to encourage manufactures in Ireland, if in these times they are worth encouraging, is to tranquillize the country by giving *employment* to the poor, who can then afford to purchase them.* These petitions and resolu-

* Let them also consider, whether a state of peace be not more likely to encourage manufactures—where manufactures are practicable and desirable—than a state of agitation. As peace is the end and object of war, so will they say that peace is the end and object of agitation; but if they would give any weight to this assertion, they must first define the objects for which they agitate, so that we may have a much more distinct notion of them, than any reflecting man can possibly draw from the general term of repeal or universal suffrage, which, instead of peace, presents itself to the minds of most people as the signal of universal and perpetual war.

The following extract from Mr. and Mrs. Hall's tour in Ireland is too pertinent to be passed over. After advert- ing to the advantages which, in their estimation, would accrue to Ireland from the introduction of manufactures,

tions indeed complain loudly of the daily impoverishment of the country ; but in the sense in which they take it, it is utterly untrue, as I think has been fully proved. That they do not apply it in any other sense is equally clear, because no remedy is sought, no employment is asked. The real crying evil of Ireland,—the helpless condition of the

they observe :—“ We are compelled to admit that while the ‘repeal agitation’ continues, capitalists generally will be reluctant to introduce manufactures into Ireland, notwithstanding the prospect held out for their own advantage, as well as for the benefit of the country. On this subject, one fact is worth a thousand arguments. A few months ago we voyaged from Dublin to Liverpool in company with one of the most extensive of the Manchester manufacturers, a gentleman of immense wealth, who holds nearly the highest position among the wealthy cotton-spinners of that town, and is a ‘liberal’ in politics. He informed us that his main object in visiting Ireland was, to ascertain what prospect existed there, that might induce certain individuals to remove their mills from the neighbourhood of Manchester to some parts of Ireland, in order to introduce among the people of that country a new mode of employment. The result of his inquiries was, he said, in all respects satisfactory, and he should undoubtedly have recommended the parties who had faith in his judgment to establish cotton-works there, with a view especially to the export trade with America—but for the repeal agitation, which so unsettled men’s minds, as to create strong doubts whether such undertakings were justifiable ; or, at all events, convinced him that to postpone their introduction for a time was the surest way of rendering them permanent. *He could not therefore advise the experiment until the repeal agitation was abandoned.*”

poor, and the impossibility of their rising without assistance from the abject misery to which long neglect has doomed them,—seems to be entirely overlooked in an extravagant zeal for political privileges, and they who ought to be the first to urge the application of the remedy so universally recommended by all who wish well to Ireland, are the last to do so. Real, practical ameliorations in the condition of the people, are sacrificed to untried or dangerous theories in government.

Are there no other means of establishing a sympathy between the governors and the governed, than by deranging the whole system of our institutions?—by trying, as an experiment, upon what fickle and unstable foundations a state may repose, and how it may dispense with all the laws and principles by which the condition of society has hitherto been regulated?—by merging the just influence of property, and the commanding superiority of education, intelligence, experience, and virtue into one principle of power by numbers?—making, in fine, our constitution a mere “problem of arithmetic.” Men who cannot even read, and if they can, have neither opportunities to study nor time to reflect, who are influenced only by the notions peculiar to their own class, who are the most exposed to be tossed about by every wind of doctrine which the artful, designing demagogue may find best suited to his own selfish purposes, and to be swayed by every passion which may be made subservient to his own

reckless ambition ; these are the men before whom all that has been hitherto respectable and respected is to give way ; for such, they tell us, will prove the best guardians of the public purse, the best conservators of the public peace, the protectors of property, the champions of the honour, and the defenders of the interests of the country ! Was ever notion so wild ? Those who advocate such principles should remember that they *must* have their victims, and that there is no genius, not even that of Mr. O'Connell, that may not sink before the levelling power of numbers. If he see not these things, but predict good fruit from the evil tree, he is a false prophet, and I will not believe him, because he has not the power to verify his predictions ; it would be unchaining all the passions, doing homage to vice, letting loose the elements of war, and then promising virtue, security, and peace.

These apostles of innovation are ever travelling in a vicious circle, perverting the established order of nature, and conferring honour and power, where the providence of ages has placed obedience and submission. They must try some other course, if they would succeed in their desires. Let them give us distinct and credible representations of the evil, force it upon the public mind, urge it upon the government and upon parliament, let it never be lost sight of until the remedy be accomplished. But now, instead of tracing it to the true and proper source, they ascribe it to causes from which it does

not emanate, and which are too evidently adopted as topics of declamation, and as a means of popular excitement for factious or party purposes ; instead of presenting it clear and simple as it really is, they adulterate it with grievances which are either exaggerated or fictitious, and sacrifice its reputation by the company with which they associate it. That the ills of Ireland can be remedied, when people's minds are brought to a clear comprehension and a calm consideration of them, I am thoroughly convinced, and by methods which will neither infringe upon any established principle of the constitution, or of sound political economy.

What the whigs unfortunately had not the power of doing, the present government may easily accomplish. But whatever is done, must be done in unison with the feelings and convictions of the people. As long as our rulers see Catholicity in Ireland, when they apply their minds to legislate for that country, and fancy that they discover in that Catholicity any thing to terrify or disgust them, so long will it prove a defective, a faulty, a perverse legislation. They must consider the Irish as citizens of the same country, subjects of the same monarch, men of the same race. Above all, they must abandon even the most distant notion of governing them in a spirit of proselytism. "They might as soon expect to pull down the sun from Heaven, or to fix the courses of the winds," as to sever the Irish people from the faith of their fore-

fathers, either by violence or artifice. It has been tried for three centuries in vain, by means the most atrocious that were ever employed by one nation against another, too well seconded by the wiles and inflictions of a small but successful faction in its own bosom, tyrannizing over the majority. Thank God, those days are gone never to return! That dark and bitter current has passed away, leaving however sufficient indications behind to attest its ravages, even to this distant day. In treating Ireland, we must not forget that she is now, in a great portion, inhabited by a race which has sprung from a mere remnant of wretched outcasts, who had been hunted down like wild beasts, for no other crime than their religion, which was made a pretext for plunder, and driven into a desert to perish with hunger, only because their pursuers could no longer follow them with the sword; and that, notwithstanding the confiscation of almost the whole territory of Ireland into the hands of the Protestants, and the continual importation of Protestant settlers, so indigenious is Catholicity to the soil,* that while the Protestants have dwindled and

* “ After all the persecutions of Elizabeth, continued with increased vigour by James the First, Chichester, then lord-deputy, was wont to say, ‘ that Popery must be something inherent in the soil of Ireland ; that the very air and climate must be infected therewith, when sooner than abandon it, men were determined on renouncing obedience to their prince, all regard for their posterity,

decayed, the Catholics have grown up into a nation of seven millions of people, with a clergy of from

and even their own temporal happiness and lives.' Even the English inhabitants of the pale in time of Henry the Eighth, Edward, and Elizabeth, ever evinced the same heroic attachment to the ancient faith as the native Irish."—*Brenan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, p. 169.

See the Appendix for a summary of the many long and fruitless attempts to extinguish Catholicism in Ireland.

"The increasing mass of the Catholic population had been at times the subject of bitter reflection to the mind of Boulter. In a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, he states the numerical ratio of Catholics to Protestants as five to one, although it is certain that in the year 1728, the population of Ireland amounted only to 1,700,000 souls, of which number 700,000 were Protestants; while in 1731, the total number stood at 2,010,221, and of this mass 1,309,768 were Catholics, and 700,453 were Protestants. His love of exaggeration kept pace with his hatred for the Catholic clergy; he represents the number of priests then in Ireland at 3000; whereas, if credit be given to the report laid before the Lords, in 1731, they amounted in that year only to 1,445."—(Handerson's *Hist. of Commerce; Hib. Dom. chap. i. p. 28; Lords' Journal, V. 3, p. 112; Brenan's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Ireland.*)

By a return made to the Irish House of Lords, in 1734, the number of Catholics to Protestants in Ireland was just *two to one*. A century later, in spite of all "discouragement" given to the former, and encouragement to the latter, the Catholics had advanced upon the Protestants till they were full seven and a half to one,—giving the Protestants the advantage of *all* who were not Catholics. In 1837, the members of the established Church in Ireland were computed at 852,000 souls. The charter schools, the Kildare-street Society, and the Foundling

two to three thousand members dependent on them alone, and earning their subsistence by their labour,—and all this in spite of unceasing efforts to repress and restrain ; efforts which have stained our annals with a character which can never be effaced, but which we ought to be too happy to endeavour to soften and obscure. With these bitter recollections still fresh in their memories, and which are daily presented to them, with a vividness of colouring which by no means outdoes the truth, which embitters the heart, disturbs the mind, and rouses the indignation of the soul,— the very thought of proselytism comes with all the stings and terrors of persecution, while it proves how well prepared they are for resistance to any such essays. A wise government, therefore, whatever may be its sympathies or desires, will see the utter futility of such an enterprise, and drive it like a treacherous spirit from its councils. But here they stand only upon the threshold of their duty ; they must not only resist evil, but do good. I believe there is no country in Europe but our own, in which any considerable section of the population professes a religion distinct from that of the state,

Hospital, and even the New Reformation Society, though powerful engines set to work, were equally inefficient means for proselytizing the people.

In legislating for Ireland, we should never forget that the religious revolution, which fraud and violence effected in England, was never completed in that country.

without being taken equally under its patronage, without being *equally* encouraged and assisted by it. France, Holland, Belgium, Prussia proper, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, every separate member of the Germanic League, from one end of it to the other, Switzerland, Hungary—have all adopted the principle of perfect religious equality, as a fundamental axiom of just and good government. Why are we only to be backward in the ways of wisdom? That England, of all countries in the world, she who has incorporated liberty of conscience with the theoretic basis of her religious system, who is ever the most vociferous and the most rebellious against the enthrallment of the understanding, and who has invested every man who is gifted with the spirit, and is worth a shilling into the bargain, with the attributes and the dignity of an apostle, that she alone should be unconscious of this wise, this salutary, this *necessary* principle, is only another proof of the dimness of our vision when prejudice comes between us and our reason, even between us and our interests. Yes! if this principle be applicable anywhere, it is so in Ireland with a thousand times more force than in any one of the states I have enumerated, for there you have seven millions of Catholics, and little more than half a million of the Established Church! Was ever a case so rife for reform? Did ever such a happy opportunity present itself for paying another instalment of *justice*, and which would return us for interest

the gratitude and affections of an entire people : If in the present condition of things, and in the present temper of the people's minds—and great allowances must be made for these—the Catholic clergy are unwilling to receive the wages of the state, and conceive that they shall better fulfil their duties to their flocks by remaining dependent upon their good offices towards them for their subsistence,—surely this should be no plea why a portion of the burden should not be removed, because the whole relief cannot come at once ; and the only difference will be, that the government will attach the people to the state directly from themselves, instead of indirectly through the clergy. Notwithstanding the noble and generous efforts of the Irish Catholics, and more especially of late years, to provide themselves with decent places of public worship, there are still great deficiencies in this respect, both as to number and accommodation ; nor is there anything so essential to order and civilization as a regular attendance at divine service, especially where it is a matter of strict obligation, as in all Catholic countries.* I should propose

* It would seem that the zeal of the clergy and the people has wonderfully wrought wonders in this respect, and that by the united exertions of both, an immense number of new churches and chapels have been erected throughout the country, the people willingly and cheerfully giving the labour of their hands where they had nothing else to contribute. In Dublin alone, I believe it to be no exaggera-

that where the people provide a certain sum, the government should double it, taking proper pre-

tion to assert, that £200,000 has been expended during the last twenty years, in the erection of churches, and other religious establishments. If, then, religion has prospered under so many and such "great discouragements," what might not have been expected for her under a reign of peace,—with the mind calm, the heart at ease, and the passions quelled?

Inglis says:—"When I visited the Dublin Mendicity Society, there were 2,145 persons on the charity, of whom 200 were Protestants. The finances were then at a very low ebb; and the directors of the institution were threatening a procession of the mendicants through the streets, by way of warming the charity of the spectators. This, I understand, has once or twice been resorted to; and, I confess, I cannot conceive anything more disgraceful to a civilized community. The English reader, who has never visited Ireland, can have no conception of a spectacle such as this. What a contrast to the gaiety of Grafton-street, would be the filth, and rags, and absolute nakedness, which I saw concentrated in the court of the institution! The support of this charity is a heavy tax upon the benevolent feelings of the Protestant population; £50 is subscribed by the Protestant for £1 that is subscribed by the Catholic population. I was sorry to learn this; for although it be true that wealth lies chiefly amongst the Protestants, yet it is the middle classes, rather than the wealthy, who support this institution; and £50 for £1 is surely out of proportion." I trust the extreme injustice of these observations (while they furnish us with another proof of the necessity of a poor law) will be apparent to all who reflect that the Catholics (while the wealth lies chiefly among the Protestants) have only the voluntary system to resort to for the maintenance of their immense ecclesiastical establishment, for which pur-

cautions as to its application. It certainly should not be suffered in a Christian country, that thousands of her people should worship in chapels with mud walls built round a mud floor, and pretending to be covered with thatched roofs, which, however, freely admit the snow and rain, merely for fault of means to erect better ; and this not unfrequently within sight of the ruined, ivy-clad churches of their fathers,—those consecrated spots in which they still love to mix their ashes with the generations of martyrs, which they contemplate with pious reverence, as living memorials of what they have suffered and what they have lost—and then cling with fresh fervour to a religion thus “ identified with their homes, their altars, and their graves.”*

pose it is in constant, active operation ; as well as for the support (if I am not misinformed) of no less than forty-nine charitable institutions of their own in the metropolis.

* In Catholic Bavaria, under a Catholic sovereign, the Protestants still retain unmolested possession of some of the interesting old churches with which that country abounds, while wherever there is occasion for it, new ones are built at the public expense. In Baden, where the great bulk of the people are Catholics, and the majority of the aristocracy are Protestants, the Catholics retain possession and good-fellowship of the parish churches, and the most perfect harmony exists between the two. In Mecklenbourg Strelitz, where the dominant religion is the Protestant, we found that the late Grand Duke had erected a beautiful Gothic church for the Catholics in his own park at Ludwig's Lust, and maintained a clergyman at his own expense. At Cassel, the Catholic church had also been built by one of

Even these miserable erections are often incapable of containing half of those who flock to them,

the reigning dukes, and was even attached to the palace ; at Stuttgard one had also been erected by the government. When we were at Pymont, amongst a Protestant people, under a Protestant government, the late Count Hatzfeld, (brother to P. Hatzfeld), a stranger and a Catholic, being desirous of building a Catholic chapel, for the use of Catholic visitors who might be attracted to the place, the government immediately gave him the land, and a handsome subscription into the bargain. Up to that period, the Catholic service had been regularly performed every Sunday, by a clergyman who came from the nearest Catholic state, in the public rooms. Neither are we to suppose that this is merely the effect of an old established order of things ; it has been adopted as a *principle* throughout all the mixed states both of Germany and Switzerland. In Geneva, where formerly—and I have known persons who remember it well,—the exercise of the Catholic worship was prohibited by law within the state, and the few Catholics then residing among them were compelled to pass the frontier to attend divine service on the Sunday, the government has now not only admitted them to all civil rights, but has apportioned them, for their own exclusive use, one of the most ancient churches in the city, and the Catholic companies of the militia are as regularly marched to attend their own service, as the Protestants are to theirs. In Protestant Berne, the Catholics have the free use of the cathedral for a fixed portion of the day, and I have never attended a more solemn and devotional high mass than in that Protestant church. The same mixed proprietorship in a place of public worship likewise prevails at Lausanne. I merely cite these instances amongst many, because they happen to have come under my own observation.

Such is the happy condition of things in all the mixed

and it is no uncommon spectacle to witness hundreds, perhaps thousands of peasants, offering their devotions bareheaded, under a drizzling rain in the open air, with a fidelity worthy of the primitive Christians. Can it indeed be that it is thus ignominiously proscribed under the inscrutable dispensations of providence, because it is the same worship that was offered in the catacombs by the first

states of Germany, — perfect equality of civil rights, perfect unity in national feeling, perfect good-fellowship, no agitation, no excitement, and that, too, in countries in which the contest between the two religions was carried on with as much animosity and bloodshed, as it has ever been almost in the worst times of Irish history, and where at this moment an immense religious movement is going forward in favour of Catholicity, but working upon the reason and the convictions of men, and not upon their interests. And nothing has so much contributed to the success of this controversy as the persecutions through which the Archbishop of Cologne has so lately passed, with so much honour to himself, and which are now happily terminated with so much credit to the good sense and feeling of the present sovereign of Prussia. These things, I think, ought to be a lesson both to rulers and their people,—to rulers, that they may desist from the maintenance of an oppressive ascendancy of one religion over another,—to the people, that everything is to be hoped from the progress of enlightened opinions, and the acknowledged interests of states,—that there are other means of carrying on a contest for the redress of grievances, besides those which appeal rather to the vices than the virtues of men, and which, if they succeed, must superinduce another evil still greater than that from which they have obtained their relief.

Christians? It was a persecuted religion then, and it has found its persecutors ever since. Persecution purifies and instructs; but there is a season for all things, and, God willing, it is time that she should be called from the lanes and hedges, and placed at the bridal table. Or, humanly speaking, can it still be a valid reason for proscription, that three hundred years since, she flourished in these kingdoms as the possessor of the temples and the patrimony which have passed into other hands, while the faith and affections of the people have not passed away with them, but, in a great measure, are still her own?

If these are not times to propagate the Gospel by pains and penalties, neither do they call upon us to degrade the religion of a whole people, by telling them that as long as they choose to adhere to that form of Christianity which they received from the beginning, and which they are determined to hold to the end, and which still generally prevails throughout the Christian world—so long shall they be looked upon with a suspicious eye by the state, and be entitled to no favour or assistance from her. Neither do I understand why the government of a country, in which all religions are free, and which yearly contributes through the *regium donum* towards the maintenance of religious doctrines still farther removed from the Established Church than are those of the Catholics, should consider itself bound by any responsibilities of conscience to regulate the faith of one section only of its subjects,

by still attempting to divert them from the perversity of their error (if such it be) once they find it a hopeless case,—seeing that all other governments adopt a different plan, and that even the Pope himself, without a single native dissenter within perhaps one thousand miles of his capital, permits the unrestricted exercise of a religious worship hostile to his own, at his very gates, for the benefit of a few rich absentees, and performed by a minister paid, in part at least, by this same government, which refuses a similar favour to their own poor on their own soil.

The grant for education should also be much enlarged, both for the erection of schools, and the necessary expenses attendant on them. But it is of no use to educate children unless you enable them to turn that education to account in their manhood, by the due observance of the religious duties which their schooling has instilled into them. It is but throwing your education away. By providing both school and chapel, we shall gain the affections of, and improve, the people at the cheapest possible rate. Remember that we have yet to compensate for the misrule of ages. The people have a right to education at our hands; if they have a right to education, they have a right to their religion.* We know it to be a reli-

* The *legal* right of the people to education,—the moral right ought to be a sufficient guide,—is fully established by all the statutes of Henry Eighth, Elizabeth, and William Third, by which the *established clergy* were bound by

gion professed by millions of our own subjects out of Ireland ; and everywhere but at home, we establish, we foster, we assist it. One would suppose that our own children were the least dear to us. They serve the state as efficiently as others, and we shall have an efficient guarantee for their fidelity, if we but treat them kindly. We have yet another guarantee for their principles,—that it is still the predominant religion of civilized man,—still the honoured and revered creed of emperors, kings, princes, and people throughout the entire world. We have the example of every state in Christendom to urge us to this course ;—we have policy, justice, and interest united. Can we hesitate for an instant ?

From the moment that Maynooth* was established for the training of clergy for the Irish people, their claims upon the state became an acknowledged principle ; but it is only doing things by halves to provide a clergy without churches. And if all that England has ever yet done for Ireland has failed to excite a return of gratitude, it is because it has

oath to teach, or cause to be taught, “an English school within every parish in the kingdom, for the children of *poor Papists, and all others*, without political or religious distinction, as the report of the select committee on foundation schools sufficiently attests.” It was on this condition that the property which they held was entrusted to them, while its almost utter violation ever since adds infinitely to the claims of the Catholics of these generations.

* I am happy to be informed that it is the intention of the present government to propose an increase of the usual annual grant to the college of Maynooth.

been too often done with a niggard hand and a bad grace, and extorted rather through her fears than a sense of justice. A good government will not wait for any such necessities: *Qui dat cito, dat bis*. Give quickly, and give with a good will, and then, indeed, we may expect our reward. Even a mite, conferred with a good heart, will avail more than the most prodigal bounty wrung through teasing importunity. Our only chance of regaining the lost affections of Ireland is, abundance of good offices done speedily and effectually; and there is no people upon earth by whom kindnesses will be so gratefully received, provided they know and feel that they are intended as such. We must not be discouraged by the failure of past efforts. We ought to remember that the fault is ours much more than theirs. It was not likely that they should all accept with gratitude what was given with reluctance, or that they should appreciate the motives upon which farther concessions were withheld, the justice of which was undeniable.*

The solicitude of a good government ought to be to allay all just grounds of complaint, and the measures which I have enumerated, appear to me to be nothing more than carrying out the Relief bill in its honest integrity. Thus only can we rescue the country from the reign of agitation, and *really* unite it with the rest of the empire. Then shall

* “ Les concessions ne satisfont qu'avant la victoire.”

the hills of Ireland cease to resound with the angry acclamations of an excited multitude, then shall her valleys cease to wail with the afflictions of the destitute and forlorn.

Notwithstanding his disclaimer, Hierophilos must excuse me for quoting him in favour of the Union. For I have never yet met with anything on the subject—and I affirm it without *affectation*—which appears to me so elegantly written, and so wisely argued; and I must be allowed still to prefer the plain and literal meaning of 1822, to the “more accommodating interpretation” of 1841. It comes recommended too with such a truly calm and Christian spirit, with so much “soft persuasion stealing on the heart,” that it is like “the truce of God” amidst “the clash of arms and voice of men,” with which our senses are so often stunned in this now confusing conflict:—

“ Strife kindling strife, inflicts a deadly smart,
While soft persuasion steals upon the heart.”—*Hierophilos*.

It certainly has persuaded me still more than ever that the finger of Heaven is there; for how can we doubt that it is sometimes “the dispensation of Providence, that one kingdom should BE SWAYED BY THE WISDOM, AND SUBJECT TO THE AUTHORITY OF ANOTHER?”—and in adopting the doctrine of Hierophilos, can we better exemplify it than by his own illustration? It does indeed seem “*peculiarly applicable to the condition of Ireland,*” and never more so than at the present mo-

ment. It is so obvious, that I see it even through my own *clouded intellect*, though this sense hath grown dim to him who both made the text, and expounded it too, that he might enlighten others. Surely it is more applicable now than ever, since the question is no longer simple repeal, as it was in the remote and peaceful days of Hierophilos, but *repeal and revolution*.* To judge a question in

* *Letter II. of Hierophilos to the English people on the moral and political state of Ireland, published 1822.*

“Non equidem hoc dubites amborum fœdere certo
Consentire dies, et ab uno sidere duci.” PERSIUS.

“Sure on both nations the same star hath shone,
Joint are their fates, their destinies are one.”

“Whatever may be the visions of some romantic lovers of country, it is one of the soundest and most incontestible maxims of political science, that there are some countries whose fortunes must ever be obedient to the destinies of others.* This principle, which experience has confirmed in the example of other countries, seems peculiarly applicable to the condition of Ireland. To the strength and abundance of her natural resources I feel proud in bearing ample testimony, but as these must be estimated in relation to the surrounding countries, it must be confessed that she seems to have been destined to be an appendage of the English nation. Though this reflection may be mortifying to our national vanity, we should still be consoled with the consciousness that we may securely repose under the protection of the British empire, instead of being placed in

* See Grotius, *Des différentes Sortes de Guerre, et de la Souveraineté*, L. 1, c. 3; with the notes of his interpreter, Barbeyrac.

the abstract, which depends upon extraneous circumstances for its solution, seems little consistent

the doubtful position of Anactorium, which, if we are to credit the account of Thucydides, was disputed by the contending claims of Corinth and Corcyra.

“This obvious principle has taken deep root in the Irish mind. The people are too sensible of the advantage of British connexion to wish for a separation. They would consider as their worst enemies those who would entertain the chimerical project of divorcing that connexion, and the only object they sigh for is to draw closer its relations, by a fuller participation of its benefits. We know that it is the dispensation of Providence, that one kingdom should be swayed by the wisdom and subject to the authority of ANOTHER. We know that our fate is connected with that of England, and that in ‘the peace *thereof* shall our peace be;’ and, therefore, that he who would attempt to seduce the people from their allegiance, would be realizing the language which Jeremias held to the false prophet Hananias, ‘thou hast broken chains of wood, and thou hast made for them chains of iron.’

“The principle of dependence on the English *government*, which nature seems to suggest, and a sense of self-interest must confirm, derives from the Catholic faith a still stronger influence. The attachment of the Catholic to the person of his Sovereign is derived from a nobler source than those yet alluded to; and the loyalty he must feel, in common with every other subject, is hallowed by the peculiar instruction of his religion. It is a well known truth, that the relative duties of sovereigns and of subjects have been discussed in the sister country with a bold, and, perhaps, dangerous freedom of opinion. We know that some of its most eminent political writers have ventured to fix the boundaries where obedience would cease to be an obligation, and resistance would become a duty. These are discussions which, in the Catholic church, are con-

with the dictates of reason :—presented to us as a bare, isolated speculation, it is plausible, even

sidered as questions of a delicate and dangerous tendency; nay, they have even startled the impiety of Hume.* Seldom are these extreme cases agitated by its professors, and never proposed to its followers as maxims of practical adoption. We hold with Mr. Burke, that the speculative line of demarcation, where obedience ought to end and resistance must begin, is faint, obscure, and not easily definable, and that, with or without a right, a revolution will be the very last resource of the thinking and the good. Far, therefore, from entertaining the dangerous theory that would fix the bounds of suffering which would justify resistance, we are reproached with extending our doctrine of obedience beyond what human nature can endure. Through the vicissitudes of eighteen centuries, the doctrine of the Catholic has remained the same that was preached by St. Paul,† and illustrated by the commen-

“ * ‘ Besides we must consider that as obedience is our duty, in the common course of things, it ought chiefly to be inculcated; nor can any thing be more preposterous than an anxious care and solicitude in stating all the cases in which resistance may be allowed. In like manner, though a philosopher reasonably acknowledges, in the course of an argument, that the rules of justice may be dispensed with in cases of urgent necessity, what should we think of a preacher or casuist, who would make it his chief study to find out such cases, and enforce them with all the vehemence of argument and eloquence? Would he not be better employed in inculcating the general doctrine, than in displaying the particular exceptions, which we are, perhaps, but too much inclined of ourselves to embrace and to extend!’—*Hume, Essay 13th, on Passive Obedience.*

“ † ‘ Let every soul be subject to higher powers; for there is no power but from God: and those that are ordained of God. Therefore, he that resisteth the power,

convincing ;—but when seen as it really stands, through the confused atmosphere of surrounding

taries of Tertullian ; and it shall ever be the reproach, or the glory of our religion, that it shall ever be inaccessible to the wisdom or the folly of modern maxims of allegiance. For the loyalty of those which rests on so firm a basis there is little room for apprehension. It is not that fluctuating loyalty which may shift with times and circumstances, and which is measured by the calculating standard of interest or convenience ; ours is a loyalty depending on an eternal principle—the dispensation of a ruling Providence ; and of which the calls of a capricious self-interest can never annul the obligation.’ ”

“The latter consists of extracts from the writings of Mr. Beaumont, and the early letters of Hierophilos, in which your lordship discovers, or affects to discover, a marked difference between the opinions then advanced by me and those of my subsequent writings.”—*Letter to Lord Clifford.*

resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist, purchase to themselves damnation. Wherefore be subject of necessity, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.’—*Romans*, c. xiii.

“ ‘ Christians are aware who has conferred their power on Emperors ;—they know it is God : after whom they are first in rank, and second to none other. From the same source which imparts life they also derive their power. We Christians invoke on all the Emperors the blessings of a long life, a prosperous reign, domestic security, a brave army, a devoted senate, and a moral people.’—*Tertullian Apologeticus adversus Gentes*. c. 30.

“ Such was the practical Commentary of Tertullian on the words of St. Paul, *when the Christians suffered from the cruelty of Severus*. I know that Paley applies a more accommodating interpretation to the doctrine of the Apostle.—See *Moral Philosophy*, b. 6, c. 4.

circumstances, it becomes as difficult to our comprehension as it is magnified to our senses.

“What a rare and rapid, as well as suspicious succession of literary lights has thus recently arisen on our country, to guide its unhappy destinies!! One is not suffered to set, when another is seen in the same quarter lending it a kindred twinkle; and again appears a third of the same class, threatening to eclipse his twin-brothers in his own solitary splendour. There is something in this unusual conjunction of strange and distant bodies that ought to forewarn, if not to alarm. Three peers of England, suddenly seized with a nervous solicitude for the Irish Catholics and their hierarchy, are running a race of benevolent zeal to come to their assistance! And what seems to be the danger that has so excited the fears of your lordships—and what the remedy that is again to restore you to the blessings of repose? The fear of an *irresponsible power* in Ireland—a power which has no existence save in the heated imaginations of our enemies—is the phantom of an evil which has put your lordships on a cruise of discovery for a remedy, whilst the real and palpable evils of our country are fastidiously and insultingly passed over. On the existence of this *irresponsible power* in Ireland, and on the necessity of its coercion, there appears to be a wonderful harmony of sentiment between your lordship and the other noble writers.”—*Letter to Lord Clifford, 1841.*

* * * * *

I do not accuse Hierophilos of dissimulation, because as he states it to be so, I believe him not to have had the identity of the legislatures in his mind at the time he penned the passages alluded to; but what I mean to assert is, that had he had the advocacy of that object in view, it would have been difficult for him to have selected expressions more suitable to the purpose. He was only writing in defence of loyalty against the *dangerous doctrine* of a

Repeal is precisely in that position. That "it is not a visionary nor an unreasonable project, to de-

separation of the two kingdoms,—but I must beg leave to remind him that, in this age at least, there will be no sovereign of England destined to sway, by his wisdom and authority, the kingdom of Ireland, who will see any distinction between repeal and SEPARATION, and who will ever hold any other opinions, or any other language upon that question, than did our late honest and respected king William the Fourth, who, in answer to the address of both houses of parliament to his majesty's speech on the first of May, 1834, thus expressed himself:—"It is with the greatest satisfaction that I receive this solemn and united expression of the determination of both houses of parliament to maintain, inviolate, the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland, which I entirely agree with you in considering as essential to the peace, integrity, and safety of the British empire. You may rely, therefore, on my discharging, with fidelity and firmness, the sacred duty which I owe to my subjects, in exercising the powers with which the constitution has invested me, for their protection against attempts which, if successful, must inevitably produce a SEPARATION of my dominions." In his majesty's speech, on the 4th of February preceding, he had already thus delivered his constitutional opinion upon the agitation then carrying on for the same purposes as now:—"To none more than the deluded instruments of the agitation, thus perniciously excited, is the continuance of such a spirit productive of the most ruinous consequences; and the united and vigorous exertions of the LOYAL and well-affected, in aid of the government, are imperiously required to put an end to a system of excitement and violence, which, while it continues, is destructive of the peace of society, and if successful, must inevitably prove fatal to the power and safety of the united kingdom." I am well aware that sovereigns may change their minds as well as

mand for Ireland the same protection of national legislation to which the most prosperous countries

other individuals, but I know this, that no minister will be found to recommend such change, and that Hierophilos is labouring under an egregious mistake, if he flatter himself that he can advocate the cause of loyalty and repeal at the same time;—above all, the cause of loyalty, with repeal and universal suffrage. It is about as inconsistent as the man who separates himself from the universal Church, and yet still persists in calling himself a Catholic. Hierophilos then proceeds:—

“Were your lordship’s remonstrance heard against the agitating spirit of the priesthood? O, no! they were then hallowed exertions as long as their object, or at least effect, was to restore to their parliamentary honours some few members of the English peerage. I wonder how soon your lordships forget the noble and peaceful exertions of those men who, under the championship of him who guided this moral movement,—lifted the prostrate peers from their degraded condition,—infused into their inert souls a political vitality, of which they seemed unconscious,—loosened the fetters in which they were bound,—undid the rusty bolts that debarred them from their hereditary honours, and flung them forward among the lords, who were frightened by the sudden intrusion of so many strange apparitions. During this heroic and eventful struggle, not a whisper escaped your lips about the existence of an irresponsible power, or the necessity of its control. But scarcely are you fixed in your seats, and your Protestant companions restored to the propriety from which they were disturbed, than you turn upon those to whom you owe your seats and honours, and enter into overtures for an offensive alliance with our ancient foes to fee the Catholic clergy to keep her Majesty’s peace!”—*Letter to Lord Clifford.*

* * * * *

“When the Catholic peers and gentry who, with a few noble exceptions, were the most tardy and inert in their

in ancient or modern times are, or have been indebted for their prosperity, “ sounds very plain and

exertions for emancipation, are put in possession of the political advantages which they did not earn, the people, who bore the brunt of the struggle, are to be abandoned ; and what was the most hallowed exercise of zeal in procuring for the aristocracy a feather or a bauble, must be a violation of the sanctity of their priestly office if directed to the improvement of the condition of the humbler classes. In aid of a selfish sophistry, too clumsy to impose upon the most shallow intellect, are called in resolutions which were passed in 1832 by the bishops of Ireland. What veneration is affected for resolutions when they can be bent to a sinister purpose ! How conveniently, nay, how slightly, are the stronger, nay, the unanimous resolutions of bishops got over, if they stand in the way of political designers. Surely those often repeated resolutions are not treated with the disregard which your lordship imagines, and if they never passed, the spirit of peace, and of abstinence from political intrigue and turbulence, which they inculcate, is the uniform spirit that animates the Catholic priesthood.”—*Letter to Lord Clifford.*

Hierophilos has gone out of his way to repeat that old, hacknied and absurd accusation, that the Catholic peers did not exert themselves to obtain their emancipation. The good taste is about equal to the truth of this assertion. Will Hierophilos say what we did not do that any reasonable men could think of undertaking ? We had not the millions to back us, without whom even an O’Connell—and I speak it not in disparagement to *his* merit—might have agitated in vain ! He is pleased also to accuse us of turning upon those to whom we owe our seats, and of entering into overtures for an OFFENSIVE alliance, with such indecent haste (scarcely fixed in our seats), with the ancient foes of Ireland TO FEE the Catholic clergy to keep her Majesty’s peace !—How eager must Hierophilos be. to

rational, nay, very dignified and constitutional." But when we reflect for an instant, putting aside a

launch the envenomed shaft of slander, when he thus falsifies facts and feelings to enable him to vilify and traduce those, who consider themselves much better friends to Ireland than they think him ! The whole, from beginning to end, is pure imagination. I want to know whether, during the whole whig administration, up to the very latest hour, there is any one Catholic peer living, who was not found voting with the friends of Ireland ! I want to know who is the Catholic peer who has entered into an *offensive* alliance with the ancient foes of Ireland, to *fee* the Catholic clergy to keep her Majesty's peace ? Has Lord Clifford said one word upon the subject ? Have I even hinted at the circumstance ? Have I entered into an *offensive* alliance with the foes of Ireland ? Did I not state *expressly the contrary*, and that I was willing to support the present administration because I thought they might even be more liberal to Ireland than the whigs ? It still remains to be seen whether I am mistaken ; and if I am, is that mistake a dishonourable crime ? Where even then is my offensive alliance ? Yet *we* are the Catholic peers against whom Hierophilos has been pleased to fabricate the accusation !

He who wantonly, wilfully, and publicly accuses another of a deed which he has not done, and attaches to that deed the stigma of hypocrisy and selfishness, neither honours the dignity he bears, nor the cause which he espouses.

False inferences from true premises are readily pardoned, because they are often mere matters of opinion ; but when a man takes the trouble of *inventing* his premises, —and those premises not matters of opinion, but matters of *fact*,—that he may sustain his own inferences, the case is widely different.

I am not a person either willing to give, or over sensitive in taking, offence. I bear no resentment to any one—

thousand other complicated and conflicting details, and perceive that not one of those countries held

not even to Hierophilos. I freely and willingly forgive him for the dishonour he has attempted to fix upon me—but I have too much respect for character not to repel,—with the indignation of one who feels that he is neither actuated by hypocritical motives nor selfish purposes,—the false aspersions with which I have been assailed from the elevated station which *he* holds, and under the weight which belongs to any statement of his. Let us now hear him somewhat farther.

“ I was not at the meeting in 1832, at which those resolutions were adopted, either personally or by proxy, nor did I authorise any individual to attach my name to the resolutions or published exhortation. My sentiments regarding the resolutions I have already stated: and as for the exhortation, I will candidly own there are passages in it which never had, nor never would have, my sanction. These objections, however, may be a matter of mere taste that do not affect the just principles of the resolutions. I refer to those terms of extraordinary eulogy that were lavished on the Duke of Wellington for his exertions in our emancipation, whom I consider to have been a mere instrument in the hands of Providence to achieve a measure to which the whole tenor of his political life and sentiments were in direct opposition. When one owns that he does a great national service, on account of the blessings of which it must be productive, then he is entitled to merit and thanks for his good actions, though he, too, is an humble agent in the hands of an overruling Providence. But when I find an individual confessing that nought but necessity would have induced him to consent to a measure to which his life was opposed, he may deserve the praise of prudence in yielding to that necessity, but he has just as much claim to public gratitude for positive benefits as many of those recorded in Scripture, whom God made reluctant instruments in bringing about his own measures.

up to our envy and admiration, have owed their prosperity to universal suffrage and democratic

The Duke of Wellington was such an instrument, as some other powerful and influential politician may shortly, in a crisis of great difficulties, dissipate all the small sophistries that now cloud the intellects of English lords, regarding a repeal of the union, and restore her own parliament to Ireland in order to fix the stability of the throne and consolidate the strength of the empire."—*Letter to Lord Clifford.*

If this letter were intended as an illustration of these professions of a "spirit of peace," in accordance with the resolutions of the hierarchy, I must own that my "clouded understanding" is incapable of discerning its aptitude for the purpose. Making every allowance for the strange and unfortunate provocation,—and which I lament exceedingly (originating, as I suspect, in some singular misapprehension of facts)—which called forth that letter, I should still have expected some more edifying "practical commentary" upon the exhortations of the apostle, "against rendering evil for evil, and railing for railing." "Remember," says a learned and pious prelate, in one of his late admonitions to his people, "that by imitating, in however slight a degree, the conduct of your adversaries, you not only offend against charity, but may offend against *truth and justice.*" And when that letter accuses my friend Lord Clifford of *affecting* a friendship where he feels an enmity, and when it designates the whole "auspicious succession of literary lights" whom it addresses as so many "*hypocritical scribes,*" and as "men who, under the guise of zeal for (others), are labouring to promote their *own selfish purposes,*" then I think it is but due to a just and honest jealousy of one's own character to assert, that both TRUTH AND JUSTICE have been offended. I return, however, to the letter:—

"Leaving, then, to your lordship the task of amusing yourself with that conjectural knowledge of possibilities

institutions, and that, with national legislation, Ireland is now to be blessed with both, surely we

which the divines call *scientia media*, I content myself with the sober realities of unfeigned occurrences. As a great portion of your appendix is taken up with passages from the letters of Hierophilos to justify your charge of a change in my sentiments, I may be permitted to state that I then inculcated an allegiance to the throne from which even misrule in its occupant should not release the subject. I held the same opinions when promoted to the archbishoprick of Tuam—I hold the same opinions now, and shall carry them with me to the grave. In these letters I registered my distrust in the motives, and my abhorrence of the schemes of the successive proselytising societies that have been set on foot under various specious disguises to pervert the faith of the Catholic people. I held the same opinions at the period to which you allude; time and subsequent experience have only confirmed me in my earlier convictions. Never was that hostile spirit to the faith of Ireland more active than at this moment. It is assuming the shape of persecution, and as long as a Protestant establishment continues to be quartered at an enormous expense on a Catholic population, it is clear its employment must be idleness, or, if active, it must be in the work of perversion. Yet another Catholic peer gravely asserts, that the Catholics of Ireland have now no religious grievances to complain of, and affects to wonder at their impatience under the weight of this establishment. Does he forget that the priest cannot wear his stole in the very churchyard without a penalty, when sent for by a Catholic to assist in depositing the remains of his relative with the ashes of his fathers? Our wrongs are, then, forsooth, fanciful, and should never be felt as realities by the people, if the exciting harangues of Mr. O'Connell did not kindle their susceptible imaginations. It is not enough that the privations of the Irish peasantry are so severe, but their

may be allowed to question the wisdom and the policy of the proposition. The "protection of na-

misery must be still aggravated by those who hesitate not to assert that their wants are fanciful, merely because their own wants may be of their own impatient creation." —*Letter to Lord Clifford.*

Will Hierophilos tell us in what this *persecution* consists? and what success attends this *work of perversion*? Facts are better arguments than assertions. All the information that has reached us in England goes precisely in an opposite direction; and I have heard it not unfrequently asserted, by highly respectable Irish clergymen, that religion progresses rapidly in Ireland,—“and see,” said they, “agitation does us no harm.” For my part, I have too thorough a conviction of the truths of Catholicity, and too firm a reliance upon the continued and jealous watchfulness of the Irish clergy over their flocks, to fear any inroads upon their faith from an establishment which, with all its means and appliances, has suffered the Catholic population to gain upon it, so that from being two to one, about a century since, they are now full seven-and-a-half to one. Are we then to despair of seeing the still farther advance of our religion, under the peaceful apostolic labours of our priesthood? or are we to believe that for this purpose it is necessary that “neither peace nor quiet” should exist in the land; that the institutions of the state should be remodelled; and that the empire should be shaken to its very foundations? Did Tertullian exhort the Christians, who were then to be found, as he shows, in great numbers in the towns, the villages, the fields, the army, the navy, and even in the senate itself, to watch “a crisis of great difficulties;” to invade the senate, and overthrow the altars and the priesthood of the heathen?

We might remember that the zeal of a wealthy clergy is not generally so great as that of men dependent upon the voluntary system, and that if we succeeded in dispos-

tional legislation" is a phrase which may captivate "the shallow intellect," and the uninstructed mul-

sessing the clergy of the Established Church, we might incur much greater danger from the more active fanatical missionary. It is inherent in our nature that we should be excited by emulation; and even upon this principle, I much question whether any advantage would be gained to Catholicity by the removal of the Protestant ministers.

If it be still within the dispensation of Providence, that a little more energy than usual be requisite from the pastor for the protection of his flock, it may be so permitted, "either to prove the just or correct the sinner." Remembering that they are blessed who suffer for justice sake, let them not be too anxious for the shortening of their days of trial, lest they superinduce another and a much greater evil.

Even the author of these statements himself, furnishes us with the best proof we could desire of the little apprehension the present condition of things should occasion. "Its melancholy fate," says he (speaking of the Establishment), "is a proof that enormous wealth is not the means which its Divine Author intended for the propagation or sustainment of true religion. The flourishing condition of the Catholic Church, spreading in the midst of poverty, is evidence of its being supported by a different power.

"Lord Alvanley's labours, then, and those of his associates for pensioning the Irish priesthood, as a panacea for the evils of Ireland, may be consigned to the same fate as those of many of his political predecessors, who lost themselves in endless imaginings about a cure for our grievances, whilst they closed their eyes to their obvious source. It is not a fanciful, but a plain and practical grievance, that any nation professing one religion should pay an enormous amount of the national income or revenue to the teachers of an alien establishment. It is not a

titude, but which conveys very indefinite and problematical notions to those who have not yet so

visionary, nor an unreasonable project, to demand for Ireland the same protection of national legislation to which the most prosperous countries, in ancient or modern times, are, or have been, indebted for their prosperity.

“ Nor have I, as your lordship would fain insinuate, advanced opposite opinions in the letters of Hierophilos. The question of a legislative union, or its repeal, I did not at all discuss in those writings. My object was to vindicate the fealty of the Irish Catholics to the British government, against the repeated calumnies of their accusers, and I insisted then, as I do now, that the mutual interests of both countries are identified under the sway of the same monarchy. This is the obvious meaning of the words—

“ ‘ Non equidem hoc dubites amborum fœdere certo
Consentire dies, et ab uno sidere duci.’

“ To prove any opposition between the opinions which I then promulgated, and those more recent ones to which you allude, it is incumbent on you to show that I then advocated the identity of our legislatures, or that you since discovered an adoption of the dangerous doctrine of a separation of the two kingdoms. * * *

“ It is amusing to see with what zeal some lords, of every shade of creed and politics, are coming forward to denounce the present agitation about repeal, whilst in reality they are pushing it forward. Restlessness is a state of which but few are ambitious; and if the people of Ireland were to have a prospect of justice they would gladly enjoy the blessings of repose. Whatever may be their destiny, they know that hitherto they have been but little indebted to the sympathy or the support of Englishmen; and whilst they will keep a steady eye on that duty which shall ever bind them to their beloved sovereign, they will take care to discard the officious counsels of

yielded their reason unto subjection, that they no longer consider what has been proved sound by

those men who, under the guise of zeal for us, are labouring to promote their own selfish purposes."—*Letter to Lord Clifford.*

It is really marvellous how fond some repealers are of slandering England and the English. It either betrays a most woeful ignorance of their own history, or, what is infinitely worse, a singular propensity to calumny. It is a fact as notorious as the sun at noon-day, that Ireland has suffered full as much, if not infinitely more, from the sons of her own soil (putting perhaps the Cromwellian fanatics and republicans out of the calculation), as from the individual or collective tyranny of Englishmen. It is by these systematic calumnies on the part of some of the leaders of repeal, that the sympathies of England are indeed alienated from them, and that the best interests of "the humbler classes" are sacrificed to the gratification of a spleen as impolitic as it is unjust on the part of those who are seeking to relieve them by such mistaken means as these. This constant spirit of crimination cannot be too strongly deprecated; for it is most unfair to fix upon the people the crimes of a government over which they had little or no control; and equally unfair not to make all due allowances for the ignorance and delusions of the times.

It is pleasing to turn from these oft-repeated accusations of men, who are so forward in professing a desire *to bury in oblivion the angry remembrance of ancient bigotry* and of all bygone wrongs, to such passages as the following:—
 "Taken individually, there is not on the earth a more noble and generous people than the English; but, taken collectively, there are few that have committed grosser acts of national injustice. Appeals made to their pride, their passion, or their prejudice have frequently been found more effectual than a calm address to their honour or

experience, but only what appears to be agreeable in theory,

their generosity. It was the same in the free states of antiquity, and appears to be part of the penalty paid for freedom. The Athenians plundered the islands of the Ægean without scruple; the Romans seized on the lands, without condescending to produce the shadow of a claim; and the English believed that, in disposing of the lands of Ireland, they gave away what was absolutely their own. It would be unjust to make the English government responsible for the oppressions of the local magistracy; and it would be still more unfair to charge any part of their guilt on the English people. The British rulers had scarcely the power of choice. The old nobility and gentry of Ireland had, for the most part, embraced the cause of their rightful sovereign, and were of course unlikely to be trusted with power by a government with which they had been so lately at war. Most of them feeling that such was the case, and unwilling to remain in their native land stripped of their natural influence, sought an honourable refuge in foreign service. The British government was, therefore, forced to intrust the local administration to the new aristocracy—men whose only connexion with the land they ruled was inveterate hostility to its inhabitants, full of that spurious pride, compounded of ignorance and conceit, which characterizes upstarts; and with just such a remnant of the enthusiasm of their fathers, the levellers, as made them bitter persecutors, without being sincere believers. The English people always regard their constitution with just pride; and they thought that the blessings of good government must be secured to every country in which it was established. They did not reflect, that the mere forms of the constitution may be preserved, and yet more cruel despotism exist than Rome witnessed in the days of Nero. The mistake was natural; but it was, at the same time, as

Universal suffrage, short, perhaps annual parliaments, pure democracy! All very good in their way, all perfect in theory, and perhaps even reducible to practice in such Lilliputian republics as that of San Marino! But in Ireland I question whether they might not prove somewhat less manageable, somewhat indifferently calculated to confer and insure the prosperity expected under "the protection of national legislation."

Yet try them she must—so says Mr. O'Connell, and Mr. O'Connell is the great leviathan, in whose wake even Hierophilos has bound himself to steer; and surely he must have looked at the colours under which he was sailing before he enlisted in the enterprise. If the master says it openly, the disciple must mean to say it covertly, for if they are not agreed at starting upon fundamental points, what chance of agreement have they when the task is suddenly assigned them to frame a constitution without time for discussion? For revolutions are hot and swift—the cauldron soon boils over, if not lifted from the fire—whatever its contents may be, it must be served up quickly and at once.

They are both agreed, too, I presume—and this is another happy omen for the first days of repeal—upon the weight to be given in the scale of legislative representation, to "the feathers and the baubles:" it was indeed already too clear that the

gross a mistake as ever was made by a nation."—*Taylor's History of the Civil Wars of Ireland.*

upper house was to weigh just as little as the objects to which they are now so happily likened. Still a frank avowal is more noble than any attempt to conceal the project from the world, under the smoke and uproar of a constant running battery against the crimes of a heartless aristocracy ; for I know not that the more active and ostensible leaders of the movement have otherwise divulged their intentions towards those “hypocritical scribes” (and of course their fellows), as some of us are now so charitably designated by one who has very opportunely volunteered to stamp with authenticity what was hitherto rather inference and surmise, and to afford us another “practical commentary” upon the doctrines of the repealers.*

But I am forgetting that even the minutest stars are forbidden to twinkle within the superior brightness of his own effulgence. If Hierophilos be so jealous of his own philosophy that none others are to try their puny wits, at least he is bound to favour us (or what would be still better, to induce others to do so, for of course his own avocations

* If in this I have mistaken the meaning of Hierophilos, I shall be too happy to receive and acknowledge any more acceptable interpretation that he may be good enough to put upon it. Till then, I must necessarily take the passage in its plain and obvious sense, namely, that a *seat* in the House of Peers—for it was that which we obtained under the Relief Bill, and not our coronets—is no other than “a feather or a bauble.”

preclude him from entering upon subjects so foreign to his ministry) with some instructions for the guidance of our judgment in these matters, unless he would at once restrict us to a passive obedience to his own oracular decisions. If it be a question worth agitating, it is worth discussing. If they decline to do so, is it not a sound presumption that neither are their views so clear, nor the case so strong, as they would fain have us to believe? The real question is ever evaded—how is repeal to work? How is a parliament in College-green to be rendered more subservient to the avowed purposes of repeal, purposes without which, we are told, there shall be no peace or quiet in Ireland, but to which it is clear that both houses will be opposed,—for surely neither is yet ripe for universal suffrage, with all its innovations, and amongst others, for the reduction of the establishment to a community of interests with ourselves? How are “the blessings of a domestic legislation” to be enjoyed “*under the security of an imperial monarchy,*” when it is proposed to level a power which has hitherto been considered, and with justice too, as a chief bulwark to that monarchy, as a power standing between the throne and the people for the benefit of both, and to leave it as so many reeds and rushes, so many “feathers and baubles,” to be waved to and fro by the stormy and fitful breath of every popular caprice. I think that some better “practical commentary” upon

loyalty to the sovereign might be devised than this ; and some scheme more calculated to win our confidence in the blessings of a domestic legislature. The *onus probandi* rests upon those who advance such paradoxes, and who deny us any other satisfaction than that of treating our apprehensions as so many childish fears.

It is not unreasonable to demand for Ireland the same "protection of national legislation" to which other countries are, or have been, indebted for their prosperity ;—most assuredly it is not—provided the means were likely to answer the end. There is the pith and marrow of the problem,—there the *real* question, though the only one that is never approached,—it is too dry a subject for declamation, and too unsuitable to be dealt with, when the object is to be dogmatical rather than instructive. Crude statements like these may be quite sufficient to satisfy people who take opinions upon trust, but for those who expect somewhat both of argument and proof, in support of schemes which compromise the interests of the first empire in the world, and the happiness of the people of that empire, I must be pardoned for saying that they fall like so many vain and passing sounds upon the ear.

We are told that they ask for repeal, because they have not the same political rights and privileges as we have in England. That they have them not, is true—and that they ought to have them is true als

—but, if they had them, still they would be without what they now seek—*universal suffrage*—and still have *tithes* to pay. The one they cannot obtain, and the other they cannot rid themselves of, without a revolution. Let them tell us how they are to be accomplished otherwise? For even the tithe question would not be so easily settled under a domestic legislature—composed, as it would be, of a strong majority of Protestants. They must first have universal suffrage. Then it goes of course; but it will go in the general wreck. Till then, surely a Protestant aristocracy would place themselves in an antagonist position to the popular branch of the legislature, upon a question in which both their honour and their religion would take precedence of their interest. We must accustom ourselves to look at things as they are, not as we desire them to be. It is a primary mistake to treat a matter as easy, because it is just; since it often leads us to follow it with an avidity, and a violence, which only serve to baffle us in the object of our pursuit. Would it not be wiser to calculate the chances with more accuracy, *before* they bind themselves irrevocably to particular questions—how desirable soever they may be—and which cannot but weaken their endeavours towards the attainment of others, that *may* be more efficient for the real interests of the people, and which may also render the original objects of their seeking of infinitely less value in their eyes.

Again ;—when this universal suffrage bill has passed both houses—if we can imagine so monstrous a case—is there not still a veto in the crown ? Will not the sovereign know that the next breeze must carry off “the feathers and the baubles,” and may she not then justly apprehend that a storm will not be far behind, against which even the superior weight of her own crown may be no security ?

Even the tithe abolition bill may be another subject for the veto ; for, in the present temper and condition of the country, they can hardly expect that the head of the Church shall make so sweeping a surrender of rights, which she may be taught to consider herself bound to respect as essential to her dignity, and the interests she is charged to protect. Open force, and tumultuous violence only—neither of which I know the repealers contemplate,—can, in the actual stage of things, accomplish such objects as these. Then, why pursue them with such vigour ? Why act as if they intended to go farther ? Why say there can be no peace and quiet in Ireland as long as there is a tithe-rent charge upon the land ? Why still present to us the spectacle of a nation “*constitutionally insurgent*, agitated, but not rebellious, standing up as one man, resolved not to sit down again until (*this*) justice has been done ?” It is no sin to take by due course of law what another man owes us ; but, if we knock him down in the streets and rifle his pockets, by way of a shorter

and more convenient process, why then it is battery and assault, and robbery into the bargain. There may be sin then in the means, though there is no sin in the end. And it is all this appearance, and the consequent apprehension of violence, that prevents a moral force from being established, which might sooner or later obtain the justice they too ardently seek now.

But there is still another danger, upon which little reflection seems to be bestowed, because, I suppose, it is more distant and less prominent. In Ireland, more especially, it excites no attention, though the darkest pages of her lamentable history ought to teach her to regard it. She is the first to court the danger,—and, if it come, is sure to suffer most. There is a blind imprudent zeal, which sometimes drives people to risk all in the hope of gaining all; and this anxiety for universal suffrage betrays that very disposition. We have seen into what hands it would fall in Ireland; into whose would it throw the popular power in England? The advocates of universal suffrage in Ireland, because they see them only in a small minority on their own soil, trouble themselves little about the principles of the men elsewhere, whom they are so unconsciously leading onwards to the assault of all that they cherish most dearly. Do they not know that amongst them are hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, who estimate the bishop's mitre still lower than the peer's coronet,

and who are as eager to enter upon a crusade "to purge the church," as to reform the state? In past times, they who were "the most eager in the pursuit of civil, were (too often) the fiercest enemies of religious freedom;" and the zeal of the puritan, united to the ardour of the republican, may readily regain possession of a power, which is then to be had upon such easy terms. For, when the centre of unity is gone from amongst us—when the ruling principles of a mixed government are merged in a democracy—principles by which conflicting elements were wont to be restrained within bounds—and when all reverence for the authority of the constitution, and the tradition of the ancients has disappeared with them, and dissent steps in to divide and distract the public mind by a thousand new and discordant fancies—defacing the constitution, obliterating even the very semblance of what she was, so that the olden and distinctive marks are no longer to be found upon her,—will there not be the same imbecility in the government of the state, as we now witness in the government of a Church which has run a similar course?

No government, under such circumstances as these, can prove capable of resisting the forces to be arranged against it. When the puritanical spirit first invaded England from the north, it swayed only an insignificant minority. But, from puritans they became republicans, because they knew that republicanism alone could do their work

—and the power of puritanism and republicanism united soon drove loyalty to the wall, and deluged the three kingdoms with blood.

The very imbecility resulting from a violent separation of interests, which have been strong only by their union, will of itself create the evil ; it will give life and strength to all the wildest passions, which, though they have never been without a visible existence, yet, for the greater part, have lain smouldering beneath the surface, waiting only for the element to be applied to kindle them again into a flame. He must be blind indeed who is not sensible to the existence now of nearly the same degree of religious as of political fanaticism throughout the country : and it would be an easy matter to collect such a mass of evidence in a week as to substantiate the fact, beginning with Exeter Hall, and ending only with the most secluded hamlet in the kingdom, as would confound the most sceptical.

Hence, another of the peculiarities attendant upon repeal and universal suffrage, and giving to both an importance which they, who content themselves with isolated, abstracted views of things, may little suspect to belong to either. With universal suffrage it is undoubtedly upon the classes ever most subject to the wildest influences that the power would fall—and fanaticism, rather than patriotism, under pretence of liberty, has already too often guided the councils of England,

for *us*, at least, to desire to see the experiment renewed. For if republicanism ever carry the day again, it will assuredly be by the same means, and under the same influences, under which both the monarch and the priesthood, and the "feathers and the baubles," into the bargain, were swept away. And though things may not come to this extremity, because I trust, under Providence, that we shall avert the cause as well as the effect, yet, the very agitation of the question cannot but weaken the power which all good men, with their eyes open to what is passing around them, must desire to strengthen. They should recollect that a spirit of republicanism may pervade the Church as well as the state, and in weakening the authority of the one there is danger of subverting the other.

Ireland has even more interest in these questions than any other portion of the kingdom; and, it is the greatest mistake imaginable, "under the name of religion, to teach wild and dangerous politics." "This sort of people," says Burke, "are so taken up with their theories about the rights of man, that they have totally forgotten his nature:" and while, by their imprudent zeal, they seek to obtain complete independence in Church, as well as in state, they do not hesitate to incur the risk of falling into complete slavery in both.

Many may despise these opinions as unsuitable to the age in which we live, but I cannot be the

less convinced of their truth, and of the immense mass of fanaticism existing in the country only awaiting the opportunity for its development, and of the danger we incur in arousing it. As the precursor to the commonwealth, it sprung from the middle, and gradually pervaded all classes; and though it has partially maintained its hold ever since, even among men of education and otherwise of benevolent and enlightened minds, still it more especially prevails among the low and illiterate. Universal suffrage would be the spark to light the train, and not three years would elapse before the fiery zealot had once more gained the ascendancy.

Can any one read the history of the times gone by, and flatter himself that the same reign of terror and confusion may not again spread itself over the land? It is impossible that all the ancient interests and institutions of the kingdom should be broken up without a struggle—and that struggle would even extend to Ireland. The dominant party—for, in the end, there must be one—might come either by invitation or intrusion, to settle the internal dissensions which distracted the people, and of which all were sadly wearied, and by force or artifice gain the mastery over them. This is a dark and dismal picture I will allow, but let *those* brighten it up who can, and show us some other method of harmonizing causes and effects.

That we are safe from such calamities as long as

we ward off democracy, I have not the smallest doubt; but once we allow "the triple cord" to be severed which now binds the state together with its unbroken strength, the union of interests is dissolved, and the evil principle will come in to separate and to destroy. Then indeed shall we be "alarmed into reflection" when it is too late to profit by it. Is it not better to unite in time to "save that which the follies of other men may otherwise hazard to lose,"—better to submit patiently to our "chains of wood," that we may escape being manacled with "chains of iron?"

Not only will such a course be better for the state, but it will be better for religion, which loves not either strife or dissension. They who agitate under the plea of religion, tell us that they agitate because theirs is but a peaceful resistance, and that there is no danger in agitation "under a constitution like ours;" while the very agitators themselves never cease to din it into our ears, that the constitution, as it now stands, is good for nothing, and never will be till the power now vested in "the feathers and the baubles," and the gentry and the freemen of the land as well, be handed over to the operative and the rustic—in other words to the fanatic and the sectarian.

They who agitate under the plea of religion, in times like these, when so many evil passions are stirring, and when we enjoy a religious peace, and freedom such as our ancestors sighed and longed

for in vain during three hundred years,—which even those now living never dreamed of realising,—seem altogether to forget the days that are past. They seem to forget that the time was, when it was considered a blessing amongst us to be permitted to purchase by the loss of one third, or perhaps one half of our income, “not the liberty of serving God according to our conscience” (that was still forbidden under severe penalties), but the permission to absent ourselves from “forms of worship of which we disapproved,”—they seem to forget that the time was when our chapels were demolished, and our priesthood hunted into the wilderness, when no Catholic could walk erect before his fellows, but was bent down under the weight of pains and penalties which met him at every turn, and followed him even into the privacy of domestic life—when, in fine, his very name and race were condemned to extermination, and became, as it were, extinguished in blood and persecution. The Catholics of Ireland seem to have lost sight of the principles of the men, who brought them to the climax of their misery—of the men under whose benignant sway the scourge fell heaviest. For was it not under that very spirit which they are now invoking—under those passions they are now exciting—under those principles they are proclaiming—was it not under the ancestors of these very men that the darkest day we ever knew came over us,—those brawlers for a liberty which cradled

religious slavery in the very lap of civil freedom—men who sat in a *committee of religion* to discover new methods of checking the growth of popery, because all the calamities of the nation (as they said then, and as some say still), spring from that unhallowed source,—who called upon every honest patriot “to come forward in defence of his country and religion, to burn down the popish chapels, and root out the noxious weed of episcopacy,”—who became enthusiasts in politics as in religion, and who never satisfied their zeal for justice and for liberty, till they had set aside both peers and prelates, brought the monarch to the scaffold, deluged the three kingdoms with blood, and, as historians express it, “had bruised Ireland in a mortar.”

All this *has* been, and *may* be again, if people are foolish enough to enter into league and covenant with the enemies of their faith and of their country; it *cannot* be, if they are content to bless Providence for his bountiful mercy, and henceforth prefer the common good to any fancied calls of “a capricious self-interest.”

We seem to forget too that Christianity, even in its infant stage, struggled like ourselves for three hundred years against tyranny, outrage, insult, and persecution, and triumphed at length by the favour of Heaven; through the blood of her martyrs; by the patient and heroic constancy of her votaries;—and not by force and violence.*

* May we not deem a re-union of the two Churches but

We seem to forget what we once were taught, that even when suffering from the cruelty of Severus, the practical commentary of Tertullian upon the words of St. Paul was, "We Christians, invoke on all the emperors the blessings of a long life, a prosperous reign, DOMESTIC SECURITY, a brave army, a devoted senate, and a moral people." The time was, when we also learnt "that there are some countries whose fortunes must ever be obedient to the destinies of others," and "that it is the dispensation of Providence, that one kingdom should be SWAYED BY THE WISDOM AND SUBJECT TO THE AUTHORITY OF ANOTHER;"—and that that ONE kingdom was Ireland, and the OTHER England. Such, you know, was the practical commentary upon the words of St. Paul, which we were instructed to make in 1822, as "peculiarly applicable" to the condition of these realms.

But if this commentary were applicable to Ire-

little less visionary or unreasonable than the voluntary surrender of the temporalities of Protestantism in Ireland at the dictation of the Repealers? History furnishes at least some peaceful examples of the former,—such as the re-union of the Greek and Italian Churches under Gregory X, and the recovery of many of the states of Germany, which had become almost wholly Protestant, by the preaching of the Jesuits, and other missionaries, aided certainly, and often very unjustifiably, by the civil power,—while no instance of a change, such as is now proposed, has ever occurred unaccompanied by war or revolution.

land in 1822, still under a state of active persecution—still bound in ignominious fetters; how much more so must it be now, thirteen years since her release from bondage,—nine years since the reform in her representation,—seven years since tithes have ceased to oppress the poor,—five years since the extinction of the old proselytizing school system and the substitution of a grant for *national* education in its stead,—and after numerous other acts of substantial though tardy justice, have placed the Catholics *very, very nearly* in possession of the same privileges as the Protestants.

Either we must be prepared to prove that the actual condition of Catholicity in Ireland is worse than it was in Rome, under the cruelty of Severus, or we must admit the applicability of this practical commentary of Tertullian to the year 1842 as well as 1822.

Were the cruelties of Severus at our gates, we had humbled ourselves, as did the primitive Christians, before the chastening hand of God: we had left the sword within its scabbard, and the envenomed tongue within our lips, and yielded a heroic submission to the inscrutable decrees of Heaven. But when it is merely a question of parading the stole of the priest, and the habit of the monk, in the public places,—both the one and the other unknown either in the days of St. Paul, or in the age of Severus,—our indignation is to observe no bounds, nor is any restraint to be placed upon

our *constitutional* resistance. For, if rightly understood "the tracts for the times," whether they come forth in the shape of letters, resolutions, sermons, speeches, or newspaper comments, this is the interpretation which they are intended to convey. No one laments more than I do that it should have been considered necessary, on occasion of the relief bill, to make so pitiful a sacrifice to prejudice as to run a distinction between Catholics and Protestants,—for the humiliation of the one, and the ascendancy of the other, in such trifling concerns as the wearing of a stole or other robes of office, on certain public occasions; still I must maintain that if such matters as these are to be magnified into persecution,—adding even the compulsory registration of the regulars into the bargain,—and to be taken up as a pretence for republicanizing the ancient constitution of the empire, it only proves how scarce *real* grievances are become amongst those who employ such arguments.

It is true indeed, as Mr. de Beaumont says, that one right summons another right, one liberty another liberty; and this is the natural order of things, as long as there are just rights and just liberties to obtain. But when, "under a constitution like ours," we ask for universal suffrage, we ask what neither right can sanction, nor liberty can afford to bestow; because we ask for subversion, not for reform.

When in a kingdom which Providence has manifestly destined to “BE SWAYED BY THE WISDOM, AND SUBJECT TO THE AUTHORITY OF ANOTHER,” they seek for an independent legislature, they seek for that which, if the premises be true, must manifestly place them in a false position, and contravene those designs of Providence by which they profess to be guided. How an *independent* legislature is to be swayed by the wisdom and subject to the authority of *another* kingdom, I am at a loss to conceive ; for then there remains no other authority in that other kingdom to bear upon it than the veto of the sovereign, which, however wisely it may be exercised, cannot be said to *sway* the destinies of the other, inasmuch as a veto is little more than a passive power, granted by the constitution to the crown for its own protection and that of others. It is not a guiding but a preventive authority, and quite as likely to be exercised to prevent universal suffrage and other inroads upon the constitution, which the crown is bound to protect, under one circumstance as under another.

Unless we resort to more “tumultuous weapons” than any honest man, or any loyal subject, dreams of doing, we have no right to look for success in such a cause. And yet, how can the acquisition of objects known to be obnoxious to the wisdom, the interests, and the feelings of that country, which is said to be destined to sway the

other, be accomplished by any other means? An independent legislature with universal suffrage may certainly sweep away all who oppose them, by the mere force of numbers, and snap their fingers at the veto of the sovereign into the bargain. But how such extravagant pretensions are to be reconciled to any, even to the most remote submission TO THE WISDOM OR THE AUTHORITY OF OTHERS,—how they are to be construed into a good “practical commentary” upon the profuse professions of loyalty now in vogue,—how they are “to fix the stability of the throne, and consolidate the strength of the empire,”—is to me altogether inexplicable. That similar pretensions have been set up, and have been carried through by similar means we all know; but they were set up by men who could never make a step towards liberty without advancing a stride towards despotism, and the blessings which they sought from independent legislation have ever ended in all the evils which accrue from the very worst of tyranny.

All these matters must be duly weighed, and satisfactorily explained, before we can defer to the opinion that it is “*no unreasonable project* to demand for Ireland the protection of national legislation,” and before we can believe that it is sound in principle, and advantageous in policy, to encourage “practices” which have an evident tendency “to promote disaffection to the state,

and mutual distrust and animosity between the people of the two countries," — *His Majesty's speech on opening the session of 1834.**

* "It is not a visionary nor an unreasonable project, to demand for Ireland the same protection of national legislation to which the more prosperous countries in ancient or modern times are, or have been indebted for their prosperity." Prosperity through the protection of national legislation! Yes, seek it in modern or in ancient times, and where will you find it? By prosperity, I presume to be meant THE HAPPINESS OF THE PEOPLE. If it be taken in any other sense, then those who so use it are no true patriots. And by "national legislation" I presume to be meant democracy,—or those who use that term are not true to their own principles. It is a curious question, and well worthy of investigation,—what are the chances of happiness for the people under a democracy, as contrasted with those under other forms of government, in ancient or modern times? The field indeed is ample, and as far as I know, it is new. A practical investigation like this, might enable us to judge better of questions which are now presented to us for our acceptance, but in so crude and indefinite a state, as to appear no better than Utopian dreams. We might then have a chance of fixing upon a model, with a fair prospect of knowing what we were about.

The Italian republics of the Middle Ages are often cited as happy instances of the development of democratic institutions,—but a closer knowledge of history will show that they seldom deserved the name, and never answered the purpose of a republic;—they were mostly governments without a head, and without any fixed principles of action, except that, *en dernier resort*, the sovereignty of the people was absolute, though the chief power was more generally vested in the aristocracy rather than in the democracy. The unceasing contests for pre-eminence amongst the different branches of these mixed, unsettled,

For Ireland has certainly no right to that which is not likely to prove beneficial to her. "Far am

and ill-defined constitutions, all depending ultimately upon the popular will, checked the progress of civilization, in spite of a religion in which true civilization has its root and origin; filled the country with strife; deluged it with blood; and perpetuated a struggle for the dominion of one faction after another, in which the whole of the rich, fertile, and magnificent peninsula of Italy became a scene of crime and violence, from which the smallest village was not exempt, and whose consequences were felt for centuries, till firm and stable governments were gradually established, and absolutism took the place of revolutionary anarchy. Since then, as well as now, take it all in all, I believe the Italians to be the happiest of the inhabitants of the earth; and most assuredly the despotism of one man has never equalled the long train of atrocities and misery which have flowed in such copious streams from the despotism of the many.

If we go farther back, and I know not how far these ancient times are intended to extend, we come to the republics of Greece. But there, also, was much civil commotion, and much slavery. Sparta had her helots, and Athens had her slaves; and perhaps, if a just comparison were made, it might appear that *that* rather was the period of her happiness and prosperity when she had lost her liberties, and had no longer any political importance to inspire her with a restless spirit of ambition. But I am not attempting a disquisition on the blessings or the miseries of democracy. I only wish that I could provoke those who are so loud in its praises, and who seem to hail it with all the joy of a mother recovering her long-lost child, to favour us with some more intelligible reasons for their predilections than can be gathered from a few general, vague, unmeaning phrases. This, indeed, is the more to be desired; for since the early admirers of

I from denying in theory," (says Burke, in his admirable observations upon the natural and artificial rights of man, and which are so exceedingly applicable to present circumstances that they cannot be too deeply studied); "full as far is my

the French revolution indulged in those prophetic dreams of happiness which were soon obscured in blood, we have not, I believe, been gratified with any fresh dissertations on the advantages of those violent political convulsions, without which no old established state can pass into the form that is now supposed capable of conferring such signal benefits. The more recent modern practical essays have certainly added nothing to our convictions in its favour, and it is time to brighten up the horizon with some new lights, if the advocates of democracy would dissipate the clouds which darken our understandings, and curtain the blissful vision from our eyes. For the moment we dwell upon the prospect, France, Spain, Portugal, ever come uppermost to the imagination like so many dark and dismal spots;—France, that still rests upon a volcano! for the embers of her great eruption have not yet cooled, nor ever will, though her democracy did but fret its short, sad hour upon the stage, and pass away! Spain, that has tried three distinct forms of democracy within the last thirty years,—and seems likely soon to try a fourth,—and yet has been governed by her old, absolute monarchy into the bargain, during the better half of the time! And was not that better half the greater blessing? Neither can we look to Portugal as a very flattering example of happiness, if we estimate happiness by prosperity, or by that still more fitting test in the judgment of a Christian, the well-being of her religion?—So that we really require some better assurances of success than any we now enjoy, if the advocates of universal suffrage would gain us to their cause.

heart from withholding in practice (if I were of power to give or to withhold) the real rights of men. In denying their false claims of right, I do not mean to injure those which are real, and are such as their pretended rights would totally destroy. If civil society be made for the advantage of man, all the advantages for which it is made become his right. It is an institution of beneficence; and law itself is only beneficence acting by a rule. Men have a right to live by that rule; they have a right to justice, as between their fellows, whether their fellows are in a politic function or in ordinary occupation. They have a right to the fruits of their industry; and to the means of making their industry fruitful. They have a right to the acquisitions of their parents; to the nourishment and improvement of their offspring; to instruction in life, and to consolation in death. Whatever each man can separately do, without trespassing upon others, he has a right to do for himself; and he has a right to a fair portion of all which society, with all its combinations of skill and force, can do in his favour. In this partnership all men have equal rights; but not to equal things. He that has but five shillings in the partnership has as good a right to it as he that has five hundred pounds has to his larger proportion. But he has not a right to an equal dividend in the product of the joint stock; and as to the share of power, authority, and direction,

which each individual ought to have in the management of the state, that I must deny to be amongst the direct original rights of man in civil society; for I have in my contemplation the civil society; for I have in my contemplation the civil settled by convention.

“ If civil society be the offspring of convention, that convention must be its law. That convention must limit and modify all the descriptions of constitution which are formed under it. Every sort of legislative, judicial, or executory power are its creatures. They can have no being in any other state of things; and how can any man claim, under the conventions of civil society, rights which do not so much as suppose its existence?—rights which are absolutely repugnant to it? One of the first motives to civil society, and which becomes one of its fundamental rules, is, that no man should be judge in his own cause. By this each person has at once divested himself of the first fundamental right of uncovenanted man, that is, to judge for himself, and to assert his own cause. He abdicates all right to be his own governor. He inclusively, in a great measure, abandons the right of self-defence, the first law of nature. Men cannot enjoy the rights of an uncivil and of a civil state together. That he may obtain justice he gives up his right of determining what it is in points the most essential to him. That he may

secure some liberty, he makes a surrender in trust of the whole of it.

“ Government is not made in virtue of natural rights, which may and do exist in total independence of it; and exist in much greater clearness, and in a much greater degree of abstract perfection : but their abstract perfection is their practical defect. By having a right to everything they want everything. Government is a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants. Men have a right that these wants should be provided for by this wisdom. Among these wants is to be reckoned the want, out of civil society, of a sufficient restraint upon their passions. Society requires not only that the passions of individuals should be subjected, but that even in the mass and body as well as in the individuals, the inclinations of men should frequently be thwarted, their will controlled, and their passions brought into subjection. This can only be done by a power out of themselves; and not, in the exercise of its function, subject to that will and to those passions which it is its office to bridle and subdue. In this sense the restraints on men, as well as their liberties, are to be reckoned among their rights. But as the liberties and the restrictions vary with times and circumstances, and admit of infinite modifications, they cannot be settled upon any abstract rule; and nothing is so foolish as to discuss them upon that principle.

“The moment you abate anything from the full rights of men, each to govern himself, and suffer any artificial positive limitation upon those rights, from that moment the whole organization of government becomes a consideration of convenience. This it is which makes the constitution of a state, and the due distribution of its powers, a matter of the most delicate and complicated skill. It requires a deep knowledge of human nature and human necessities, and of the things which facilitate or obstruct the various ends which are to be pursued by the mechanism of civil institutions. The state is to have recruits to its strength, and remedies to its distempers. What is the use of discussing a man's abstract right to food or to medicine? The question is upon the method of procuring and administering them. In that deliberation I shall always advise to call in the aid of the farmer and the physician, rather than the professor of metaphysics.

“The science of constructing a commonwealth, or renovating it, or reforming it, is, like every other experimental science, not to be taught *a priori*. Nor is it a short experience that can instruct us in that practical science; because the real effects of moral causes are not always immediate; but that which in the first instance is prejudicial may be excellent in its remoter operation; and its excellence may arise even from the ill effects it produces in the beginning. The reverse

also happens; and very plausible schemes, with very pleasing commencements, have often shameful and lamentable conclusions. In states there are often some obscure and almost latent causes, things which appear at first view of little moment, on which a very great part of its prosperity or adversity may most essentially depend. The science of government being therefore so practical in itself, and intended for such practical purposes, a matter which requires experience, and even more experience than any person can gain in his whole life, however sagacious and observing he may be, it is with infinite caution that any man ought to venture upon pulling down an edifice which has answered in any tolerable degree for ages the common purposes of society, or on building it up again, without having models and patterns of approved utility before his eyes.

* * * * *

“The nature of man is intricate; the objects of society are of the greatest possible complexity; and therefore no simple disposition or direction of power can be suitable either to man’s nature, or to the quality of his affairs. When I hear the simplicity of contrivance aimed at and boasted of in any new political constitutions, I am at no loss to decide that the artificers are grossly ignorant of their trade, or totally negligent of their duty. The simple governments are fundamentally defective, to say no worse of them. If you were to contem-

plate society in but one point of view, all these simple modes of polity are infinitely captivating. In effect each would answer its single end much more perfectly than the more complex is able to attain all its complex purposes. But it is better that the whole should be imperfectly and anomalously answered, than that, while some parts are provided for with great exactness, others might be totally neglected, or perhaps materially injured, by the over-care of a favourite member.

“The pretended rights of these theorists are all extremes; and in proportion as they are metaphysically true, they are morally and politically false. The rights of men are in a sort of *middle*, incapable of definition, but not impossible to be discerned. The rights of men in governments are their advantages; and these are often in balances between differences of good; in compromises sometimes between good and evil, and sometimes between evil and evil. Political reason is a computing principle; adding, subtracting, multiplying, and dividing, morally and not metaphysically or mathematically, true moral denominations.

“By these theorists the right of the people is almost always sophistically confounded with their power. The body of the community, whenever it can come to act, can meet with no effectual resistance; but till power and right are the same, the whole body of them has no right inconsistent with virtue, and the first of all virtues, prudence.

Men have no right to what is not reasonable, and to what is not for their benefit."

If, therefore, Ireland has no right to that which is not reasonable, and what is not for her benefit, neither has she any rights inconsistent with the laws of nations, the integrity and security of the empire, or of that destiny to which Providence has assigned her, "to be an appendage of the English nation." Repeal would of itself bring her into that predicament—but repeal, with republican institutions, would so far aggravate her dangerous tendency to injure, and even ruin the social condition of that nation to which she was still an appendage, as to bring her yet more clearly and more forcibly within the contemplated and acknowledged cases cited by Vattel. Yes, England has a right to know what Ireland demands for herself, because she has a right to consider what effect those demands may have upon her.

But I must conclude; for this letter has grown so far beyond all reasonable bounds, that I am already fearful it may rather weary than instruct. One word, and I have done.

I have been accused of going over to the TORIES—and yet the tories are extinct. To govern by patronage was the essence of toryism,—and a government by patronage no longer exists. Under the reform bill we cannot have an illiberal government, because every government must now stand, properly speaking, upon the will of the people. By

the people I mean the *represented* people ; that is now a true constitutional definition of "the People," and in that I think I am borne out by the distinguished leader of the late government in the House of Commons, and I am sure he is liberal enough. Under the new order of things, it is the parliament that is to govern the minister, and not the minister the parliament. And if this be so, where is toryism? I was too glad to afford what little aid I could to the late government as long as it had a chance of working beneficially for the country, more especially for Ireland, in which, you know, I ever took the deepest interest. But it had long since come to a full stop ; the two parties had fairly locked wheels with each other, and neither could move. Each was too busy in its endeavours to pass, or to think of anything else. But now that this has been done, and most successfully by one party, leaving the other in a helpless predicament, we are seriously invited to endeavour to do all we can to bring matters back to where they were, upon the plea that a strong opposition is the best thing possible—the *summum bonum* of a free state. No doubt a strong opposition is a good thing in its way ; but it may be too strong as well as too weak. If it be strong enough to give any reasonable hope of a return to office within any limited period, we shall only have the same game to play over again, to which the best interests of the country have been sacrificed during the late struggles for power,

and we shall never have any government at all. There is a number of questions now before the public, such as the corn, timber, and sugar duties, which never could have remained as they are, with such manifold imperfections about them, had they not been blighted by the influence of this condition of things.

A strong government is more needed than ever, for it can adopt measures upon their own merits, without suspicion of any sinister motive, and ensure the success of what it adopts. A strong government can resist pressure from without, while a weak one cannot; and I do think that the time is come for giving greater stability to our renovated institutions than they have hitherto been able to attain amidst the shocks which have never ceased to assail them. But we must first be in a position to resist, with a bold and determined spirit, that unceasing demand for "a new reform bill," either from unknown and irresponsible persons, who would "dictate to intelligence and property, and attempt reform which was sure to end in confusion," or from an ostensible and much more formidable power, organized with consummate skill, and conducted with untiring energy, but which is equally calculated, if it carry its point, "to shake the stability of property, and make law the servant of disorder."* Nor is it unreasonable to suppose

* Lord John Russell's letter to the electors of Stroud,

that they who were the greatest opponents to reform when required, will be more efficient to resist it when no longer wanted, than those, who, finding themselves between two fires, which were continually thinning their ranks,—between the conservatives and the radicals,—might be driven at any time to sacrifice principle to expediency—and many think they had already done so by the eight shilling duty,—in the hope of maintaining their ground, or of taking up a better position for the future.

I do not write, as you well know, merely to intrude my opinions upon the world, but to excite attention, to provoke inquiry, to seek justice, to battle against prejudice, and to defend myself against the aspersions which have been cast upon me. Feeling as strongly as I did the sentiments I have expressed, I could not but send them forth in the best manner I could, in the hope that some good might come from them. If they fail in good, at least I trust they may not be converted into evil. Yet it is one of the strongest symptoms of the perversity of the times, that any man who tells his mind openly and honestly is put under the ban;—that none can brook an opinion but their own;—that all who presume to question the policy of the ultra-liberal party, are misunderstood and misre-

of which I have only an extract here, or I probably should have been able to quote with much greater effect.

presented, and pronounced to be actuated by mean and interested motives. Nothing is so difficult at all times, as to gain even a fair hearing from an unwilling audience, or, having gained it, to force the entrance of a man's mind against his will. But now it appears to be treason even to attempt it. I may have mistaken facts, or misconstrued inferences, and so far I may be worthy of correction;—if it be so, I am ready and willing to receive it; but in the name of Heaven, in the name of that religion of peace and truth which we profess in common (but which I now almost fear to call by that revered and endearing title, lest I should provoke the scoff of the infidel), let not wild, impassioned declamation take the place of argument, vituperation of just rebuke, and misrepresentation of truth. If my statement merits notice at all, let it be combated by a better; to meet it in any other way, will only confirm the judgment which I pronounced, that liberty now-a-days was only the right to think and to act as those who demanded it the most loudly were pleased to dictate.

Though it may savour of too great sensitiveness in what regards myself, I will endeavour, in the hope of avoiding misapprehension, to define in one word my political faith, which is, that a *rational* degree of liberty such as we *now* enjoy, alike removed from the oppression of the few, and the tyranny of the many, a happy union of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, is absolutely necessary

for the well-being of the country : but the more I am convinced of this, the more do I see the necessity of a jealous watchfulness to preserve that liberty against the encroachments of any of the three, and to prevent any one element from absorbing more than its own proper share, for all have equally their independent functions and independent rights. I was ever taught to abhor tyranny, to revere liberty, and to hate licence ; these were the doctrines instilled into me in my youth, and I hope I shall not depart from them in my age. In their practical application, once I found these principles safely established, I would adhere to any party which I found governing the country upon them. Nor would I desert that party upon any minor differences of opinion, or even for matters of greater moment, over which I had no control, provided I judged the general policy of that government to be better suited to the exigencies of the times, than that which was destined to succeed it. But neither do I understand the obligation of allowing that party which had now become the weakest, which had therefore altered its position towards the country, and which had in fact been compelled to abdicate its power,—so to hold one's mind in captivity as to interdict us from the right (as if passive obedience were due to those with whom we had once acted) of transferring, should the case appear to require it, the same degree of allegiance to others which we were considered to have

pledged to them. This would be a state of servitude which would go far to rob us of the advantages of free institutions, and cut us off altogether from the exercise of discretion, one of the best attributes of the mind; and which, without deserting principle, ought to teach us how to suffer circumstances to exert a just influence over us. I hope, however, I am not foolish enough to fancy that my going one way or the other can make any material difference. A few months back, and the figure *one* was high on the muster-roll of political arithmetic, but now it has nearly fallen into its ordinary value.*

I remain, my dear Friend,

Very truly and sincerely yours,

SHREWSBURY.

Rome, January 29, 1842.

Feast of St. Francis of Sales.

* If there be any responsibility attached to my conduct or opinions, it rests entirely upon myself;—"my errors, if any, are my own;" neither on the present occasion, nor when I last addressed you before the public, have I consulted any one on the subject on which I treated; not that I was above doing so,—I should have been too happy to have taken counsel,—but I have not had access to any one on whose judgment in such matters I was willing to rely.

POSTSCRIPT.

IT has been very justly observed that one labours under great disadvantage in writing far away from ready and authentic sources of information ; and certainly I never felt this to be truer than on the present occasion. A frequent residence abroad however is compensated, in my mind, for many of the inconveniences it entails, by the opportunity afforded of appreciating there the immense blessings of internal peace, and the absence from all contention, either political or religious. Really when I witness the happy social condition of all the states of Germany, of Switzerland, of the whole of Italy—the order that reigns everywhere ; the freedom from individual oppression ; the liberality and magnificence of the public institutions ; the great attention paid to public education ; the numberless asylums for the relief of the afflicted ; the happy and contented condition of the poor as contrasted with our own ; every one being able to earn an honest livelihood by his industry ;* the piety and devotion generally observable amongst the people in Catholic countries, who make the public prac-

* In the most despotic country in Europe, I am convinced there is not one-tenth part of the misery and vice now prevalent in England.

tice of Christianity a part of their every-day avocations; the perfect equality upon which both prince and peasant meet before the altar of that God who knoweth no respect to persons; the total absence of all separation in society through party feelings or religious dissensions;—considering all this, I think it can be no treason to question whether what is called liberty be everywhere so essential for the happiness of mankind as we are wont to imagine. At least we may be permitted to lament that free institutions carry that necessary imperfection about them, which counteracts too many of their blessings, by the facilities it affords to designing and discontented men, to intervene between the secure and quiet enjoyments those institutions are intended to confer.

And the more we reflect upon the condition of those countries which have passed through the ordeal of revolution, and contrast them with those which have escaped that trial, the more we ought to be reconciled to the limitations within which liberty is restrained amongst ourselves, and the more satisfied with the defences it has established against the capricious exercise of power. I know that the surest and safest method of defending true principles from invasion, is by the timely correction of abuses; but to correct one abuse by another, and that other perhaps a greater; to subdue injustice by risking to entail confusion; to brush away imperfections and remove small and

partial grievances by destroying the principle around which they have insensibly entwined themselves, is not only foolish, but wicked; because all history rises up in judgment to condemn it, while the experience of what has passed within our own generation, and of what is actually passing around us at this moment, too lamentably confirms the sentence. When will those who can see no reform but in revolution learn caution from the example of others? Bad principles in good times may pass unheeded; but when the atmosphere is tainted, then indeed the infection is to be dreaded, and it becomes but common prudence to apprehend, that it may extend to be a real and universal plague.

I am sure you have read Lord Alvanley's pamphlet with as much pleasure as I have myself,—for though undoubtedly containing mistakes in point of fact, impracticable propositions, and too highly charged a picture of the character and conduct of the Irish clergy to be justly applicable to any number of them, yet it is a very happy indication of that just, honourable, and enlightened spirit which we would flatter ourselves to be very extensively on the increase, and fast preparing the way towards the consummation we are so earnestly expecting—peace and goodwill between the two great sections of Christianity amongst us.

It certainly was not with equal pleasure that I have perused the two introductory letters in reply,

by our friend Lord Clifford, but to which I should never have thought of adverting, were it not for the two following passages:—"But as to Mr. O'Connell, if your lordship, or any one who may read this letter, wishes to know *my* opinion of that great man, you and they must *not* take it from the pages of a pamphlet just written by a Roman Catholic nobleman of high birth and ancient family, in which, sentiments of sound and liberal patriotism (in your lordship's opinion), and, at the same time, devotion to his religion, are put forward in a manner that does him the greatest credit ('State of Ireland Considered,' p. 35); but you and they must take in hand the second volume of a work entitled, 'Ireland, Social, Political, and Religious, by Gustave de Beaumont, edited by W. C. Taylor, L.D., of Trinity College, Dublin; printed by Richard Bently, New Burlington-street, London, Publisher in Ordinary to her Majesty, 1839,' and there you and they may read from p. 68 to p. 84, what, to a great degree at least, I myself, and what, to the best of my knowledge and belief, *by far the greater part* of the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland think of Mr. O'Connell. They would not deserve, in my humble opinion, the appellation of British or Irish Roman Catholics if they did not think thus of Mr. O'Connell."

"With reference to the Roman Catholic nobleman of high birth and ancient family, to whom your lordship alludes (p. 35), I beg leave to say, that I

esteem him for his many excellent qualities. I have known him, I may say, from his childhood ; and I can bear willing testimony to his sincere wish to be of service to Ireland, and to the assiduity with which he has applied himself, even to the injury of his health, to the study of her grievances, which, as your lordship justly observes, p. 28, lines 6 and 7, are ‘real and onerous.’ I have not the least doubt that the publication to which your lordship alludes, and which I must be permitted to term most unfortunate, especially at the present crisis of Ireland’s fate, has been edited under a conscientious conviction, that it was an act of duty. I do not believe that it is the production either wholly or in part of any other person ; *certainly not of any clergyman.*”

Now, after expressing my great surprise and deep regret, that our friend Lord Clifford should have entered his protest against opinions which I had fancied him all my life to have held in common with myself, I am however too happy to take advantage of the opportunity of returning him the compliment which he had been pleased to bestow upon me, though in much too flattering terms, and for which purpose I cannot do better than borrow his own words and refer them to himself, which I do in all sincerity,—conscious too how much better he deserves them than I do,—that “I esteem him for his many excellent qualities, and I have known him, I may say, from

his childhood, and I can bear willing testimony to his sincere wish to be of service to Ireland, and to the assiduity with which he applied himself to the study of her grievances, even to the injury of his health,"—and which I fear is truer of him than myself, feeling wholly undeserving of the credit of any such exemplary labours. I will also add, that I have not the least doubt that his present witty and chivalrous publication, which I must also be permitted to term *most unfortunate*, (especially at the present crisis of Ireland's fate), has been edited under a conscientious conviction that it was an act of duty. Neither do I believe that it is the production, either wholly or in part, of any other person ;" *most certainly of none but himself*.

Before I proceed to one observation upon the first of these quotations, I cannot but remark upon the ingenious phraseology by which he has so happily contrived to express two opposite opinions at the same time, (and yet I am satisfied in perfect innocence), namely, that I was the real author of that unfortunate letter, and yet the possibility that I were not. Now, as I find this not very complimentary opinion, to have existed also in other quarters,—why, or wherefore, I cannot divine,—I think it as well to enter my disclaimer at once against such strange surmises. You know me well enough to believe, that I should consider it highly dishonourable to palm upon the world the production, (either wholly or in part), of others, as

my own. Did I not consider that I had the faculty of expressing my own opinions, whatever they might be, so as to render them intelligible, I certainly should never think of enlisting the pen of another for that purpose; and I am convinced that Lord Clifford is as sensible of that as yourself, and that it is only an ambiguous *façon de parler* in which he has been indulging, with a view, I presume, of maintaining a sort of harmony with certain other passages of dubious import in the humorous lucubrations with which he leads the way to the dry and dreary subject that he proposes to treat.

I am equally puzzled to reconcile the illustration with the text of the first paragraph, for I fancy that if I had myself portrayed the character of Mr. O'Connell from Lord Clifford's quotation from M. de Beaumont, and which I had never before seen, I should have expressed myself exactly as I did. Why, to the whole of that character, so ably drawn, I take no exception whatsoever, save the doubts suggested of Mr. O'Connell's sincerity, and the very one pointed out by Lord Clifford himself; so it seems to me, after all, that I agree with him and M. de Beaumont. I also flatter myself that I agree with "*by far the greater part of the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland*" in this same particular; but how this may really be I cannot tell, for "I hold no man's proxy," and can only undertake to answer for myself.

I believe, with M. de Beaumont, that O'Connell rules the Association, and exercises a sort of dictatorship over seven millions of people ; that he directs the affairs of his country almost alone, and gives advice which is obeyed as a command. I believe him to be an orator sufficiently powerful to excite the ardent passions of the people against, and sufficiently wise to check their zeal when it verges on, insurrection,—a clever pleader, as well as a fiery tribune, employed in keeping awake at the same time the anger and the prudence of the people ; impetuous enough to excite, strong enough to restrain, capable of managing at will a public assembly, stimulating or soothing popular passions ; and who has taught the people to hate the laws without violating them. I believe that he keeps Ireland in a state of constitutional insurrection, agitated but not rebellious, in a sort of medium between the laws and insurrection. I believe that he speaks to Ireland the only language that Ireland comprehends, and that all his measures and principles have a *revolutionary tendency*. I believe that the political principle which serves him as a guide in that intermediate doctrine between respect for the laws and aggression, makes him an enigma which renders him at one time a loyal subject, at another a factious partizan.—I see him to be neither a member of a pure parliamentary opposition, nor a revolutionist,

—but one or the other in turn, according to circumstances,—I see him no longer invoking a principle, but making appeals to physical strength ; —I see him the open and inveterate enemy of the aristocracy—teaching the people to count as nothing the legal and traditional privileges which in an aristocratical government are supposed to be attached to name, birth, and social condition.

And it is *because* I believe all this—because I see him swayed by democratic principles alone, under a constitution consisting of king, lords, and commons,—that I believe him to be a dangerous leader of a dangerous and *irresponsible* party in the state ; therefore it is, as far as my small endeavours may go, and as long as I am a member of that branch of the legislature which it is among the revolutionary tendencies of Mr. O'Connell's measures to annihilate, that I will ever raise my voice against what I conceive to be most mischievous and most destructive.

These democratic principles I believe to be the worst that any man can possibly adopt as the guide of his political career ; and both as an Englishman and a Catholic I should be ashamed even to tolerate them as an Englishman, because subversive of the institutions and the liberties of the country —as a Catholic, because incompatible with all peace either civil or religious, and utterly hostile to those benign and salutary influences under

which alone the happiness of mankind and the interests of truth can prosper.*

It is far from my intention, however, to impugn the loyalty of Mr. O'Connell or the repealers, either individually or collectively; I believe them to be sincere in fancying themselves loyal, even with the opinions which they hold. Yet I cannot flatter myself that their loyalty will be proof against the dangers to which they expose it; because I believe, with William the Fourth, that "*repeal would be separation*;" and because I believe with Burke, that universal suffrage would

* I cannot, however, agree with Lord Clifford in fancying that Mr. O'Connell holds in his hands the destinies not only of Ireland, but of Great Britain and her colonies. Neither do I think the expression of such an opinion a compliment to any individual holding no responsible situation in the country, ruling none of the constitutional powers of the state, and exercising no influence whatsoever over public opinion taken in the mass, swaying only the people of one portion of the empire;—who, once he places them in the wrong, forfeits every title to the weight which their exertions in a good and a just cause, must and ought to confer upon them. Were Mr. O'Connell at the head of the two millions of able-bodied and brave Irishmen, of whose physical force we are so often reminded, trained into a compact and well-disciplined body, then indeed he would wield a greater power than Napoleon, and might over-run the world. But unless Mr. O'Connell does this, or constitutes himself the avowed leader of the revolutionary democracy of the three kingdoms,—and here again we have his strong, and, I am equally sure, his sincere disclaimer,—where, I ask, is this wonderful influence which is to command the destinies of the empire?

“plunge the country into that tumult and confusion of popular election, which would risk the whole fortune of the state with those who have the least knowledge of it, and the least interest in it;” and that this condition of things would soon generate “a species of political monster,” “which would first hurl the sovereign from the throne, and end by devouring those who had produced it.”

I am sure you participated with all the old friends of the late government in the propriety of Lord Morpeth's nomination for Dublin. Although the fate of the election was not such as we desired, at all events it proved a high and deserved compliment to “one of the best members of the best ministry we have ever seen,” as the address so justly styled him. If such were the language the repealers would ever use towards their long-trying friends, and if Mr. O'Connell would ever do homage to his own eloquence by employing it as he did upon occasion of Lord Morpeth's nomination, they never would have lost the good feeling which the people of England but so lately entertained towards them. Even now I am convinced Mr. O'Connell is wrong in ascribing the result of the elections, as he did in that same speech, to *hostility to Ireland*. No,—there is no hostility to *Ireland*, but there is a great hostility to the *principles* of the repealers, which have alarmed every reflecting man, and raised up a host of enemies against those who profess them, and as long as Ireland is only viewed through

repeal,—and it is only through that medium—through the conduct of the repealers and the proceedings of the Corn Exchange—that she is presented to them, so long will she appear unsightly to the eyes of Englishmen.

There is also another reason, besides his own high qualities, why I rejoiced in the nomination of Lord Morpeth;—it was a good practical evidence, that, even in their own head-quarters, the repealers were not so strong as but a few days before it would have been a crime to doubt. It was likewise a fine practical commentary upon general suffrage, and a happy proof that the men of “no substance” are not always the surest depositaries of political power; for it is upon the *property voters*, as they termed them, that they relied, and not upon the one thousand five hundred pauper electors, who were *so easily bribed*, as Mr. O’Connell tells us, upon a late occasion, that the *corruption was wholesale*, and who seem to have got into a regular habit of carrying their patriotism in their pockets.

END OF THE POSTSCRIPT.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

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No. I.
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THE Poor Law is said not to work well in Ireland, and to be ill administered into the bargain; and this is found a sufficient justification for the opposition which was given to it in its progress through parliament. The bad administration is an abuse, which, by being looked into—as it now is by the Lord Mayor, and much to his credit as far as the fact and motive go—may be removed: and can therefore form no just condemnation of the principle. But how does the case stand? The Poor Law commissioners returned nearly 2,300,000 persons in Ireland, who were out of work for thirty weeks in the year, and consequently reduced to destitution and beggary. During that period, they were condemned to wander through the land in search of a miserable pittance, which they obtained sometimes through extortion, but chiefly through the kind and charitable feelings of the class only a little less poor than themselves, amounting, however, as it is computed, to the enormous value of from one to two millions. No wonder that this condition of things produced an annual sacrifice of 50,000 individuals to cold, famine, and disease; and for that very reason it was that England resorted to a poor law similar to her own, by which “the landlord should be compelled to maintain as paupers those whom his vengeance may have ruined as tenants, and thus make

it no indifferent matter to him to strip and turn them loose to prey upon society,"—that humanity might no longer be shocked, nor morally offended, by the deplorable consequences of so much misery,—that the burden might fall on those whom the order of nature had destined to bear it, and through whose instrumentality it was principally occasioned,—and that at length a refuge might be secured against the frightful ravages of disease and famine, which, whatever may be the case now, were indisputably in active operation then. Such was the honest object of the bill, and such in a very great measure ought to be its effects, if properly administered. That it is unpopular there can be no doubt, because it was decried by those who ought to have supported it; and it is somewhat singular, that the opposition should come from a quarter the most sensitive to the miseries of the poor, most alive to the evils of the former state of things, and the loudest to demand a remedy; but a remedy which would, as most men think, only aggravate the evil,—and yet, when a remedy is presented for a portion at least of the evil, and presented in a form which places Ireland, in respect to her poor, upon the same footing as England, it is scouted, as a measure unsuitable to the circumstances of the country and the genius of the people, by men too who are offended that the equal participation in political rights which they demanded has been withheld by England upon that same pretence.

Is there not a want of judgment and consistency in all this, which gives us a right to question the infallibility of the repealers? It appears to me a strange perversity to throw the whole blame of the evil upon the landlords and the government, and yet when the government comes forward to *force* the landlords to overcome the evil, to turn round upon the government and say: "Give us the

evil again, we like it better than the remedy." Had any other alternative presented itself, there had been some excuse ; but the question was, whether a measure were to be accepted which was certain of alleviating at least a large portion of the misery, and of promoting employment as well,—or whether the old wretched system of individual charity were to be maintained, which was equally certain of prolonging and insuring the mischief.

The following extracts, I think, are worthy of the attention of those who are still opposed to a poor law in Ireland :—

“ ‘ The poor give ten times as much as the rich in comparison to their means.’ (Dr. Kelly.)

“ ‘ Persons renting only one acre, and even day labourers, give relief to the beggar if they have it.’ (Mr. St. George. Selection, p. 283.)

“ ‘ The poor farmer often relieves the beggar who has been turned away from the rich man’s door.’ (p. 292.)

“ ‘ The witnesses agree that the relief of beggars falls principally upon the middle classes, shopkeepers, small farmers, and even labourers, the very wealthy classes being comparatively exempt. The poor have free access to the former classes, their doors being always open. Mr. Collins says, the wealthier country gentlemen are peculiarly exempt, being surrounded by walls and gates.’ (p. 292.)

“ ‘ In proportion to their means the poor and working classes give three times more than the rich. Many of the gentry will not allow the poor to pass through their gates. Some of them will give some clothing in winter, but others will scarcely give anything. Charity is so universal amongst the poor themselves, that the farmers declare that every man who has a potatoe will share it.’ (p. 314.)

“ ‘ The relief of the poor falls principally upon the farmers in the country, and the shopkeepers in the town,

they being the most easy of access. Even the labourers give.' (p. 319.)

“ ‘ The poorer classes give much to the beggars. Even the labourers give part of their meal and a night's lodging. Some farmers give to the extent of 40*l.* a-year, in food, money, and straw. The rich have their gatekeepers, and the poor dare not go past them.’ (p. 325.)

“ ‘ The witnesses agree that the chief burden of supporting the poor falls upon the class immediately above themselves. The gates, and sometimes the dogs, of the wealthy secure them against the intrusion of the beggar. ‘ I have seen a labourer,’ says the Rev. Mr. M'Clean, ‘ who was purchasing meal at a guinea a hundred-weight (eight stone), give a handful of it to a beggar before it left the scale.’ (p. 336.)

“ From the same evidence (p. 337), it appears that numerous instances occur where parties in humble circumstances are so charitable, that the profusion of their alms in the beginning of the season obliges them to have recourse themselves to charity for their subsistence in the end.

“ ‘ On the farmers the support of the poor principally falls. Even the mere day-labourer, who has nothing but his cabin, contributes. In all cases, the poor and working classes give more in proportion than the rich.’ (p. 347.)

“ ‘ The relief of the poor chiefly falls upon the farmers in the country, and upon the traders in the towns. Even the poorest labourers give something, and are in the habit of sharing their meals with the destitute.’ (p. 350.)

“ ‘ Without doubt the burden of the poor falls upon the small farmers, shopkeepers, and labourers, because that class are more numerous, and more in the way of being applied to. Even the labourers who have no ground, and

are themselves obliged to buy their potatoes, never refuse alms.' (p. 365.)

“ ‘ The evidence is quite clear that the relief of the poor falls chiefly on the middle classes. The struggling shopkeepers are most liberal, often to a degree beyond their means. The opulent classes don't give in proportion.' (p. 379.)

“ ‘ The burthen of maintaining paupers falls most exclusively upon the farmers in general. That of maintaining strange paupers upon the small farmers particularly. The gentry by no means contribute in the same proportion. The Rev. Mr. Chute, a clergyman of the Establishment, expressly says that the entire onus of supporting the poor is borne by the occupiers of land and the shopkeepers.' (p. 384.)

“ ‘ Small farmers and shopkeepers are constantly at home, and consequently more acquainted with the wants and destitution of the poor than the higher classes are. The labouring classes give more in proportion to their means than any class.' (p. 406.)

“ ‘ The relief of the destitute falls almost completely upon the shopkeepers and farmers, who are more exposed than the rich, and more charitably inclined. The gentlemen very seldom give halfpence. Some give nothing. Sir Robert gives threepence once a month to each person, and nothing else ; the other gentlemen give a halfpenny every Monday. The farmers always give something. The cottiers fully as much. The labourers give freely. The poor three times as much as the rich.' (p. 427.)

“ ‘ Those who would give from ostentation, the absentees, are not here to give.' (p. 428.)

“ ‘ The resident gentry scarcely ever subscribe regularly. Even in seasons of appalling distress, as in 1831 and

1832, there were individuals of large fortunes who did not subscribe one shilling.' (p. 134.)

“ ‘ The burthen of supporting the destitute is thrown in times of distress by the affluent gentry upon their poorer but more benevolent neighbours.’ (p. 134.)

“ ‘ There is no regular subscription by the gentry, except in a season of great scarcity. All concur in stating that there are but two instances of non-residents who have ever subscribed.’ (p. 144.)

“ ‘ The gentry of the neighbourhood do not subscribe for the support of the poor, which is principally defrayed by the middle classes.’ (p. 147.)

“ ‘ One absentee draws 10,000*l.* a-year from the county, and 7,000*l.* a-year from the parish, without contributing a farthing to the support of the poor.’ (p. 147.)

“ ‘ In cases of peculiar distress the gentry subscribe. In some instances, absentees living in other parts of Ireland contribute, but absentees living abroad seldom contribute anything.’ (p. 148.)

“ ‘ There never has been any subscription among the upper classes, and they in no way contribute to the support of the destitute.’ (p. 157.)

“ ‘ The gentry of the neighbourhood don't subscribe for the relief of the aged and infirm.’ (p. 157.)

“ ‘ The gentry—residents—don't subscribe for the support of the poor. The absentees contribute nothing.’ (p. 158.)

“ ‘ The gentry assist the poor only through the mendicity, and even in this way many refuse to do so, which gives rise to great complaints. In many instances those who subscribe the least are the best able.’ (p. 160.)

“ ‘ There is no such thing as a subscription among the gentry to support the infirm through age.’ (p. 162.)

“ ‘ Many of the gentry refuse to contribute even to the

Mendicity, and thus throw the whole burthen upon their benevolent neighbours. Those that have least subscribe most. Absentees give little.' (p. 164.)

“ ‘ The sick poor of these parishes are totally unprovided for. From their landlords they do not even obtain the assistance of a dispensary to supply them with medicine.’ (p. 179.)

“ ‘ The absentee landlords draw about 160,000*l.* a-year from the neighbourhood of Tralee (county of Kerry), and of this sum not one shilling is spent in this impoverished neighbourhood.’

“ ‘ In the calamitous summer of 1822, a subscription was made for the relief of the poor of a certain district. The absentee proprietors were applied to. Their incomes amounted to 83,000*l.* a-year, and they subscribed altogether 83*l.* (Sadler, p. 67.)

“ With regard to the metropolis, we are informed (2 Rep. H. C. 1830, p. 61), ‘ that only one-seventh of the rich pay to the support of the Mendicity Institution!’ According to the same work (page 22) it appears that the Reverend Mortimer O’Sullivan, and another gentleman, attempted a collection in Merrion Square (the Belgrave Square of Dublin). ‘ Those in the best circumstances of all gave nothing. It would surprise the committee,’ says the witness, Mr. Pierce Mahony, ‘ to see the number and station of the parties who do not contribute.’

“ We find upon looking into the Appendix D, p. 166, of the sixth annual report of the poor law commissioners, laid upon the table of both houses of parliament in the last session, ‘ that one ground upon which the imposition of a compulsory rate is viewed with satisfaction by the middle classes (who, up to that period had almost exclusively furnished the means of supporting the poor), was, that up to the very last moment, all attempts to obtain

subscriptions from those who were not ordinary contributors, that is to say, from six-sevenths of the rich, were looked upon as utterly hopeless.' The proprietors of the soil being in fact, generally speaking, the only portion of the community who contributed scarcely anything at all towards the alleviation of the mass of 'unutterable misery' (*Med. Gazette* in the *Times* of Sept. 3, 1840) which they themselves had produced. We could adduce hundreds of other passages in support of the statements which we have made, as to the conduct of the Irish landlords. In fact, the whole of the authentic history of the disturbances and outrages in that country is exclusively made up of such materials."

"A difference of opinion exists between the commissioners, whether the amount of relief, which they propose, for the last-named class of sufferers, should be levied by legal compulsion, or left, in part, to the voluntary benevolence of the public; and hence it is, that they speak of making provision, and levying rates, "towards" their relief. We think the enormous pile of damning facts, which they have collected for their own information, and for that of the public, should have been sufficient to keep them unanimous on that point. What relief, worthy to be called so, do the aged and infirm, the orphans, the helpless widows with young children, the families of the sick, or the casually destitute, receive from voluntary charity in Ireland? There is, indeed, much spontaneous dispensation of alms practised in Ireland, and the value of the charity thus bestowed, chiefly by the smaller farmers and cottiers, is estimated at a very large amount. Those of the commissioners, who are advocates of the voluntary system, loosely state it as being, "on the most moderate computation, from one to two millions." To be sure, there is a vast difference, especially in so poor a country, between

the two sums : but suppose that a million is annually expended, we should rather say wasted, in this manner, we cannot see, in such a fact, grounds for expecting that the same amount, or any thing like it, would be placed by the persons, who now distribute it, at the disposal of a central board, or handed over to local associations for a similar purpose. By far the largest proportion of these benefactions is dealt out to wandering mendicants, who go from door to door, craving ‘ something for God’s sake.’ It is rarely offered, or given, to the poor of the same neighbourhood, who do not beg, and many of whom are in greater distress, and known to be so, than the wandering beggar. At least, we should say, that not to one-tenth of the extent that unknown vagrants are relieved, is aid afforded, by the same class of persons, to needy and destitute cabin-keepers.

“ We would be the last to detract from the merits of our struggling countrymen, who, out of their own penury and want, still have

‘ A heart for pity, and a hand
Open as day to melting charity.’

If the kind and benevolent feeling were not warm and active in their breast, to constrain them to acts of compassion, when the stranger stood upon their threshold, they would doubtless close the door against him. But the fact we have mentioned, that they do not go in quest of distress, nor tender assistance, while it remains passive and uncomplaining, is a sufficient evidence to us, that the alms-giving, for which they are celebrated, is not of that purely voluntary kind which would prompt them, under other circumstances, to come forward with their contributions. The ancient custom of hospitality has a considerable share in their bountiful conduct to strangers. An Irishman considers it a dishonour to turn away a

stranger hungry from his hearth. On the same principle are they influenced by the dread of 'the beggar's curse,' which is connected partly with those rites so sacred in the eyes of every primitive people, and partly with that religious sentiment, which teaches that, as 'the blessing of him that was ready to perish' is precious, so, and in the same degree, are his maledictions tremendous. We do not, in reality, attribute too great importance to this awful ban, when we say, that the fear of it often compels the good house-wife to open her little store, which otherwise she would prefer to keep unbroken for the satisfaction of claims dearer, and far more sacred, than those of the sturdy beggar. There is also frequently mingled with these feelings a consideration of prudence, and, if we may call it so, of police, which counsels the farmers to buy protection from pillage and wanton mischief, to which the exposed state of their hen-roosts, potato-pits, and cow-houses, render them so tempting a prey: and though this, and some other reflections which we have made, may seem to place the sympathy so honourably evinced by our poor countrymen towards those who are a little worse off in the world than themselves, on too low a ground; yet, we are sure that they have each its distinct operation, in producing effects so creditable to their character as a people. But there is yet, above all these, a constraint, originating in positive religious obligation, which makes alms-giving a duty, so long as there continues a necessity and an opportunity of exercising it; a duty at once, and an exercise of virtue, from which they cannot shrink; which their Church, no less than their divine lawgiver, requires of them; and for which they can claim no other merit, than that of having discharged a great and imperative obligation. And is not this compulsion? Certainly a happy necessity—an elevated and dignified compulsion; but still a compulsion;

and a compulsion which taxes the best part of society, while the shameless, the heartless, and the profane, are suffered to go free.

“ What, then—would we repress or damp this willingness to communicate and impart of their scanty store, which constitutes so noble a peculiarity in the character of the Irish peasantry? No—Heaven forbid! We only wish that it were diffused equally, and under a better regulation, through all classes; and that its call were as prevailing, and its knock as loud, at the castles of the great, as upon the cottage-doors of the poor. But we would, at the same time, show, by explaining the various inducements which render it effective, as a means of assistance to one class of sufferers, how little it can be relied on, as a principle applicable to the necessities of all the poor, and to be called into play in connexion with a systematic provision for their relief.

“ We heed not the sentimental cant, with which many interested, and some well-meaning persons, meet the proposition of a legal assessment. They are apprehensive, forsooth, that the kindly and generous feelings, which form the basis of voluntary benevolence, will be utterly dissolved, and melt away before the constraint of the law; and that the amiable dispositions and sensibilities of the Irish character are in danger of being obliterated, by being brought into contact with any other kind of obligation.

“ There might be something like reason in what they say, if men were, or ought to be the mere toys of impulse, moved or blown about, in every situation, by their feelings, without the rule of judgment. But when we apply such romantic jargon to the deliberate consideration of a most solemn and serious duty, it becomes not only ridiculous, but in a very high degree culpable; being injurious alike

to the true and moral sense, and to the interests which it is brought forward to serve.

“ With respect to the practice of voluntary alms-giving in Ireland—as far as it proceeds from motives of pure benevolence and religious duty—(which we are sure it does in numerous instances)—we have no fear—there are, indeed, no grounds for fearing—that the force of those sentiments would be weakened by a legal provision for the poor ; but, at the same time, we are as firmly convinced that the relief now distributed through their impulse and suggestion, would not be rendered spontaneously available to the purposes, or amenable to the rules, of such voluntary associations as the report contemplates. On the other hand, if the charity called ‘ voluntary ’ be extorted in any instances—and we are sure it is in many—by improper importunity, by terror, by the exhibition of fictitious distress and exaggerated misery, if it be lavished without discrimination or reflection, and do, in fact, cherish and perpetuate the evil which it is meant to remove, then, the sooner that kind of benevolence is got rid of the better. Finally, whether the principle be mixed, or purely charitable, whether it be such as deserves unqualified encouragement, or such as would be improved by correction and reform, experience proves, that it is not to be relied on, as adequate to the distresses of the poor, or sufficient to enforce their claims upon the community at large. Does this voluntary benevolence stimulate those who witness it, to go and do in like manner ? Does it melt those to pity who have no pity ? Does it thaw the icy heart of the miser, subdue the forestaller, arouse the heedless, or shame the unfeeling ? No ; but it relieves them from the necessity of giving any thing. It saves them, as well as their benevolent neighbours, from pillage. It keeps the destitute and importunate from their doors. It acts as a direct

bounty upon selfishness and inhumanity, while it taxes the good, in exact proportion to their goodness.

“ If it served no other beneficial purpose, than to break through the unmerited exemption, which such heartless beings enjoy, and to preserve the morals of the public from the evil infection of their example, they should be made contributory, along with their more free-hearted neighbours, to the maintenance of the poor. It is neither justice nor good policy to suffer them any longer to escape.

“ The bankrupt state of ‘ the Mendicity Institutions of Dublin, Limerick, Newry, Birr, Sligo, Waterford, and Londonderry,’ is appealed to by the three commissioners who differ from their associates, in confirmation of their statement, that ‘ where voluntary associations for the relief of the most helpless poor have been organised, and directed with great skill, and a degree of perseverance which the purest benevolence could alone support, these institutions have not only failed in providing for the necessities of their respective districts, but in inducing the majority of wealthy proprietors and inhabitants to contribute to the support of institutions so meritorious, and so freed from even a suspicion of blame.’ Now, mendicity associations are the only institutions known in Ireland for the exclusive relief of absolute pauperism. If, therefore, the voluntary principle were in any case to be trusted as an efficient help to the destitute poor, it would show itself in the support of these associations. But we see that it is efficient only in combination with strong religious prepossessions, of a kind which it would be impossible, even if it were not most improper, to excite, in cases which, like the present, should admit of no distinctions, except between the greater sufferer and the less. The difficulty, indeed, of removing or stifling such prepossessions, is, perhaps,

not the least among the causes of that apathy, with which the efforts of a few benevolent philanthropists, to prolong the existence of the excellent institutions to which we have referred, are generally received. For years, they have been kept alive by a system of menace and importunity, not more painful to humanity, than disgraceful to the community, where it is necessary to have recourse to such means in such a cause. How constantly are the newspapers filled with urgent remonstrances and appeals? How often are lists published and circulated, displaying, in different columns, the names of those who contribute, and of those who do not? How often has the threat been repeated, of turning the inmates of those abodes of misery loose upon the world? How often has the day been fixed for parading the aged, the feeble, the deformed, the halt, the blind, in reproachful procession, through the streets and squares of our proud metropolis? It is thus that charity is extorted, like drops of blood, from an inconsiderable number of the inhabitants of our towns; and this is the best, the most illustrious, specimen of voluntary benefactions for the relief of pauperism, which the advocates of that system can bring forward to give the world assurance of their plan."

Was this a state of things which it was possible to suffer any longer to exist? No poor law could cure it, but certainly it could alleviate it; nor without a poor law as an assistant, could any degree of employment insure the widow and the orphan, the aged and infirm, from the frightful state of destitution in which too many of them were left. It was time indeed to teach the landowners of Ireland that property has its duties as well its rights, and to relieve the poor from the burden of supporting the poor. Surely this is not the time to cry down the poor law, when there are thousands of applications for relief to the asy-

lums prepared for their reception, and where, if administered in the spirit of the law, that relief will be afforded; and is there any one bold enough to assert that Mr. O'Connell's predilections in favour of the voluntary system are founded upon the dictates of unerring wisdom, and that he is justly entitled to the infallibility attached to his opinions?

“Considering the extent of misery in Ireland,” says Bryan, “derived as it has been from the misconduct of her landed proprietors, and also referring to the examinations before Mr. Spring Rice's committee, conducted as they have been under the influence of an avowed hostility to any proposition in the nature of poor laws—(for the chairman of that committee declared, that one of the objects of its formation was to *‘get rid of the question of the poor laws’*—I cannot but conclude, that any measure short of the poor laws, for providing employment on useful public works for the able-bodied poor, more effectual relief for the aged and infirm, and education for the young, must prove delusive and inefficient. This measure alone will restrain the oppression of the landowner, stimulate employment, and secure the accumulation of property amongst the working classes; then ancillary measures will be introduced by the landlords from selfish motives, and Ireland, at last enjoy the blessings of peace. * * * * That there are instances of gross abuse in practice, none will deny; but they originate from that class who have the power to remove them. In addition to these considerations, the circumstances of a legal provision existing for their support, by giving the poor an interest in the state, interests them in the preservation of public tranquillity, and inspires them with an attachment to their country and its institutions, that they could not otherwise feel. In densely peopled manufacturing districts, where the poor have nothing but

their wages to depend upon, and hardly one in one thousand can reasonably hope to attain a more elevated situation, the poor laws are their only security against falling a sacrifice to absolute want. They are, in fact, a bulwark raised by the state to protect its subjects from famine and despair ; and while they support them in seasons of calamity, and prevent them from being driven to excesses alike ruinous to themselves and others, they do not degrade them by making them depend on what is often the grudging and stinted charity of individuals. A wise statesman will exert himself to repair the defects that have been discovered in its structure, and make it effectual to its truly benevolent object, of affording an asylum to the really necessitous, without, at the same time, becoming an incentive to sloth and improvidence."

APPENDIX.—No. II.

The following extracts from the *Dublin Review*, in reply to some slanders upon the Irish clergy which appeared in the *Quarterly*, may be acceptable to such as have not yet seen them.

“ ‘The witnesses prove,’ says the *Quarterly Review*, ‘that while there is an open repression, there is a secret instigation’ of ribandism. We are not informed what witnesses are referred to in this passage. But if the allusion be made, as it evidently is, to the witnesses who were examined upon the subject before the Roden committee, in 1839, we can with perfect confidence characterise the statement as a rank falsehood. We shall not content ourselves with making general allegations, which is the favourite course of the writer in the *Quarterly*, and which is perfectly suitable to his character and principles—*Dolosus enim versatur in generalibus*. We shall upon this, as upon every other part of the case, give our readers an opportunity of judging for themselves, by producing the very evidence which has been given upon the subject.

“ Captain Despard, who has been for seventeen years connected with the Irish constabulary, who has been a stipendiary magistrate since 1835, and who was one of Lord Roden’s own witnesses, gave the following testimony before the committee of 1839, respecting the conduct of the Catholic clergy.

“ ‘I have had communications with them whenever dis-

turbances took place in the neighbourhood, and they have shown great anxiety to assist the police.'

“ ‘ The Riband system has been dormant for a considerable time in some parts of Ireland, in consequence of the exertions of the Roman Catholic Clergy. (3219).

“ ‘ He heard from the priest that some persons with whom he had remonstrated had given up the society.’ (3234).

“ ‘ The Roman Catholic clergy in Meath, used efforts beyond the common, to put a stop to the riband system.’ (3269).

“ ‘ He says that he could give many reports, informations on oath, and many others, of the efforts of which he had been speaking, made publicly in the chapels from the altars : one ribandman told him that he had not been to confession for many years because he was a ribandman ; another told him that he was obliged to leave the system, as the priest would not hear his confession.’

“ ‘ He states another instance to the same effect where several persons gave up the society because the priest would not hear their confessions, nor administer the sacrament to them, and declared that he would not visit them even on their death-beds, unless they had previously renounced the society.’ (4032).

“ ‘ Elsewhere he states, that the priests have made a ‘ steady resistance’ to the ribandmen going to confession (3263), and that,

“ ‘ Where the ribandmen are the most numerous, the priests are the most anxious to put them down. The system puts an end to the power of the priest over the population.’ (3287).

“ ‘ He believes that they, the priests, look to the increase of ribandism with the greatest alarm.’ (3449).

“ ‘ His belief is founded upon his own observation, upon

the open and avowed anxiety of the priests, and upon the speeches reported to him to have been made by the priests at the altar.'

“ ‘ Parish priests and curates have equally expressed their horror of it.’ (3450).

“ ‘ He states an ineffectual attempt which had been made by the Rev. Mr. Newman, Roman Catholic curate of Courtown, in the county of Meath, to induce a body of supposed ribandmen to disperse.’ (4023).

“ ‘ He states, that a Roman Catholic clergyman has sworn before him an information, which is to be prosecuted at the next assizes, regarding a proposal to shoot a gentleman nineteen miles off.’ (4072).

“ ‘ Both classes of the Roman Catholic clergy have shown the greatest anxiety to assist in putting down all disturbances.’ (3448).

“ Mr. Barrington says, in answer to questions 7457 and 7458,

“ ‘ We have often received information from the Roman Catholic priests.’ (7457).

“ In the late disturbances in Clare, the priests preached against them from the altars, and did every thing in their power to put down the disturbances.’ (7458).

“ Captain Warburton mentions, as a specimen of the conduct of the Catholic clergy (14,005), ‘ that he had, upon one occasion, found forty stand of arms in a search ; that the success of the search was entirely owing to information furnished by the Roman Catholic priest,’ of whom Captain Warburton spoke in terms of the highest praise ; who afterwards was able to detect some other arms, which he caused to be delivered to the captain. The same gentleman says, that he ‘ was able to bring the perpetrators of an outrage to justice solely through the information given by a priest, and through his valuable

and meritorious exertions, for which he received the special thanks of the lord-lieutenant, at the express recommendation of Captain Warburton himself.'

"Colonel Shaw Kennedy says, 'The priests in Longford, and generally throughout Ireland, have used their influence for the prevention of crime. When I went to the county of Longford, they waited on me, and offered every assistance in their power in their respective parishes to prevent crime. And I have no doubt whatever, that they did every thing in their power for that purpose. If any violent address had been made from the altar, and had come to the knowledge of my inferior officers, it would have been their duty to report it to me. But I have never received any such report.'" (347-353).

"Captain Vignoles says, that 'whilst engaged in prosecutions he had received very great assistance from the Roman Catholic priests, and that latterly.' (4010, 4011).

"Captain Vignoles was a stipendary magistrate for eight years, and in continual hostility with Lord Mulgrave's government. He was one of Lord Roden's witnesses. At the late election he was the tory candidate for Ennis.'

"Mr. Ford, sessional crown prosecutor for the county of Meath, says—

"'That he has known them always—invariably—to denounce all secret societies, and endeavour to prevent crime; and that he has known them to give such information as to prevent the commission of crime.' (14,184, 14,786, 14,909).

"Mr. S. Jones, a stipendary magistrate, says, 'I have in many instances received the greatest possible assistance from the Roman Catholic clergymen in the preservation of the peace: I can cite instances of it, if your lordships please.'

“ Mr. Jones is an Englishman, for sixteen years connected with the constabulary force. It is unnecessary to say that their lordships did not please to hear anything farther on that side of the subject. The witness, however, says, that

“ ‘ The Roman Catholic priests supplied the means of prosecuting to conviction: that he acted on the information which they gave, and several men were convicted upon it: and that he received assistance from them in every instance where they could afford it.’ (14,528, 14,529, 14,530).

“ Mr. Drummond says, ‘ the conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy, as far as it has come within the observation of government, has been most exemplary. The constabulary reports abound with instances of exertions made by the Catholic clergy, with regard to every cause which tends to a violation of the laws. I cannot therefore, express myself too strongly when I am questioned as to my belief in their sincerity.’ 13,992-13,375).

“ Mr. Cahill, sessional crown prosecutor for Tipperary, says, ‘ the amount of crime is greatly reduced by the influence of the priests, and but for that influence there would be in Tipperary a much greater quantity of crime than there is at present. The priests are the best police against the commission of crime: they use every exertion to suppress it, and in many instances do succeed.’ (10,851).

“ Mr. Howley, the assistant barrister of the county of Tipperary, states, ‘ that the Roman Catholic clergy have always (as far as his experience goes) endeavoured by their influence to prevent crime, and that they have shown extreme anxiety to keep the people from the acts of riot and tumult.’ (10,157).

“ Major Warburton says, ‘ no complaint has been ever made to me of their having ever recommended crime of any sort !’

“ The same witness also gave the following evidence :—

“ ‘ I have very frequently received very active assistance from them ; they have been generally very anxious to assist in preserving the peace and discovering the perpetrators of crimes, and have given previous notice, both to the police and to the intended objects of attack, of offences about to be committed, so as to prevent the commission of the offences.’ (821-27, 850).

“ ‘ There were many instances within my own knowledge in which the priests have, both directly and indirectly, given such information as led to the conviction of parties by whom outrages had been committed.’

“ And finally, the same Major Warburton expresses himself concerning the same Roman Catholic priests in the following terms :—

“ ‘ I cannot name any instance in which, to my knowledge, a priest has known of an offence and has not given information.’ (853).

“ Such has indeed been the conduct of the Catholic clergy of Ireland, from the very commencement of the existence of outrages in that country, which era is fixed at the year 1761. These outrages were occasioned by the conduct of the landlords, who, to use the language of Lord Clare, ‘ ground the peasantry to powder,’ and reduced them to so hideous a necessity, that, as the lord bishop of Cloyne observed (*Argument*, p. 32), ‘ it would be an act of humanity and mercy towards them to adopt the more humane policy of the Indians, and put them to death,’ inasmuch as ‘ they had no other alternative but to commit a violation of the law for the support of life, or to perish of hunger, in submission to the regulations of property.’ (*Ibid.* p. 28.)

“ Before we pass from this part of the subject, we may as well mention that the principal parts of the article in

the *Quarterly* have been purloined from the digest of Messrs. Phelan and O'Sullivan. That work is also one of the compositions whose titles are placed at the head of the article in the *Quarterly*, and is referred to by the reviewer as one of the principal authorities upon which he relies. Now any person who will take the trouble to look into the table of contents to part I. of that work, will read in page ix, the following words:—'Section I. chapter I. Condition of the Peasantry; Excessive rents; Peasantry grateful and charitable.—Chapter III. Disturbances; little disturbance where the peasantry are comfortable.—Chapter IV. Causes of the disturbances not religious.' Such are the sentiments of Mr. O'Sullivan out of Exeter Hall."

APPENDIX.—No. III.

TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.

The following few specimens of the method in which Father Mathew's wonderful mission is accomplished, may prove acceptable to the English reader :—

From the Dublin Review,—May 1840.

“ Upon the effect already produced, or likely to be produced, by these proceedings, it is almost unnecessary to expatiate. The cause of temperance, says the Report, the title of which stands at the head of this article, has now ‘ overcome all opposition. The people are anxious to obtain information; speakers are listened to with marked attention, and it has become evident that in learning the truths of temperance, as well as in practising it, they have also learned to value knowledge and reason. It is now considered creditable to be a member of the Temperance Society, and the people feel proud of the progress of the cause throughout Ireland. The drinking customs are fast giving way before it; and there is reason to hope that amongst the working classes intemperance will soon cease to be a prevalent vice.’

“ ‘ When Ireland,’ says the committee of the Irish Temperance Union, in their address to Father Mathew, ‘ becomes a sober nation (and we believe the day is not far distant), what may we not hope for as the certain consequence of such a happy consummation? Plenty will prevail where famine was a frequent visitant—religion and peace will flourish where crime and disorder were rampant—public confidence will increase—capital will flow into the country—party spirit and civil broils will decline,

along with their foster parents, ignorance and intemperance. And in other countries our national reputation for the more solid, as well as the more brilliant, moral, and intellectual endowments, will rise to a height hitherto unknown. The increase of domestic happiness, which the success of this cause has already produced, it would be difficult to conceive, and impossible to pourtray.'

“ ‘Already,’ say the members of the National Total Abstinence Association, in their address to the reverend gentleman, ‘is the seed beginning to germinate; our country having heroically burst from the fetters of sensual prostration, is now rising in the power and plenitude of her moral beauty, presenting the majestic spectacle of a people at once virtuous and brave, patient and generous. The temples of religion are crowded with worshippers; crime has disappeared from amongst your followers; the cottage and the hamlet are now the abodes of peaceful industry and domestic comfort. The artizan consults the wants and interests of his growing family, conscientiously discharges the duties of a husband and a parent, and moves with credit and respect in the honest and laudable vocation which providence has assigned him. A tone of self-respect has been generated, which is generally diffusing itself, and silently pervading all classes of the community; while the effects of this mighty movement on the rising generation may be anticipated in the substitution of intellectual enjoyment for sensual indulgence, in the exercise of those rational pleasures which a cultivated taste will inspire; and in the universal emulation to acquire a sound, moral, and literary education, that high prerogative of intellectual man, to the attainment of which by all classes, the dissemination of our principles will, we feel convinced, give an inestimable impetus.’

“ In the appendix to the report before us, there are

numerous statements collected, showing the results of the temperance movements in many parts of the north of Ireland.

“ ‘ A moral regeneration,’ says the late Mayor of Limerick, ‘ has taken place among the people of this city, which is really most astonishing, and truly gratifying to every philanthropic mind. Our police reports are much lessened, petty-sessions business considerably reduced, and even summonses in the Court of Conscience have fallen off one third. Our streets and places of public resort are regular and quiet ; and that which must be most gratifying, is the fact, that although reports have, at different times, been industriously circulated of members of the society having broken their temperance pledge, I have not been able to make out a solitary instance of such being the fact.

“ ‘ The appearance of our city on Saturday (market day), bore evidence sufficient to convince the most sceptical of the improved habits of the people. We did not perceive a single drunken person on that day, nor have there been since then, as far as we can learn, more than four or five cases of drunkenness in the Mayor’s office.’—*Kilkenny Journal*.

“ MALLOW.—‘ The fair which took place on Monday was well attended. I walked through the fair, and it gives me sincere pleasure to state, that I did not see one drunken man, or any person in the slightest degree intoxicated.’

“ BONMAHON.—‘ A happy change is already visible : this village and adjoining roads, which presented the disgusting scenes of drunkenness and quarrelling on Sunday evenings, were last night as still as death ; a stranger coming amongst us, would imagine we were living under a curfew law ; not a person was to be seen outside doors. Every

man was in peace at home, surrounded by his joyous family, listening to his recital of the miraculous history of the day.'

“ ‘ We notice coffee shops already driving a thriving trade ; the bakeries obliged to do double work ; the shambles scarcely equal to the demand ; the grocers quite satisfied with themselves ; and the publicans, heaven help them, in the mumps. Glorious signs these for our country ; harbingers of halcyon days.’—*Waterford Chronicle*.

“ LOUGHREA.—‘ Our town, which was heretofore infested with drunken brawls, and the whiskey shops thronged with unfortunate beings eagerly swallowing the deleterious drug, presents a most happy and beneficial change.’

“ ‘ It is a melancholy fact, that while every other branch of trade in this town has been for some years in a declining state, upwards of sixty public-houses have had “ a respectable share of business.” Habitual drunkards have disgraced our streets ; and, on market-days, in particular, the police were actively engaged in dragging unfortunate victims of intemperance to a prison. The case is happily altered ; order and decorum are observed ; the reformed drunkard, no longer brutalized by intemperance, is peaceable and industrious ; and even those who have not yet taken the pledge (not being surrounded by their late boon companions), are ashamed to be seen frequenting the dram shops.

“ ‘ Some publicans have given up their licences, and are about opening soup shops and coffee rooms ; and altogether the aspect of affairs is completely changed.’

“ CLONMEL.—‘ The face of society here is altogether changed. Not a single case of riot or assault occurred at the last fair. The respectable inhabitants were as much surprised as gratified at this, and all persons felicitated

themselves on the great change that has taken place. The effect the society has in this part is indescribable.'

"The change, indeed, must be marvellous, for we find from the evidence given before the committee on drunkenness, that there was scarcely any part of Ireland in which that vice prevailed more extensively than in Clonmel. In 1826, there were in that town (the chief town of the county Tipperary) 97 licensed public-houses or spirit shops; since 1826 there has been an increase of 83; the total now (1834) 180. The gallons of spirits, which are 25 degrees over proof, received by the retailers for one quarter, was 77,897; supposed to be drunk by the sober population at home, one-eighth, 9737; leaving, as drunk by workmen and paupers, 68,160 gallons: one-sixth allowed to be added by the retailers in the way of water, and so forth, 11,360; total per quarter, 79,520, which per year amounts to 318,080 gallons; value, at 6*s.* 8*d.* per gallon, or 2½*d.* per naggin of licensed spirits, 26,506*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per quarter, or 106,026*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year."

"NENAGH.—'It is really astonishing to behold the most abandoned and reckless characters, who a few weeks before were a scandal to society and the victims of drunkenness, now showing forth in their lives models of virtue and temperance, and putting to the blush those who in the beginning both sneered at and were sceptical as to its results.'

"KILLARNEY.—'Before the foundation of the society, the publicans in this town numbered about sixty-four; at the October sessions fifteen surrendered their licences, and as many more will follow their example at the next sessions. The respectable publicans, whose receipts hitherto averaged from two to three pounds per day, do not now receive ten shillings in the day.'

"CARRICK-ON-SUIR.—(After describing a procession

which attended the funeral of a deceased member of the Temperance Society)—‘ A little month ago, and the most of these men were the veriest victims of the most debasing, brutalizing intemperance: ever and anon they might be seen tottering from those moral pest-houses—the dram shops—revolting masses of filth and rags, breathing blasphemy, disturbing public order, outraging public decency, loathsome objects of pity or disgust. “ A little month,” and now they walk abroad redeemed, emancipated from the vile enslavement of this most incorrigible, most predominant of vicious propensities, drunkenness,—decently and comfortably apparelled, exhibiting in their *tout ensemble* not only the indications of cleanliness and comfort, but presenting a mental amelioration, and looking cheerfulness and contentment; altogether so completely reformed as to render their recognition an act of pleasing difficulty.’

“ The population of the town and parish of Dungarvan (county Waterford) numbers about 11,000. It is calculated, that of these, at least 1,000 spent sixpence a day in drink, which would amount to about 9,000*l.* a year. Only imagine the benefits which these whiskey drinkers (supposing even only 2,000 out of the whole to be reformed) must derive by converting £9,000 a year to the purchase of clothes and other articles conducive to their comfort! There were, even so late as last autumn, 75 whiskey shops in that town, and a careful inquirer has stated, that on an average, their sales amounted to £15 a week each house, which would be nearly £60,000 a year. This expenditure upon whiskey and porter, contributed, let us assume, from a semi-circle whose radius shall be fifteen miles in extent, (Dungarvan being a sea-port town) applied to better purposes, must of necessity speedily ameliorate the whole form and appearance of society in that country. A decided

improvement showed itself in that town early in November, when the writer to whom we allude assures us, ' that the public houses, shebeen shops, and dram counters, are now as deserted as Goldsmith's village ale-house. *Number One*, the apartment in our Bridewell designed for the reception of drunkards, is now at the service of any elderly lady or gentleman who may be in want of a good dry lodging in a retired situation. Our meat shambles are crowded with the wives and daughters of tradesmen, labourers, and fishermen, laying out the money hitherto spent in whiskey. The sale of tea, coffee, bread, oatmeal, and all other necessaries, which may be deemed luxuries to the humbler classes, has increased in a ratio of 60 per cent.; while the business of petty sessions courts, within a circuit of fifteen miles about Youghal and Dungarvan, has decreased in a ratio of 80 per cent.'

" It is stated by Mr. Cyrus Clark, of Glastonbury, Somersetshire, a member of the Society of Friends, who lately made a tour in the south of Ireland, that at Fermoy (county Cork) the usual number of spirit licenses applied for at the beginning of the year was, as he learned from good authority, eighty: but that this year the applications did not exceed five! ' I have now,' he adds, ' returned to Dublin, and repeat that I have not seen more than one drunken man, to my knowledge, in the south of Ireland, and not one in Waterford, Clonmel, Cork, or Limerick! What a change!'

" We think that there are not a few strong guarantees for the permanence of the change that has already taken place. In the first place the vice of intemperance is of itself so disgusting, so injurious to happiness, health, and fortune, that when once it is abandoned, even for a short season, it is contemplated with a degree of horror, which is a most powerful bar against the return of its ascendancy.

In its absence, virtues are acquired not practised before—little stores of wealth are gained, before unknown—the hearth, formerly neglected, is now kept clean—the parents and the children, long accustomed to mere rags, are now comfortably clothed—the pot on the fire, hitherto familiar only with potatoes, now contains a leg of good mutton, or a piece of bacon well garnished with cabbage—the ‘rent’ is easily paid—a cow is added to the two or three pigs, which, in days scarcely yet gone by, were the sole payers of the rent, all other sources of gain having been squandered on whiskey. It is morally impossible that those days of destitution and misery can ever come back upon a people who have even for a short time become acquainted with the results of the temperance system. Add to these circumstances the feeling of self-respect, attested from all quarters to have been already acquired by the practisers of temperance—the public shame that attends relapse—the diminution, by reason of the almost total extinction of distilleries and whiskey shops, of the occasions of temptation—the increased vigilance and renewed exhortations of the clergy of every religion, and the deeper impression which such exhortations must produce upon minds newly opened to the charms of those ever-admirable precepts that constitute the foundation of Christianity. The local societies existing, or that soon will exist, in every quarter of the island, must also acquire a power within their districts which it will not be easy to overthrow, or even resist or elude to any material extent. These are all, as we humbly conceive, guarantees of the most satisfactory description for the realization of our best hopes on this most important subject. In short, as it appears to us, the relapse of any considerable portion of the Irish temperance societies into the habits of drunkenness, so long the disgrace, and hindrance to every effort for the amelioration,

of that country, would now be a more astonishing change than even the sudden and sublime diversion from the way of evil to those of every virtue, which has been recently effected in that country. It is comparable to no event recorded in history, except the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea. The God who opened to his people that path through the waters, and closed them again upon the Egyptians, their chariots and horsemen, knows how to set up his barriers against the second captivity of a nation which he has just set free from a still more terrible oppressor.

“ It is too soon yet to shape out all the political consequences which must follow from the moral changes now in progress through every part of Ireland. Temperance must beget wealth; wealth—self-respect, self-government, knowledge, power, tranquillity, the amalgamation of all parties into one people, the promotion of Ireland from a province to a nation. The example set by this country cannot be without its effect upon England, upon Europe, upon the whole earth. Let but the seeds of regeneration be freely cast upon that earth, and at the harvest time assuredly shall come the good fruit. Vast movements of men from the courses of vice to those of virtue may be hereafter looked for, as the result of labours directed betimes to that grand object. Thus shall the paradise so long lost to human vision be restored, and the sons of men be embraced in the one great fold of religion, charity, and peace.”—*Dublin Review*.

“ Father Mathew received the rudiments of his education at an excellent grammar-school at Thurles (county Tipperary), which was kept in the market-house of that town by a very good classical scholar, named Flynn. From that school he proceeded to a seminary in Kilkenny, and thence to Maynooth, to complete his education for the

Church; after which he became a member of the Capuchin, or reformed Franciscan order of friars, one of whose institutions has been long established in Cork. Of that institution he is now the prior. After many years spent in the labours of his mission, he devoted all his pecuniary savings, and the proceeds of his patrimonial property, amounting to a sum of nearly £5,000, to the erection of a church, which, with the assistance of penny subscriptions from his congregation, and a loan of about £300 from the Irish Board of Works, he has been engaged during a period of seventeen years in carrying on towards its completion. The House of Commons should testify their gratitude for the public services of this good man, by not only converting that loan into a grant, but also voting a sum sufficient to perfect the sacred edifice according to its original design. If finished upon the plan upon which it has been commenced, it will be a great ornament to the city of Cork, and one of the most beautiful Gothic churches in Ireland.

“Another most valuable public work, which will always endear the name of Father Mathew to the poor of Cork, is a cemetery which he has established at his own expense near that city, upon the plan of Père-la-Chaise. It is an universal ambition of the Irish people to have what they call, ‘a fine funeral.’ Loving that people with a truly parental affection, this admirable pastor has secured, under many difficulties, the attainment of their much-prized object for his congregation. For the rich who desire to be buried in his cemetery, there is a portion of it set apart, from which a small revenue is raised. Every sixpence of that revenue is applied either to the maintenance of the cemetery, or to charitable objects of a different character.”

*Visit of the Apostle of Temperance to Wicklow,
on the 7th November 1841.*

“The joy and exultation of the people on the morning of Sunday, the 7th instant, reached a pitch of enthusiasm never before witnessed in our town; every countenance was lighted up with the anticipations of delight and happiness which the coming visit of the great apostle of temperance was so well calculated to inspire. Each man vied with his neighbour in the manifestation of that deep and ardent anxiety—the offspring of love and affection—to behold the great moral regenerator of his country, and to welcome him with a cordial and hearty reception; a feeling, it is needless to add, in which the fairer portion of the creation largely participated.

“After mass had been celebrated, about nine o’clock, for the first time in the new Catholic Church of St. Patrick, by the Very Rev. Mr. Grant, P.P., to whose piety and zeal in the cause of religion this splendid temple, dedicated to the worship of the living GOD, owes its erection, and a suitable address on this soul-inspiring occasion by the very rev. gentleman, who, with that humility characteristic of his Divine Master, took no merit to himself but referred all to GOD, and the co-operation of his parishioners, the people assembled on the new chapel ground, and proceeded thence, accompanied by the Wicklow total abstinence band, to meet the very rev. apostle on his entrance into the town. The very rev. gentleman had, however, anticipated the expected hour of his arrival, and the people, evidently much disappointed in being deprived of the opportunity of honouring him with a triumphant entry, had to content themselves with giving him a hearty welcome to the Abbey, the residence of the Very Rev. Mr. Grant, whence, on his arrival in town, he had immediately proceeded. The moment the very rev. apostle of tem-

perance was recognised a shout of acclamation burst from the assembled multitude which rent the air, and was again and again repeated with an enthusiastic fervour which baffles description. The apostle immediately afterwards commenced his sacred vocation, and continued to labour therein with his accustomed patience and unwearied diligence, until the arrival of the hour—about half-past one o'clock—appointed to preach the sermon in the new church in aid of the funds.

“In the mean time the Wicklow band, and a large number of the town's-people in procession, went out to meet their brethren from Arklow, the Mine Rocks, and Barndarrig, who, each having a band of music, had come to do honour to their country's greatest benefactor. Having met them a short distance from the town, the immense multitude, preceded by the bands, and headed by the sailors of our port bearing the flags of their respective vessels, adding greatly to the beauty of the pageant, paused in its thousands, stopping at the scene of the apostle's labours.

“At this moment the spectacle presented was at once awful and sublime; such an immense mass of human beings congregated for such a noble purpose being well calculated to inspire a deep feeling of reverential awe—the peaceable demeanour, happy countenances, and joyous exclamations, coupled with the presence of the second Patrick labouring in the midst of the multitude with a zeal and patience so well worthy of a spiritual son in the sacred ministry of our illustrious national apostle, completing the sublimity of the scene.

“At the appointed hour the very rev. gentleman ascended the steps of the temporary altar, erected in the new church, and taking as his text—“It is then to be thought God should indeed dwell upon earth, for if heaven

and the heaven of heavens cannot contain, then how much less this house which I have built?"—3 Kings viii. 27—preached for about an hour, in that eloquent and impassioned style, for which he is so distinguished, to a large and respectable congregation, including many highly-respectable Protestants of the town and neighbourhood, producing, as is usual, a powerful effect on the minds of his deeply-attentive auditory.

“ After the sermon, Father Mathew again commenced his sacred labours, and stayed on the ground up to nearly five o'clock, whence he proceeded to the Abbey, accompanied by a number of clergymen and gentlemen, who had assisted him in preserving order amongst the anxious postulants, who, during the day pressed round him to take the pledge and receive the sign of redemption from his sacred hand.

“ In the evening, the Very Rev. Mr. Grant entertained the apostle of temperance, and between thirty and forty of the gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood, in his usual hospitable style. The enjoyments of the evening on the occasion being much enhanced by the delivery of several excellent speeches appropriate to the occasion.

“ On Monday morning, the very rev. Gentleman, after having said mass in the new chapel, renewed his labour.

“ Tuesday being the day fixed for his departure, the very rev. apostle, after spending the morning in his heavenly calling, and delivering a soul-stirring address to his disciples, inculcating, in his own felicitous manner, the paramount necessity there existed for those who had enrolled themselves under the sacred banner of temperance—to exercise charity and good-will to all men—to be honest, upright, and industrious—to avoid illegal combinations—in fine, to live as good citizens ought to live—left our town amidst the blessings and acclamations of the

multitude assembled to witness his departure. Nor did he go alone, for he was accompanied a considerable distance on his way by hundreds—headed by Master James Perrin—who would have willingly gone miles to evince their gratitude to the man, who, of all others, occupies the foremost place in their affections.

“It would be an act of great injustice to our Protestant fellow-townsmen not to add that they vied with each other in showing the most marked and affectionate respect to the Very Rev. Mr. Mathew during his short visit amongst us.

“The proceeds of the sermon, including a donation of twenty-five pounds from the very rev. preacher, amounted to nearly two hundred pounds.

“Father Mathew, with his wonted anxiety to promote the happiness and real enjoyments of the people, in the most handsome manner presented ten pounds to the Wicklow Total Abstinence band. He also left five pounds for the poor.

“An address was presented on Monday evening—previous to his retiring for the day from the scene of his labours—to the apostle of temperance, with which he was pleased to express himself gratified; and in his reply, with that characteristic humility which so eminently distinguishes him, referred all the honour to God for the happy fruits of his humble labours, to which He alone could give such a miraculous increase.

“The gross number of persons who took the pledge is set down as under twenty thousand.

“The weather during the whole time of the apostle’s stay was beautiful in the extreme.”

*Father Mathew's visit to Grantstown, November 20th, 1841.
Medical Certificates.*

“On Wednesday morning the apostle of temperance arrived at the convent of Grantstown, in order to advocate the claims of its reverend brotherhood on a Christian people, to enable them to liquidate the debts remaining due on the unique and beautiful little chapel attached to the institution. Every avenue radiating from the point of attraction, was covered from daylight to eleven o'clock, with dense masses wending their way to hail the regenerator of Ireland, and enlist under his glorious banners. A large sprinkling of the gentry, we are glad to say, encouraged by their example their more humble fellow-beings in the laudable work of honouring the apostle of temperance, and cheering him on in his glorious and heavenly mission. Amongst others, we observed our esteemed High Sheriff, Mrs. J. W. Goff and family, Mrs. King, Cooliffe, and family, T. R. Hawkshaw, Esq., &c. &c. Shortly after eleven o'clock, Father Mathew entered the chapel, and having ascended the steps of the altar, delivered one of the most forcible, eloquent, and persuasive discourses in behalf of the sacred temple in which he stood, that we ever heard, and evidently made a deep and, we trust, lasting, impression on the hearts of his vast and admiring auditory. Immediately after the sermon, he proceeded to the extensive area in front of the chapel, which was crowded with postulants awaiting the appearance of their deliverer from the most debasing and iniquitous of vices. The amateur bands of Wexford and Ross had also arrived from their respective localities, to greet this great conqueror of the national failing, and on his making his appearance in the open air, struck up ‘See the conquering hero comes,’ which had a most pleasing effect. A more humble, but not less meritorious knot of

admirers of 'the concord of sweet sounds,' from Duncormuck, with instruments of real native manufacture, also joined in the general jubilation.

"Father Mathew, having ascended a platform erected for his accommodation, on which we previously observed a considerable number of the venerated and beloved pastors of the people, encouraging their susceptible and attached flocks, on the bright path of virtue and regeneration, he proceeded thus to address them—after greetings loud, long, and heartfelt, had rent the air for some minutes. 'He was glad,' he said, 'to hear these rejoicings. It reminded him of the story told of the Sicilian tyrant, who turned pale when he heard the people shout in the street. "Why do you tremble?" said his courtiers; "don't you hear the people shout?" replied he. "Surely that's nothing" was the natural rejoinder; "nothing" replied the tyrant, "it is my death-knell they are sounding." Now, he, (Father Mathew) 'trusted that the shout that they had just given would be the death-knell of whiskey, and he was sure they would join him not as mourners, but as joyous Irishmen in following it to the grave. It was Pandora's box of evil that deluged the country with crime; and if whiskey, ale, and porter, were banished from the land, it would be the greatest blessing Providence could bestow upon it. There were now five millions of teetotalers in Ireland; and there was not one out of that vast number who could lay his hand upon his heart and say I was wrong in the pledge I made, my health and understanding have suffered thereby, and I will again return to the use of alcoholic drinks. It was worse than the Egyptian bondage inflicted by Heaven on the Jewish nation. He grieved to say, however, that there were more infractions of the sacred obligation which the Irish people had, under the Divine assistance, placed on themselves, in this county

than in all the rest of Ireland. But he still would not despair of their again returning to the waters of regeneration; but even if they should remain contumacious, and wallow in their former guilt and baseness, the teetotalers of Ireland could do without them. They should remember the murmurs of the Jewish people and their longings for the flesh-pots of Egypt, while Moses was conducting them to the Land of Promise; and they should also remember that the gospel of the Lord did not suffer, although there was a Judas among the Apostles. He had just come from districts where there were twenty, thirty, forty thousand teetotalers, and not one had proved faithless to his pledge or adopted the wretched subterfuge of getting a doctor's certificate in order to qualify themselves as patients to participate in the maddening draught. A few days back he had traversed a great portion of the county Wicklow, and the extensive district of Killealy and Limbrick on the borders of this county; and blessed be heaven, not a single teetotaler had violated his pledge therein. Last Sunday he had been in Mountrath, and met the clergy of the Queen's County, Kildare, Carlow, and Kilkenny there; and was assured by them that there was no such thing thought of by their respective flocks as breaking their pledges. This was the only part of Ireland, he regretted to say, for the character of the county Wexford, from whence he received letters, and seemingly all in the one handwriting, surrendering their obligation; but he would there take occasion to inform them that he never opened any such letters, and that they were as much bound to their pledge as if they had never written them. From the abuse of the clause in the pledge, making an exception for medical purposes, he was determined, in the administration of the pledge in future, to leave out all qualification and exception whatsoever. He (Father Mathew) met a

porter in Ross yesterday, a stout, active, athletic fellow—he said that he wanted to renew the pledge, and that he never would have broken it, only that he got leave from the doctor to take a couple of glasses a day for the cholic. He (Father Mathew) met another man in Templemore a few days back going for a keg of ale, What are you about, said I—you who have taken the pledge? Oh sir, look at this, he replied, showing me a doctor's certificate, which prescribed a quart of ale each day for the patient, to be qualified with a pinch of bark (laughter). Now, these doctors make a mockery of temperance; and it would appear as if they preferred trading on the infirmities and diseases of the people produced by the use of alcoholic drinks. Was he not warranted in coming to such a conclusion, when he saw a doctor's certificate permitting a man to drink two glasses of whiskey a day? He regretted being obliged to make these observations; but a sense of duty compelled him. They should henceforth recollect that no man, under any pretence whatsoever, can be absolved from his pledge; and he trusted that he should never again hear of teetotalers drinking on a doctor's certificate; or sending back their cards and medals when the tempter preys upon their weakness. Surely when they reflected on the blessings and happiness which teetotalism has produced in the country, and the misery, wretchedness, and debasement, from which it has raised the people, no rational man could think of returning to such a fruitful source of vice and wickedness. The great and mighty and learned of the land were on their side, aiding the good work of regeneration; their bishops and clergy were giving it their valuable support and countenance; and he could tell them that the good and beloved prelate of their own diocese would be here this day, only that he had to be in Dublin to attend a meeting of the Irish hierarchy.

However he (Father M.) promised that he should visit him (Dr. Keating) about Christmas; when he hoped that he would not have to upbraid any of his brother teetotalers with having sneaked into the dram shop under a doctor's passport, or a post-office stamp. It was highly encouraging to him (Father Mathew) that day, to come forward under the patronage of the enlightened and philanthropic sheriff of the county, Mr. Boyse. To him the cause of temperance owed a deep obligation. He had long exhibited a zeal and fervour in the cause, for which he hoped Almighty God would reward him. *It is a fundamental rule of the society to exclude politics and sectarianism of every kind.* If any one wished for a dish of the former, let him go to a political meeting; and if he entertained a penchant for religious disquisition, he had his house of worship to visit. Our society, said the reverend gentleman, is composed of all sects and parties, *unsullied by those asperities which make life miserable, and are the curse of the country.* Several he knew viewed their society through a jaundiced eye, discoloured by the feeling of selfishness and personal interest. That cannot be helped. Thousands, however, should not die, that a few might prosper. Government purposed running railways through the country, thereby affording employment, and enhancing the interests of the farmer. Now, if Mr. Bianconi and Mr. Purcell sent a joint petition to parliament, calling on it not to attempt legislating on such a national question as it would injure their individual interests, don't you think such petition would be received with laughter and ridicule? It was the same way with the publican: his individual interests must suffer, in order that an universal good may follow. Temperance carried blessings in both hands—blessings for time, and blessings for all eternity. Show me the state of life however enno-

bled from birth, adorned by talent, or blessed with virtue, that did not offer its victims to the Juggernaut of intemperance? Then, let no man say, I am sober, have a perfect control over my senses, and never will stoop to the sin and degradation of intoxication. The worst criminals might have been once virtuous and entertained the same false notions of self-control—no, all must shun the danger, or they may perish therein. He had no hesitation in saying that, in the whole Christian Church, there was no portion so virtuous, so holy, so conformable to the dictates of the Gospel as *the five million teetotalers of Ireland*; but it is the work of the great and omnipotent God, and could not be traced to human agency. When a man takes the pledge, he feels as if a heavy load had been raised off his shoulders, and that he could walk forth unburdened in the moral dignity of virtue and self-control. Before the pledge was taken by the Irish people, a drunkard was always viewed as a drunkard, and shunned as such, but now if he joined the all-saving society of teetotalers, he becomes the object of every good man's care and solicitude, as one who had put off the old and assumed the new man of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. He begged to impress upon them the necessity of being faithful to their pledge, and not guilty of the mean and ignoble conduct of applying to physicians for leave to drink liquid poison under the name of medicine. He cautioned them against those snares of Satan called teetotal cordials. They all contain alcoholic mixtures. Be stedfast and fear not. Teetotalers should behold one another as brothers; and recollect the Gospel injunction 'a new commandment I give unto you, that you love one another.' It is singular to see men contending about abstruse texts in St. Paul, and neglecting that great fundamental principle of Christianity 'love one another.' Temperance happily is the great lever by which this sacred

injunction can be wrought out. He had lately witnessed its blessed fruits in the North, where all sects and parties flocked to its banners, trampling their prejudices under foot and joining in a brotherhood of Christian philanthropy and virtue. To the members of the society of friends the cause of temperance was much indebted. They supported it when it was like the small grain of mustard-seed, and flocked around it in the same exalted spirit, now that it has sprung up into a mighty tree. The apostle of temperance next proceeded to caution the people against joining any illegal or secret society, and to fly as they would the plague, the monster who dared to tender or talk of a secret oath. Fear God and keep his commandments ; and if you do, and live under the ægis of temperance, you will be happy in this life, and in the hour of death receive from its retrospection a heavenly consolation.

“ About four thousand persons then knelt down, whilst the regenerator of millions administered the pledge, omitting the words ‘except for medical purposes.’

“ Amongst those on the platform who took the pledge—and who did so in order that their noble and generous example might influence others to ‘go and do likewise’—we observed the Rev. James Walsh, the venerated and learned pastor of Kilmore, Edward Hay, Esq., of Ross ; Rev. Mr. Barden, P.P., Tintern ; Rev. Mr. Marshall, C.C., Tintern ; Rev. Mr. Morris, C.C., Sutton’s parish, &c. with a large number of respectable females.

“ Three addresses were then presented to the apostle of temperance.

“ The very reverend gentleman continued to admonish each batch as they presented themselves, until four o’clock, when, it is estimated, about ten thousand new postulants were enrolled under the banners of peace, virtue, and regeneration.

“ In the evening a large number of friends were invited to meet the apostle of temperance, and share the hospitalities of the convent, when the ‘feast of reason and flow of soul,’ was kept up to a protracted hour, over that ‘cup which exhilarates but not inebriates.’ ”

ADDRESS TO FATHER MATHEW.

“ The following is the address of the Wicklow Total Abstinence and Friendly Benefit Society, to the Very Rev. Theobald Mathew :—

“ ‘VERY REV. SIR,—We hail with unbounded enthusiasm your presence amongst us—we welcome you with a thousand welcomes. We recognise in your person the humility of the Christian, combined with the exalted dignity of a priest of the living God—your rare and exalted virtues shedding an additional lustre on your sacred profession, and demanding at our hands the most profound respect and affectionate veneration.

“ ‘ You found your country, very rev. Sir, enslaved and degraded by a worse than Egyptian bondage—the bondage of intemperance. You saw numbers of her brave sons and virtuous daughters daily sacrificed at this soul-destroying shrine ; you witnessed with a grief commensurate with your ardent desires to stem the torrent of iniquity, which, like a moral deluge, swept with impetuous fury over our land, the crime, and misery, and desolation, consequent upon this odious slavery—the slavery of Satan, sin, and hell ; you sighed for the happy day—nor did you sigh in vain—when your country would be freed from her bonds, and restored to the land of promise which, thank God, we have at length attained, flowing, as it does, with the milk and honey of peace, prosperity, and human happiness.

“ ‘ And who has been the second Moses, chosen by Almighty God, in conducting his favoured people from the barren wilderness whence they have just escaped, after centuries of painful travel, by a transition as wonderful as it is unprecedented—making even the scorner to exclaim, ‘ Verily the finger of God is here!’—who but you, very reverend Sir, under whose heavenly guidance we have already arrived at that land which so many of the virtuous, and the wise, and the good of our fathers in by-gone ages have sighed after, and prayed for the happiness of enjoying.

“ ‘ We were eternally degraded as a nation did we not evince our gratitude for blessings second only to those conferred on our pagan ancestors by the sainted Patrick. But, very reverend Sir, though your mission nor its reward is not of this world, you have received that recompense which, like a true disciple of your Divine Master, you esteem infinitely beyond the wealth of the world—you have the prayers and the benedictions of millions of grateful hearts. And when the great and the mighty of this world, whose deeds are as chaff, when weighed in the balance of the Lord, shall have passed away, and their titles, honours, and exploits buried in eternal oblivion, your name shall descend to the remotest ages, associated with your glorious labours; and when thrones and sceptres shall crumble and commingle with the dust, and the monuments of those who filled or wielded them share in the common ruin, the name of Mathew shall live enshrined in the hearts of millions yet unborn, and there reign until gratitude be extinguished from the breasts of Irishmen, or chaos resume his primeval sway.

“ ‘ Go on, very reverend Sir, in heavenward career—pursue that glorious cause which Providence has, in so marked a manner, clearly pointed out to you—continue

the noble work of regenerating your country, and of raising her to a rank, not only with the nations of the earth, but far above them. Then shall religion, virtue, and learning entwine, and form at once the crown, the blessing, and the reward of the votaries at the hallowed altar of temperance ; and their incense ascend as the most acceptable offering which man can make to God.

“ ‘ Very rev. Sir, though we cannot but regret your departure from amongst us, and would fain have you always with us, yet when we know you go to dispense those blessings in which we have already shared—to bring joy to the afflicted father and widowed mother—to restore to their aged embrace the prodigal son or the Magdalen daughter—to break down the accursed wall of separation which drunkenness had raised between the husband and the wife—to reconcile brother to brother, and neighbour to neighbour—to confer health, happiness, peace, and plenty, on all who may enlist themselves under your sacred banner—these being the hallowed objects of your mission ; our sorrow at parting with the priest is converted into joy and exultation, when we reflect on the heavenly calling of the apostle. And, oh ! if your Divine Master has promised that a cup of cold water given in his name shall not want its reward in the kingdom of his Father, what must be the weight of glory he has reserved for you, his faithful minister, as the recompense of your godlike labours, in rescuing from hell not only the millions who are living, but countless millions in future generations, who will yet live to bless God, through your ministry?’ ”

APPENDIX.—No. IV.

On the 25th of July, 1831, in a debate on the distress of Ireland, Mr. O'Connell is reported in the *Mirror of Parliament* to have thus expressed himself:—"The great cause of her distress may be founded on the fact that fifteen out of sixteen of her great landed proprietors are absentees;" and in a speech of the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, at a meeting for the establishment of a land investment company in Ireland, he is reported in the *Dublin Weekly Register* to have said, "*nine-tenths* of the proprietors of the soil were not resident in the country."

But how are we to reconcile this with the admitted fact that only three millions and a half (the most extravagant estimate I can any where find is four millions), of her income are transmitted to England? Is this nine-tenths of her income? I do not believe it to be one-seventh.

People who talk at random estimate her income at ten or fifteen millions: but when we know that about fifteen millions of good land—land generally of a better quality than in England—are notoriously let at a higher rental than in any other portion of the United Kingdom, and that in 1835 she exported in provisions and other productions of the land alone, to the value of thirteen millions sterling, and that the amount has gone on increasing since,—can we fairly estimate the rental of Ireland at less than from twenty-five to thirty millions? The evidence upon this point is too general and too conclusive to admit of any question. "I found rents," says Inglis, "in Wicklow, such as for the most part could never be paid by the produce of the land."

“ With farm produce at its present prices (which were then very low), and with an average rent on arable land, of from £2 to £2. 10s. per acre, the farmer cannot do a great deal more than live and pay his rent.”

In the neighbourhood of Waterford he found “£5, £4. 10s. and even £7 per acre paid for small farms; and in all these cases, potatoes formed the sole diet of the farmer, with occasionally the backbone of a pig. Such rents as these, however, could not be paid at the then prices of agricultural produce.”

“ I know of a large tract let to middlemen at £2, and other property at £6.”

Land near Callen “ is frightfully rack-rented at a distance from any market, it is let at £4 and £4. 10s. per acre.”

“ Land is high let about Thurles, but it is good land, and farmers paying £3, £4, £5, and even more per acre; admitted that they could live and pay their rent, unless in unfavourable seasons.”

In the suburbs of Tipperary “ I found many cabins wretched enough, and enormous rents paid for them. Some paid £4, none less than £2. 10s. and the average rent might be £3.”

Upon the con-acre system, £10 or £12 is a usual rent. In the neighbourhood of Cahir, on Lord Glengall's property, he says, “ the land is not considered to be much over-let. It *averages* to the actual possessors about £40, and is *generally* excellent land.”

“ The average rent of land about Mitchelstown, (without any rack-rents), may be stated at about 25s. . . . The land is generally under a fair state of husbandry; though nowhere in the condition of which it is susceptible.”

“ I found average good land, but by no means first-rate land, situated about a mile from the town of Ennis, let at

£7 and £8 per acre ; and very indifferent land, as far and even at a greater distance from the town, let at 4*l.* and 5*l.* per acre. This is literally squeezing the uttermost farthing out of the soil."

"The town of Tralee is the property of Sir Edward Denny ; he grants leases on lives, renewable for ever ; but it is not in his power to let ground at a lower rate than 10*l.* per acre."

"In the county of Longford I visited a farmer who possessed one hundred and seven acres at 23*s.* the Irish acre (not above 16*s.* the English acre), almost every acre of the farm arable ; this was upon Lady Ross's property."

"The con-acre system is universal in the county of Longford ; and the rent paid does not generally exceed the rate of 8*l.* per acre. It must be remembered that 10*l.* and 12*l.* are the more usual rents."

"Con-acre prevails pretty extensively in the neighbourhood of Balinasloe ; and the average rent paid may be stated at £10 per acre.

"In the immediate neighbourhood of the town of Westport, I found a man occupying three acres of land, and paying only £4 for the whole."

"The average rent of land near Ballina, may be stated at about 28*s.* In one of my excursions in the neighbouring country I found a farmer holding twenty-one acres, at 25*s.* per acre ; and about one-fourth of this quantity was marsh and bog. The rest was capable of growing oats."

"The whole land in the barony of Sligo averages £2, 5*s.* per acre. In the county, excluding bog and mountain land, it averages about 26*s.* ; and good cultivated land may average £2. There is no living and paying such rents."

"The con-acre system is common in most parts of Fermanagh, and the rent per acre is from £8 to £10."

“In the district of Donegal, land is let exorbitantly high. I saw land, about half a mile from the town, which was let at £3. 5s. per acre, and which I am certain could not afford a living profit at a higher rent than 2*l.* I saw land also, several miles from Donegal, let at 1*l.* and 18s., which was certainly not worth 10s.”

“Land round Londonderry is not excessively high let. In the neighbourhood of the town it is chiefly bishop’s land; and town lands are let about 3*l.* per acre.”

“Between Newton-Limovaddy and Coleraine, land of the best quality is not generally let higher than 1*l.* per acre; and tenants, I think, may, with ordinary industry, be comfortable..... In these districts there are a considerable number of cottiers, established by the larger farmers as labourers, and have generally a house, a cow’s grass, and a few roods of garden ground, for which holding they pay on an average 5*l.*”

“In the district round Newry, I saw rocky hill land, lying several miles from the town, and certainly not worth 10s. an acre, which had lately been let to the highest bidder at 30s.

“In almost every part of Ireland, the average rent of a cabin with no land attached to it, is 35s..... In Wicklow, Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Tipperary counties, 30s. and 40s. is the usual rent of a cabin, either altogether without land, or with so inconsiderable a patch, that its value is scarcely any set-off against the rent.”

“In every part of Ireland, with the exception of Ulster, where land is not the only refuge of the poor man, con-acre prevails to a greater or less extent,—to the greatest extent in those parts which are the most populous. Rent of con-acre varies from 7*l.* up to 12*l.* I have heard of higher rents, but these were rare exceptions.”

So far Inglis. I will add but one other testimony to

this conclusive evidence, and which I have myself lately received from a friend:—"My brother," says he, "has just returned from a tour in Ireland, and he affirms that we can form no notion of the extent of poverty prevailing there, until from actual inspection we have ourselves witnessed it, and yet from several inquiries he made, he ascertained that very moderate land is let at a higher rate than our best Leicestershire."

Can any one doubt then that the rental of Ireland reaches twenty-five millions sterling? or that the competition for land is her great evil, and not the want of universal suffrage? As all things are to be estimated by comparison, even the condition of the poor will be found to have improved, if contrasted with the abject state of misery and degradation in which Young describes them to have been before the Union.

I would suggest, not only as a means of imparting information, but of provoking it from others, that more encouragement were given to book-clubs in the provincial towns, and even in country districts.

Sir Henry Parnell gave it in evidence not ten years ago, that eleven counties were without a single bookseller's shop; "and literature," says the *Dublin Review*, "is still (1837) at a very low ebb in many of the provincial towns, which are chiefly dependent on itinerary booksellers for their supply;" while the same complaint is made by every tourist in Ireland. Even the circulation of the *Dublin Review* itself is extremely limited, though got up expressly for the purpose of advocating the cause of Ireland, in which it not unfrequently strains even facts in its zeal to place the wants and condition of that country in their most favourable light; and though its object is thus publicly recorded in the Irish advertisements, "Political more than polemical, its peculiar province is to advocate those

principles which are calculated to advance the cause and improve the condition of Ireland, a division of the empire otherwise without a voice in the standard literature of the country.”

I am well aware that certain small trades in Ireland have also suffered a decline, such as the glove trade and coach-building. The former evidently arises from the same circumstances which depress the same manufacture in England—namely, free trade, and the superior quality of French gloves. The latter may certainly be affected by the want of residents of a superior class in Dublin; but it should be remembered that if it does arise from that cause, Ireland has much more than a full compensation in the absence of all assessed taxes, than which nothing would more contribute to discourage absenteeism, provided the country were to cease from agitation, and that the poverty of her people were relieved.

“There must, I think,” says Inglis, “be a drawback on the enjoyment of the finest domain in Ireland. All that the heart can desire, may be concentrated within its walls; nay, even the subject village may own the fostering protection of a kind-hearted resident landlord; but beyond, all this disappears: private wealth and humanity can extend their influence only to a limited distance; and beyond the circle of that influence, rags and beggary are found. I am led to make this observation here, because there are several resident landlords about Thomastown; and because there is but one opinion round the country, as to the worth of Mr. Power, as a resident landlord; and yet I found the condition of the people, *generally*, to be wretched. I met in my walks, wives and mothers begging about the country; carrying their sacks home with a few potatoes,

and under their arm a little bundle of sticks,—the only fire-wood they could afford,—picked up by the road side. These were not common mendicants ; but as I personally ascertained, were the wives and daughters of labourers, who could find no employment : many had not even the means of obtaining seed to put into their little patches of potato ground. The cabins I found wretched in the extreme.”

But Dublin seems to suffer from other causes than the Union :—“ Dublin formerly possessed an extensive, safe, and very lucrative commission trade from both the West Indies and England ; but the facilities of steam navigation are now so great, that the country dealers throughout Ireland, who formerly made their purchases in Dublin, now pass over to England, and there lay in their stocks. This may possibly be good for the public,—I do not know whether it be or not,—I merely state a fact not favourable to the prosperity of Dublin.”—INGLIS.

Ireland must of course take her chances in the continual shifting of interests occasioned by the operation of new discoveries in this inventive age.

Nothing, at all events, can be so false as to represent to her people that the actual condition of trade and manufactories amongst them, arises from the “ Religious and political antipathy and commercial jealousy of England.” Nor can anything be so ill judged as the idea of carrying on “ a commercial warfare against us,” with the notion that “ Ireland has everything to gain, and nothing to lose.” Even long before the Union, the linen trade was the object of regulation and encouragement, though by means which were found not always to answer the ends. For example, bounties were granted on the exportation of linen for a very long period down to 1830 ; and in 1829, though much under previous years, they amounted to the

enormous sum of £300,000 : but these “encouragements” only prevented improvements in the manufacture, and supplied the foreigner with linen under prime cost. “The only real and effectual legislative encouragement the manufacture has ever met with, has been the reduction of the duties on flax and hemp, and the relinquishing of the absurd attempts to force their growth at home” (*McCulloch’s Dict.*) : and yet it is gravely put forth, in *Bryan’s Practical View*, as one of the grievances of Ireland, and one of the symptoms of her decline, that in 1830 there was a much smaller quantity of *flax-seed* imported into Ireland than in 1790!!!* The silk trade also is cited as having declined since that period ; but has it not at times done so likewise in Spitalfields? and can we, in this age of production and machinery, and foreign competition in branches of manufacture in which they have their own peculiar advantages, expect it to be otherwise? But the fashion now-a-days is to ascribe every evil, originate in what cause it may, to the Union.

Inglis’s observations on repeal appear to me so just, and may be so useful, that I cannot omit to give them : “Having mentioned repeal, I may state, that as far as I have yet gone through the south of Ireland, I have found the whole of the lower, and a great portion of the middle classes, repealers. By the middle classes, I mean the shopkeepers and farmers : I found Protestants of that class, who are indeed few in number, quite as much repealers as Catholics. I have generally found, however, a readiness to admit, that if employment were provided for the people, and any measure devised, which should have

* Inglis, in 1834, found the linen trade depressed “by the money project of General Jackson, and the unsettled condition of the American money market.”

the effect of enticing, or forcing back absentees, repeal would lose its value."

"I greatly fear," says he again, "that an angry feeling towards the lower classes, has been engendered amongst the aristocracy, by the result of the last elections, when old members were unseated, and repealers brought in. Some have been irritated by the conduct of their tenantry; and others have been hurt by what they conceive to be ingratitude. In some instances, there has been ingratitude, no doubt; and that some irritation should have been produced, is only natural; but these are feelings which ought to be conquered. As a body, the landlords of Ireland have not been towards their tenantry what they ought to have been; and have long stood in need of much broader 'hints' than those which *Blackwood* addressed to the aristocracy of England: and if, as the gentry of Ireland generally assert, the people were incited by their priests,—then it is unreasonable that anger should be excited against those whom they imagine to have been deluded. But I confess, that from all I have heard and seen, I have my doubts whether it be in most cases the priests that incite the people, or whether it be not rather the people that take the lead. I believe it will be admitted by all who have had the best opportunities of judging, that unless the instigations of the priest fall in with the wishes of the people, his influence is powerless; and instances have actually occurred, in which a priest, after having opposed himself to O'Connell, and the repeal candidate, was scoffed at by his flock, and refused his accustomed dues. And for my own part, I am not at all surprised that a people suffering all the extremities of human privation, should catch at straws; and that Mr. O'Connell should find it an easy matter to raise a cry in favour of anything which he asserts to be for the benefit of the

people ; so that on no ground are the aristocracy justified in visiting upon the people the errors which have originated in ignorance or delusion."

Again, " when we speak of land in Ireland being high let, we speak of course with reference to the capital and skill brought to bear upon it. If more skill or capital were, or could be thrown upon much of the land in Ireland, it could well bear the rents now exacted ; and if the means of communication were multiplied and improved ; and if, by the more general employment of the people, agitation were, as it necessarily would be, diminished, absenteeism, checked, and capital attracted to Ireland, there can be no doubt that the present just complaint of high rents would be less frequent ; because the skill and capital thrown upon the land, would increase its value to the occupier. And it need scarcely be added, that the employment of the agricultural population, and the investment of capital in other speculations, would operate in diminishing the rent of land, by diminishing the competition for it."

Inglis brings frequent testimony that low prices, and the depression of agriculture, are not always so favourable to the poor as many now suppose.

" During the last fifteen years, Waterford has been an improving town ; though that improvement has not been at all equal to what might have been expected from its trade ; and at the time I visited it, the retail trade of the place was suffering from the low prices of farm produce, and consequent depression of the agriculturists."

" I noticed," says he, " at Carrick, amongst other indications of the small means of the lower classes, stalls, set out with a miserable assortment of small bits of meat, the offal of pigs, chiefly ; and much of the meat was in a state unfit to be eaten. These morsels were sold at a

penny, three halfpence, and some of them even as low as one halfpenny.”

“ There is also a good weekly market, which makes Tipperary the depôt of agricultural produce, for a range of twelve or fifteen miles round. Owing to the low price of agricultural produce, the retail trade was somewhat dull when I visited Tipperary; but it was supposed it would revive in the ensuing winter. Notwithstanding the better circumstances of the tradesmen, the condition of the labouring classes I found little better than elsewhere. Not so large a proportion of the people were out of employment here as in some other places; but wages were only eight-pence a day, without diet; and I ascertained that there is no constant employment for all, or any thing approaching to all, the population. I certainly observed fewer ragged people, and fewer beggars, in Tipperary, than in Cashel, and many other towns; but in searching the suburbs, I found many cabins wretched enough, and enormous rents paid for them. Some paid 4*l.* none less than 2*l.* 10*s.*, and the average rent might be 3*l.*,” and this when the average price of wheat could hardly have exceeded 35*s.* per quarter. The average price for the year in England was under 40*s.*

“ Mitchelstown,” he continues, “ is a very cheap place of residence; and in proof of this, I annex the following list of prices.

“ Beef sells at from 3½*d.* to 4*d.* per lb. Mutton, at from 4*d.* to 5*d.* Lamb, in the season, about 3*d.* Veal is rarely to be had, and is not of a good quality. Pork, about 2½*d.*, but is sometimes as low as 1½*d.* per lb. Bacon pigs, average 20*s.* per cwt.

“ Fish is scarce. A good cod may be bought for 2*s.* 6*d.* A haddock, 6*d.* to 1*s.* The very best salmon may be bought at 5*d.* per lb., and trout a 1*s.* a dozen.

“Rabbits are sold at *8d.* a couple; turkeys, *3s.* a couple; geese, *1s. 10d.* a pair; ducks, *1s.* a pair; fowls, *10d.* to *1s.* a pair.

“Bread of the first quality is *2d.* per lb. Fresh butter, *9d.* per lb. in summer; and *1s.* or *1s. 1d.* in winter. Milk is sold at *3½d.* for four pints, all the year round. Vegetables are not supplied in great variety, or plenty, except potatoes, which average about *2½d.* per stone.

“Coals are *26s.* per ton; turf, *1s. 8d.* a horse-load.

“A mason will receive for his labour *2s.* a day; a carpenter, *2s. 6d.*; a slater, *2s.*; but they cannot get constant employment.”

Hence it is clear that low prices are not the cure for Ireland's poverty.

But what is the remedy then? I cannot better give it,—allowing for a little heat in one expression,—than in Inglis's own words.

“But let me observe,” says he, “that the causes of these disturbances (he is writing in 1834) are the same as those which answer to the call of political agitation—imperfect civilization, and want of employment. Education, employment for the people, and a vigorous administration of the law, will dissolve the elements of these, as well as of all disturbance; and although at this moment, a strong police is absolutely requisite to maintain in Ireland anything like order and decorum, I have as little doubt, that healing measures, coupled with an extensive and practicable system of education, will gradually diminish the necessity for coercion of any kind. Let government continue to act with moderation; let the tithe question be settled; let the extremes of all parties be discouraged; let Irish interests be not sacrificed to a too paltry economy; let the infirm and the aged poor be cared for; let the superabundant labour of Ireland be

thrown upon her wastes; let public works be encouraged; let agitation for all dishonest purposes be firmly met, and agitators scorned; let the Church be wisely, but thoroughly, reformed; let, in short, the government continue to show—what the people of England already give it credit for—a sympathy with the real evils of the country, and a determination,—spite of landlords—spite of Church dignitaries—spite of agitators of all kinds—to do justice; let all this be, and Ireland will continue but a little while longer the distracted, poverty-stricken, crushed, and unhappy land, which a century of neglect and misgovernment has made it.

“The litigiousness of the Irish peasantry is most remarkable; and I am inclined to think that litigiousness is encouraged by the frequency of holding sessions. Law seems to be always at hand, and it accustoms people too much to these exhibitions; it is a fact, that where petty sessions have been made less frequent, the quantity of business has greatly diminished.”

If this character of the Irish peasantry be correct, it is more than ever necessary to provide them with strict and impartial justice.

From one of such strong prepossessions as Inglis, the following evidence is too creditable to him, and may be too advantageous to others, to be omitted.

“‘Look,’ says a favourite writer, ‘at a church, and a mass congregation, and you will be at no loss to distinguish the one from the other.’ Truly, no. They are very easily distinguished. But let me ask who, throughout every part of Ireland (excepting Ulster), are the individuals composing the church congregation? Are they not the gentry, and some few of the more substantial farmers? It is not, therefore, at all difficult to distinguish between the Catholic and Protestant population; for this is but dis-

tinguishing between the upper and the lower ranks. But to come more directly to the assertion that a Protestant district has quite another aspect from a Catholic district, which I admit to be a fact, I think it no difficult matter to find reasons for this, more influential in their results, than the profession of Protestantism.

“Did it never occur to those who have observed a fact, and instantly seized upon the *least* influential of all its causes, as its *sole* origin, that the rate of wages might make some difference in the condition and aspect of a people? The Catholic peasantry of Clare, Kerry, Galway, Mayo; and of, indeed, all the south, west, and much of the centre, have not employment at all during half the year,—or in other words, one half of them have no constant employment; and when they are employed, what is their rate of wages? Eight-pence, and even sixpence without diet. The Protestant population of Derry, Antrim, Armagh, and Down, have, if not full employment, at least greatly more constant employment than their Catholic brethren of the south; and the rate of wages is from 10*d.* to 1*s.* 4*d.*; the difference is at the least 4*d.*; and does 4*d.* per day make no difference in the condition of an Irish labourer? But the most overwhelming argument for those who would ascribe all the difference in condition to Protestantism is, that not the Protestants only but the Catholics also in these Protestant counties, are in a better condition. How should this be? The mass of the lower classes in the towns, as well as the great majority of the country labourers in the districts called Protestant, are Catholics; but they are not in the condition of their Catholic countrymen of Munster and Connaught. We do not see them with tattered coats and bare feet; and why? Because they are generally in employment, and receive higher wages. I have seen in Catholic districts, Catholic

tenantry and Catholic labourers, comfortable where they had the good fortune to be placed in favourable circumstances,—as on the estates of Mr. Tighe of Woodstock Mr. Power of Kilfane, Lord Arden, Mr. Stanley, Lord Palmerston, Lord Lansdowne, &c.; and I have seen Protestants as miserable as any Catholics could be found,—as on the estate of Lord Donoughmore and others. . . .

“ I have had some experience of Catholic countries; and I have found nothing to warrant the belief, that misery is always the accompaniment of Popery; or that, in order to be provident, and industrious, and happy, one must be a Protestant. There is no lack of industry among the countrymen of Biscay, or Catalonia; or amongst the peasantry of the Tyrol. Bavaria, and the north of Italy, offer evidences of comfort and prosperity; and I never heard that the Roman Catholics of Canada were any way behind their Protestant neighbours.”

As we have heard so much of bad landlords,—however unjust or invidious it may appear to those who equally deserve a place on the list, and many no doubt there are—I cannot refrain from naming those whom I have found on record amongst the pages of this honest and industrious tourist, lest they, too, perchance, might be presumed to belong to the Black Roll. As the proprietor of Killarney, Lord Kenmare comes first in order.

“ Killarney is the property of the Earl of Kenmare; but his lordship is just as little answerable for the faults of Killarney, as the reader of this book. The whole of the town is held under leases for ever; so that Lord Kenmare has no power of improvement in his hands: and this is greatly to be regretted; for a better man, or a better landlord than Lord Kenmare, does not exist; and were it not for the employment afforded on his estate, by this wealthy resident and public-spirited nobleman, the pauperism of

Killarney would be fearfully great. A considerable part of Lord Kenmare's large estate is in the hands of middlemen ; but his lordship is strenuously exerting himself to bring about a better system."

Besides Lord Kenmare, we have the Duke of Devonshire, Marquesses of Lansdowne, Downshire, and Waterford, Earl Fitzwilliam, Lords Headly, Duncannon, Stanley, Dillon, Shannon, Arden, Bantry, Clancarty, Roden, Charlemont, Gosford, Caledon, Lurgan, Southwell, and I still fear I may have omitted some of whom he makes honourable mention. He seems not to have gone into Lord Sligo's district, or I am sure he would have been upon his list : and undoubtedly there are a great many others equally entitled to this distinction, whom I am sorry not to be able to name. It is to be presumed also that much improvement has taken place since Inglis's time.

Not to omit any thing calculated to add to our knowledge of the subject, we must now return again for an instant to the darker side of the picture. Speaking of a particular district he says, " I also found amongst them, generally, the greatest terror of any legislative provision for the poor. One great cause of this, and of the oppression of landlords throughout the west of Ireland, is the improvidence of the upper classes. So many of them are distressed men, and their own necessities force them to be hard on tenants, and prompt them to grasp at the highest rent offered. Thus every class which lives by land becomes necessitous. I have already mentioned the distressed condition of the landlords, as one cause of the poor condition of the lower orders : but I ought to have added, that in very many cases, landlords have no power of being kind or otherwise, and no control over their own property, the management of which is vested in persons

acting under legal authority. Such individuals must have rents ; crops are seized, cows driven, and all the results of improvidence amongst the upper classes are visited upon every link in the chain of agriculturists.

“ The quantity of bog-land about Ouchterard is considerable ; but there are great facilities for its improvement. I saw excellent crops of oats, the second year of cultivation only, in the midst of bog-land.”

The following observations are also well deserving of notice :

“ It must not be imagined, that the people on all absentee estates are in a worse condition than they are upon those estates where there is a resident landlord. The condition of the peasantry depends on the circumstances under which the lands are occupied, much more than upon the residence of proprietors ; and I cannot say that it is generally an easy matter to guess, from the condition of the peasantry on an estate, whether the landlord be absentee or resident. Some of the most comfortable tenantry in Ireland are found on absentee properties ; and some of the most miserable, on estates upon which the proprietor resides : there is no doubt, however, that where a well-disposed and unembarrassed landlord resides, fewer unemployed labourers are found, the condition of the labourer is better, and the retail trade of the most adjacent town is materially benefited.”

Those who take an interest in the condition of the Irish people—in other words, in the cause of humanity—and who have not yet seen Inglis’s REPORT, or who having seen it, have it not fresh in their recollections, will, I am sure, be obliged to me for introducing it here.

“ I, Henry David Inglis, acting under no superior orders; holding no government commission ; with no end to serve, and no party to please ; hoping for no patronage, and

fearing no censure; and with no view, other than the establishment of truth; having just completed a journey throughout Ireland, and having minutely examined, and inquired into, the condition of the people of that country, do humbly REPORT,—that the destitute, infirm and aged, form a large body of the population of the cities, towns and villages of Ireland: that, in the judgment of those best qualified to know the truth, three-fourth parts of their number die through the the effects of destitution, either by the decay of nature, accelerated, or through disease, induced by scanty and unwholesome food,—or else by the attack of epidemics, rendered more fatal from the same causes. That the present condition of this large class is shocking for humanity to contemplate, and beyond the efforts of private beneficence to relieve; and is a reproach to any civilized and Christian country. That the individuals whose charity prolongs for a little the existence of these miserable objects of their compassion, are not the individuals throughout the country whose improvidence, harshness, sordidness, and neglect, have contributed to swell the mass of pauperism,—nor those who possess the chief property in the towns,—nor those who are the best able to help the indigent: and that, in these circumstances, it becomes an imperative and a sacred duty,—alike urgent by the demands of humanity and the requirements of religion,—to provide, by legislative enactment, for the support, on equitable principles, of the aged, impotent, and infirm poor of Ireland.

“ That the condition of the agricultural labourers throughout Ireland is scarcely less deplorable than that of the class to which I have just alluded. That the supply of labour incalculably exceeds the demand for it: that but a very small portion of this class are able to find constant employment: that a large proportion are employed

during one half of the whole year: that the wages of labour, even to those who are fully employed, do not afford the means of healthy subsistence: that almost the whole of this class live on the very verge of starvation; and that thereby, hourly additions are made to the ranks of impotent pauperism: that neither the power nor the will of private individuals to give employment is able in any degree to arrest this progress, or change this condition: that an unemployed population is dangerous to the peace of a state; and that the power of restless or wicked men to inflame the passions of the people, is derived solely from the condition in which that people are placed: that the disorders of Ireland are not owing to popery, since in those districts where the people find employment, Catholic and Protestant are alike comfortable; while in those where the people are unemployed, Protestant and Catholic are alike miserable: that the disorders of Ireland are not in any great degree the result of absenteeism; since, with few exceptions, it is impossible to guess, by the condition of the peasantry, whether the landlord be resident or absent: that absenteeism, in so far as it is an evil, is but a result of more important causes of evil: that the real, and only true source of the disorders of Ireland, is want of employment; for although the disturbed state of the country acts injuriously upon the investment of capital, and upon residence, this is itself but a result of want of employment for the people: and although the rack-rents of Ireland produce incalculable misery, these originate also in want of employment,—the only cause of that competition for land, which places the power of oppression in the hands of its owners. That millions of acres in Ireland are reclaimable by the agency of those very materials in which Ireland the most abounds—human labour, and limestone;—that since such is the

condition of the labouring classes of Ireland, and such the means of improving that condition, it is the duty of government to encourage the cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of husbandry, by such extensive public works as will facilitate this end, and as will in the meanwhile give employment to the people; and that in the event of the landowners of Ireland neglecting or delaying to take advantage of these facilities, by reason of want of enterprise or want of capital, it will then become the duty of the state to take upon itself the right of operating upon the reclaimable wastes of Ireland—fair compensation being given—and to colonise these wastes, for the benefit of the people.”

Binns, who visited Ireland about two years later (and whose “*Miseries and Beauties*” breathe a much more liberal feeling, and a much higher sentiment than Inglis), furnishes us with so many interesting particulars of that country, and portrays the character of the peasantry with so much kindness of heart, and I believe also with so much truth, that I am anxious to bring before the reader a few passages which may possibly instruct; while at the same time they may tend to rescue the *people* from the prejudices which the present conduct of their leaders is too well calculated to inspire against them, amongst those who look with amazement on the course which they are now running. They will also contribute to show how easily agitation may be suppressed.

“So far,” says he, “from the Irish being naturally a turbulent people, they are made so by circumstances *under the control of England.*”

“As it is not unusual to hear the Irish charged with the several vices of idleness, cruelty, and recklessness, it may be well, perhaps, to keep these allegations in view, in the course of the following observations. As to idleness,—

when it is considered that they receive comparatively no reward for their labour ; that the market is continually overstocked ; that the more they exert themselves, the more they increase the surplus labour, already too great ; and that the disappointments they so repeatedly encounter, have a tendency to destroy their energy, and to produce indifference, or despair, the wonder is, not that they are idle, but that they are not infinitely worse. It is, in fact, utterly impossible, in the present state of things, for the Irish to be anything but idle. When they have a prospect of being compensated for their labour, it is applied with skilful and enthusiastic industry. Let the character of Irish labourers be sought in the large seaport towns ; let an appeal be made to the extensive English farmers, who are glad to avail themselves, in harvest time, of their valuable services. From either of these quarters an answer, far from discreditable to the objects of the enquiry, will be returned. In confirmation of this, I would take the liberty of introducing a passage from the letter of one of the {most spirited and experienced of agriculturists, William Stickney, of Ridgmont, in Holderness. I could not refer to higher authority. This gentleman, for many years, has annually employed, during the harvest season, a number of Irish labourers, and this is his judgment of them : “ For honesty, sobriety, industry, gratitude,” says Mr. Stickney, “ and many other good qualities, they far surpass the same class of English labourers. When they begin to arrive in this country, it is sometimes two or three weeks before harvest ; and if they do not immediately find work, many of them are without the means of subsistence. Under these circumstances, they frequently apply to me to lend them a few shillings, which I do in small sums, amounting in the whole to several pounds, and this without any injunction that they should work it out

with me. They give a verbal promise that they will return the loan before they leave the neighbourhood ; and I do not remember an instance in which they have ever deceived me,—they have invariably returned the money lent, with a deep sense of gratitude. Admiring the Irish labourers, as I have reason to do, I am always glad to see them when they make their appearance. In the summer season, I frequently have from thirty to fifty, or more, lodging upon my premises ; several of them working for other persons in the neighbourhood, and many of them entire strangers to me ; yet I would trust my life and property much sooner with them than with the same class of English labourers, and I consider my premises more secure from depredation under their protection, than I should with any other strangers.’—vol. ii. pp. 416-19.

“ ‘ Their disposition is most confiding, when the conduct of the landlord, whatever be his politics or religion, is regulated by honourable principles. This confidence in their superiors, is one among many proofs of the docility of the Irish, and the ease with which they may be governed Their misery is borne with cheerfulness ; they are uniformly polite and hospitable, and ever ready to communicate any information it may be in their power to supply. Their submission to their hard destiny is remarkable. On one occasion, a woman remarked to me, ‘ that they had hard fare and disappointments, but God prepared the back for the burden.’ By way of giving them some little comfort, I frequently remarked, that they and their children were far more healthy than the rich ; they would cry, ‘ God so ordered it for the poor !’ (vol. i. pp. 84, 89.) The Irish are a patient, as well as an oppressed people, or they would not so long have submitted to the hardships they endure . . . The inhabitants of the County Tipperary have been considered the

most ferocious, but I felt as safe there as in England. It is only under deep injury that the people seek revenge. (vol. ii. p. 62). . . . I was much gratified to hear from Mr. Bolton (agent to Lord Stanley's estate in the just-named county) that the people were docile and easily managed, and that although he was living in the heart of what is thought the most turbulent part of the kingdom, and had occasion to travel at all hours, he had never been disturbed, or intimidated, and did not feel the slightest apprehension. This is a strong additional proof, that if a conciliatory policy, in unison with the great principles of Christianity, were uniformly adopted both by the legislature and by individuals, towards the people of Ireland, disturbances would in a great measure cease, and extensive police and military establishments be rendered unnecessary."—(vol. ii. p. 163).

"Putting aside all questions of a political nature (says the reviewer from whom I take these extracts, for I have not the work by me), as foreign to his pages, he declares that it is his impression, that, to an earnest attention to agriculture, Ireland is to owe her regeneration."

"My opinion," says he, "is strongly in favour of the possibility of a government and companies (without the loss of a farthing) profitably employing all the unemployed labourers upon small farms, or the waste lands."

"Houses of refuge he would provide for the aged and infirm—but to the strong and able-bodied he would say: 'Here are four acres of waste land, of which you may have a lease for twenty-one years; you may go there, and, *with such assistance as will be provided*, you and your family may find abundant employment, and live in comfort.'"

He thus describes the interesting establishment of Mount Melleraye.

"Being provided with a note of introduction to the

Rev. Mr. Ryan, the superior of the Trappist settlement at Mount Melleraye, I set off to inspect that most interesting and singular establishment. Mount Melleraye (a name given by the monks themselves), is situated near Cappoquin, in the midst of a vast tract of barren heath, on the side of the Knockmeledown Mountains, which are covered with snow. The buildings are of immense magnitude; and though certainly striking from the loneliness of their position, and deeply interesting from the associations connected with the history of their inhabitants, have nothing to recommend them as specimens of architectural beauty. They strongly remind me of the drawings of the Hospices on the Alps. Mr. Ryan received me with great politeness, and showed every disposition to communicate information on the subject which had induced me to obtrude upon his privacy. In 1831, it appears, seventy-eight monks, who for fifteen years, had lived happy and contented under a M. Saulmer, employed in cultivating the barren lands of Brittany, were forcibly expelled from the Monastery of La Trappe of Melleraye, their expulsion being accompanied with acts of brutal violence, "attended," (to use the words of Mr. Ryan) "by many atrocious circumstances, based upon accusations the most stupid and calumnious." On arriving in Ireland, Sir Richard Keane granted them, at a nominal rent, six hundred statute acres of moor and bog-land, on a lease of one hundred years. This they instantly began to cultivate; they, at the same time, began to raise their extensive buildings; and it is a remarkable fact, a fact, by the way, that speaks with singular emphasis against the indispensableness of a compulsory Church, that, though possessed of only one sixpence on their arrival, they raised, within the short space of three years, a series of structures that would have cost, if paid for at the usual value of work, not less than £10,000. They

were, however, gratuitously assisted in their stupendous undertakings (for such they may indeed be called) by the people on every side. In a country where **tithe** has nearly ceased to be collected, a small company of **religious** men, sixty in number, have succeeded, though penniless, in converting a wilderness into a fertile place, and in raising an immense and costly habitation. This can only be accounted for by the fact, that the religion they professed was the religion of the people, and that the people **honoured** and respected them for the virtues that adorned it. The monks of Mount Melleraye, when I visited their establishment, had one hundred and twenty acres under cultivation, yielding fine crops of rye, oats, turnips, and potatoes. Their gardens, too, abound in every variety of vegetables. They have planted, moreover, one hundred and twenty thousand forest trees ; so that, in a few years, the face of the country, so lately brown and bare of beauty, will be covered with verdure. Besides the land granted to the Trappists, Sir Richard Keane had five thousand acres of bog, all of which was untenanted and uncultivated. Since the settlement of the monks, however, the whole of it has become tenanted, and is now undergoing cultivation. Buildings are springing up on every side, and the barren waste is gradually changing into a fruitful and smiling land.' ”

Inglis also visited Mount Melleraye.

“ It is not yet two years,” says he, “since the Trappists settled in this neighbourhood ; and the progress they have made in building the convent, as well as in reclaiming the land, is indeed miraculous. Sir Richard Keane, a large landowner in this neighbourhood, granted them, rent free, on a lease of a hundred years, five hundred and seventy odd acres of moor and bog land ; and Sir Richard is likely to be amply repaid for his liberality, in the proof which

has been afforded of the capabilities of the land. The very first year, a fine crop of potatoes was raised. At present, upwards of sixty acres are under tillage; and on some of these acres, I saw as luxuriant crops of oats as I had seen in any other part of the country. In the extensive garden, too, which the Trappists have formed, I observed as fine beans, pease, and other vegetables, as could possibly be raised on any soil. All this has been accomplished by the agency of lime kilns. The land is boggy on the surface; but below, there is as fine and deep a soil, as any farmer could desire. It is true, that there has been a great supply of human labour, and of all its accessories. The brethren themselves are between forty and fifty strong; and in such veneration are these holy men held, that an incredible amount of labour has been contributed gratis. I myself saw eighteen horses and carts, and upwards of twenty men at work, drawing lime, all of them sent by the farmers as an act of piety. Some kinds of labour, however, are paid for. The masons, and others employed in building, are paid ordinary wages,—for the munificence of some great men (among others, the Duke of Devonshire, who, singularly enough, gave one hundred pounds), and the contributions of the good Catholics, leave the Trappists in want of nothing. The building, which has only been begun ten months, already vies in size with any moderate sized cathedral, and might hold within it a dozen of the Irish Protestant churches.”

Having in my possession many letters from Father Ryan (the Abbot) giving the most interesting details of the progress of the works, and of the enthusiasm of the people to assist in the undertaking, I regret extremely that my absence from home prevents their insertion here.

“ Having gone with the parish priest to the parish chapel of Darryane, Mr. Binns was—

APPENDIX.

... then struck with the devoted manner of the congregation not only in that lonely chapel, but in every part of the island. They who sneer at the religion of Roman Catholics, would forego their contempt, if they saw the consolation derived from the despised faith of their fathers by the half-starved Irish. As a Protestant, I dissent from many of the doctrines of the Church of Rome; but having seen the power of those doctrines over the hearts and conduct of their votaries, I am admonished not to mingle my dissent with uncharitableness The minister of this congregation was a man of humble pretensions, but industrious and zealous in his calling His unostentatious dwelling was a very humble cabin, such as few labourers in England would consent to live in, and his labours immense The congregation were remarkably clean and respectable-looking, and are a stout and healthy people. They believe their ancestors to have been of Spanish origin, and feel some pride in the antiquity of their descent. From this feeling of family pride, Mr. O'Connell himself is not quite free; making use of the circumflex over the 'O,' as indicative of Spanish origin."—vol. ii. pp. 343, 347, 349.

“We cannot close,” says the reviewer, “without transcribing from vol. i, the following short description of a contrast that struck our author, on his first return to England, after a few months' stay in the sister island:—

“What most immediately and most forcibly struck me, was the amazing disparity which a sail of not more than five or six hours had produced in the character and appearance of the people. On that side of the channel, squalid looks and lamentable destitution met me at almost every step; on this, the plump and rosy faces of a well-clothed population greeted me wherever I went. In Ireland, three or four shillings a week was a very respectable

amount for wages ; here, the same class can earn regularly from twelve to fourteen. As in a dream, I was transported from a land of poverty and misery, to one flowing with milk and honey.'—vol. i. p. 237.

“ Prince Puckler Muskau, in his entertaining Tour, sums up their character in the following words :—

“ ‘ The Irish people, taken in a body, with all their wildness, unite the frank honesty and poetical temper of the Germans ; the vivacity and quickness of the French, and the pliability, naturalness and submission of the Italians. It may, with the fullest justice be said of them, that their faults are to be ascribed to others ; their virtues to themselves.’ ”

I cannot better close these extracts than by the following practical commentary upon the recommendations so often, and too often so vainly, insisted upon.

“ To show what landlords,” says the same Review, in another article, “ who know their own interests, may effect, and how easy it is to manage even the rudest and most ignorant boor by adopting kind and conciliatory measures, we insert the following extract from ‘ Hints to Irish Landlords,’ by Mr. Wiggins, an English practical agriculturist, published some years ago, abridging it as we have been obliged to do other documents.

“ ‘ Lord Headly’s estate at Glenbeg, situated in a wild district of Kerry, at the entrance of the Iveragh mountains, consisting of fifteen thousand acres, much of which is rocky, boggy, and mountain ground, was, in 1807, inhabited by a people, to whom the bare idea of labour was offensive, and work considered as slavery, though a robust, active, enterprising, and hospitable race of peasantry.

“ ‘ Lord Headly resolved to cultivate their good qualities, without being at first very eager to punish their bad ones,

and has succeeded in introducing a degree of improvement and cultivation, which without these efforts, must have required a century. They are now well clothed, and as orderly and well-conducted as you see in any village in England. Agriculture has improved with very little sacrifice of rent or money.

“ ‘ The system pursued by Lord Headly is perfectly applicable to any part of Ireland. There was an application of land to a bog (peat) surface, and it was let at 4*l.* an acre the year after it was reclaimed.

“ ‘ No country requires so much drainage as Ireland; there the means of employing the people, in reclaiming bog and mountain land, and making roads, is generally to be found.

“ ‘ I consider the best capital of Ireland to be the industry of the people: my mode of setting it a-going, would be by the introduction of a plan, having the effect of compelling labour, as I conceive the poor-laws of England have. Persons would not be willing to feed the poor, and clothe and lodge them, without having the benefit of their labour in return, and I think this labour would return its expense four-fold.’ ”

And I cannot better close this appendix, than by a short illustration of the singular tenacity of the people of Ireland to Catholicism, and of the advantages which the poor derive, more especially in remote and otherwise deserted districts, from the presence of conventual establishments. In the year 1241, just twenty years after the death of St. Dominic, a convent of his order was founded in the extreme west, in the small town of Athenry, by Milo de Birmingham; where it long flourished, and even maintained itself throughout the successive warfare which was carried on against the religious houses,—protected no doubt by its distance and the troublesome times which

then prevailed,—till in the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth (if I recollect right, in 1602), the monks were burnt out by orders of the government, and the convent reduced to a heap of ruins. The good friars, however, were determined still to maintain their ground in spite of the persecution which raged, and retired into a morass, separated from the town by an extensive wood. They there constructed huts, cultivated the ground, lived by the labour of their hands, and have never since quitted the spot. At that period the whole order in Ireland was reduced to some four or five individuals ; and though a few years afterwards they returned in very considerable numbers, yet they were again obliged to fly. The community of Esker, however, were never separated, and alone remained amongst the general wreck. Through the unremitting exertions of my good friend Father Smyth, the establishment now flourishes again, a real blessing to that wild and deserted district in which it is situated, continually feeding and clothing a great number of poor, both teaching and apprenticing them to trades, ministering to the spiritual wants of the people, and affording daily gratuitous instruction to between seven and eight hundred children, there not being a single Protestant in the whole parish. The order has now, I understand, eighteen small establishments in Ireland, each numbering six or seven brethren, and keeping open schools for full five thousand children.

Is there any one blind enough to believe that persecution can conquer Catholicism in Ireland, or that conventual establishments are not a blessing to the poor, more especially in inhospitable districts, and in a country but little inhabited by the landed proprietors? Even “the commissioners whom the rapacious Henry the Eighth appointed to inquire into the state of the monasteries, sent

him with their report an earnest recommendation that the subjects of their inquiries should not be dissolved, because of the good they did the poor ; and when subsequently a bill was brought into parliament for their dissolution, it contained a promise that their revenues should continue to be devoted to purposes of charity. But this promise was at once broken, when the end for which it was made was attained.”—*Dublin Review*.

The following observations of a Scotch Protestant who visited Ireland in 1836, and published his remarks in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, afford too gratifying a testimonial of the active labours even of the conventual sisterhood, to be passed over : “ In the course of our ramble through the streets of Tralee, we observed the modest sign-board of a national school fixed upon the walls of a convent, and we applied for admittance. We were presently ushered into a large hall, containing a vast assemblage of female children, who, as in the former instance, were receiving a gratuitous education from the nuns. It was pleasing to find, that, even in this remote part of the empire, the intellectual mode of instruction had been in a great measure adopted. The children acquitted themselves extremely well, and appeared to have not only profited by the direct lessons of the school, but also by the example of the elegant style of elocution and lady-like manners, held up to them by their mistresses.

“ The ladies of this convent have kept school for many years, so that the children of several of their earlier pupils are now under their charge—a fact which speaks to the appreciation of education among the lower orders of the Irish. They teach four hundred pupils, with no reward but the consciousness of spending their lives in an humble endeavour to do good.

“ Like the ladies of Kilkenny, they seemed anxious to

impress upon us, that, so occupied, they could not be otherwise than happy. Lately they have been relieved of some part of the expenses of the school, by an annual contribution of sixteen pounds! and a few school-books, by the National Board of Education, whose regulations they have accordingly adopted.

“The aid given by convents towards education in Ireland appears to be considerable. In Kilkenny we had found one, in which five hundred children were instructed; at Tralee, we were now visiting one, which gave instruction to four hundred; and a friend mentions, that he lately visited one in Galway, where the number of pupils was three hundred:—making twelve hundred children at three nunneries.”

APPENDIX.—No. V.

ALTON TOWERS.—*December 22, 1841.*

MY LORD, I received your Lordship's letter of the 30th ultimo, on the 12th instant, and have used my utmost diligence in seeking for the information required.

Respecting the part taken by Mr. O'Connell and others, in measures for the amelioration of the condition of the poor in Ireland, I find that, on—

March 11th, 1830,—“ Mr. Spring Rice moved for, and obtained a select committee to enquire into the state of the Irish poor, when Mr. O'Connell spoke thus: ‘ The distress which is on all hands admitted to exist in Ireland, exists in a country peopled with an industrious and numerous population, and blest with a most fertile soil. Will it be said, that no remedy can be applied to distress in such a country as this?’ ”

March 22d, 1830.—On a question being started whether a petition presented by Mr. O'Connell for a repeal of the Union should be received, Mr. O'Connell said—“ Ireland, from the moment it obtained an independent legislature, rose in power and importance; improving its agriculture, and extending its manufactures with greater rapidity than had ever been exhibited by any other country in the same time.* But the advantages of that situation

* How are we to reconcile this with the official evidence produced by Mr. Spring Rice in his speech upon the Repeal of the Union in 1834? a part of which is given later. N.B. *This* discussion is taken from Hansard. S.

were afterwards lost. The opinions spread abroad by the French Revolution, *which created divisions between man and man*, unhappily excited a rebellion, which paved the way for the union. The new-born energies of Ireland were laid low *by her own dissensions*, and the act of union had ever since prevented the revival of them." Sir John Newport said "It was his deliberate opinion, and he spoke it advisedly, that any attempt to cause its repeal now, would be fraught with the destruction of Ireland, and the deep injury of England. He deprecated the remarks of the honourable member, calculated as they were to interfere with that harmony and spirit of good feeling which he was delighted to find had so rapidly followed the passing of *last year's beneficent measure*. Ireland was now tranquillized and prosperous by the removal of all political disabilities, and it was most desirable that no subject of agitation should be introduced there." Mr. Brownlow said "The interests of all classes in Ireland were so identified with the continuance of the union, that he was satisfied that there was no general disposition to attack it, and he trusted that the honourable and learned member for Clare would abandon the wild speculation in which he had embarked on that subject, *and would devote his talents to some better and more useful purpose*. Mr. Hume even spoke against Repeal. Mr. O'Connell in reply observed: "It would, indeed, be unbecoming in him to use any other than constitutional language on such a subject, but nothing under heaven should deter him from looking forward to what would be at once highly useful and beneficial to Ireland, and not at all injurious to this country."

On the 23d March, 1830.—In an adjourned debate on the distress of the country, Mr. O'Connell spoke at considerable length in favour of enquiry. The distress was then great in all three kingdoms from the stagnation of

trade, and which was aggravated in Ireland by famine. He said " Ireland did not want hospitals and workhouses. The class that never begged was now demanding assistance. The industrious classes require to be relieved from the pressure that weighed them to the earth. The national energies wanted full play, and how were they to receive this—how were the burthens to be removed successfully if the house refused to inquire into the effects! The character of the present distress in Ireland was this:—On former occasions, when the artizans and manufactures of that country were distressed, and especially when *that sickly exotic, the silk manufacture*, was distressed, abundant funds were collected by public benevolence, for the purpose of affording relief. In the present year, however, instead of, as formerly, collecting 15,000*l*, 16,000*l*, or 20,000*l*, in Dublin, the whole sum collected was 3,500*l*, of which the Lord Lieutenant had contributed 500*l*. This was a proof that the distress was of a character which stopped the sources of charity, and prevented the benevolent from rendering their benevolence available. This was a new feature in the state of Ireland He was sure that no persons in that house would abstain from affording relief to the people, if they knew how to afford it. He was sure that those who delighted in the name of whigs, nor those who thought themselves honoured by the appellation of tories, nor the small and sacred band of radical Reformers, to which he boasted of belonging, were deficient in inclination to relieve distress. But was it not proper that an enquiry should be entered into, to ascertain how far that general inclination could be gratified? If it were impossible to relieve the people, at least let them not be disappointed of the hoped-for enquiry To talk of the principles of free trade and to maintain the corn laws, was absurd and inconsistent He

pressed those principles as a reason for inquiry. He wished it to be ascertained, whether an extension of the principles of free trade might not alleviate the distress of the people. Then it was said that the currency was fixed and settled, and could not be altered. He utterly denied the currency was settled. All he argued for was inquiry, and no changes that were not the result of mature deliberation. The people were not to be told that the legislature had nothing to give them but speeches for three or four nights, the objects of which were to delude them." Lord F. L. Gower said, "that he would confine the few observations he had to make almost exclusively to Ireland, with a view to reply to the statements of the honourable member for Clare. When that honourable member found that the usual supporters of the side of the house on which he sat were shrinking from so general an investigation, as was proposed by this motion, and when he found that there was a disposition not to make the state of England a subject of inquiry; he dexterously shifted his ground, and made the vast distress which prevailed in Ireland the reason for demanding inquiry. That severe distress prevailed in many towns in that country he admitted; but the house must recollect that a committee was sitting up stairs, of which he the honourable and learned gentleman was a member, to devise the means of alleviating that distress. The whole questions, therefore, as respected Ireland, was virtually and practically disposed of."

June 4th, 1830.—A debate arising on the Scottish and Irish paupers' removal bill, brought in by Lord Stanley—the present Earl of Derby—Mr. O'Connell spoke, and alluding to the clearing system said "It was not long ago since I saw two hundred and four families turned out upon the world, without any means of subsistence, under the operation of this act."—(The subletting).

November 11th, 1830.—Mr. O'Connell moved for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of the subletting act, but was defeated by twenty-four to one hundred and fifty. During the debates which arose on the different readings of a bill introduced by Sir H. Hardinge, the then secretary for Ireland, for the amendment of the above act—the subletting,—Mr. O'Connell spoke several times, and mentioned cases of great hardship arising from the ejection of the poor.

March 30th, 1831.—Lord Althorp moved that 50,000*l.* be granted for promotion of public works in Ireland; he was strongly supported by Mr. Wyse and other Irish members, but Mr. O'Connell did not speak.

April 13th, 1831.—On a debate respecting the state of the county Clare, Mr. O'Connell says, “ I have long been opposed to poor laws, for I see the inconveniences and mischiefs consequent upon them: but it is not now a question of convenience, it is a question of life and death; you must have poor laws, you cannot avoid it, the people must not starve quietly There is no prospect of relief but the insurrection act on one hand, and the poor laws on the other; the latter is an experiment, but we must try it.” (The discussion was started by Mr. O'Brien).

June 22d, 1831.—In a debate on the king's speech, the distress in Ireland being alluded to, Mr. O'Connell said, “ It has always been, and still is my opinion that poor laws are most destructive in all their consequences, but still, I think, if no other remedy can be held out for Ireland, the time is come when something of the kind must be done; it is a question of life and death.”

June 30th, 1831.—On Mr. Stanley's proposing the issue of 500,000*l.* of Exchequer bills for public works in Ireland, Mr. O'Connell said, “ I fear much that these votes of

exchequer bills will not have the desired effect, namely, the relief of Irish distress."

July 25th, 1831.—In a debate on the distress of Ireland, originated by Mr. Leader. Mr. O'Connell says, "The great cause of her distress may be founded on the fact that fifteen out of sixteen of her great landed proprietors are absentees. It is *not the want of capital* that affects Ireland; *she has capital* if proper means were taken to give it a useful and profitable direction. I would undertake to raise half a million of money in forty-eight hours in Dublin on good security, and a million in one month in that city to be invested in any good speculation which afforded a fair prospect of a profitable return." Scarcely two months after, *September 28th*, 1831, he states the direct reverse, on the presentation of a petition by Mr. Leader; he says, "*The want of capital* in Ireland, caused by the constant drain of absentees, has hitherto impeded the progress of many most useful undertakings."

August 10th, 1831.—On a discussion started by Mr. Brownlow, as to the propriety of poor laws in Ireland, Mr. O'Connell says, "They must tax the land in that country to enable the resident proprietors to keep the poor from starving."

August 29th, 1831.—There was another debate on the same subject, introduced by Mr. Sadler, but Mr. O'Connell did not speak.

June 14th, 1832.—On a petition being presented for poor laws, Mr. O'Connell said, "I protest against any petition having for its prayer the introduction of poor laws into Ireland. I object to a system of poor laws, because their effect is to degrade the minds of the people receiving parochial aid. I am convinced they would operate to the prejudice of Ireland."

June 19th, 1832.—On a resolution being proposed by

Mr. Sadler, that it was expedient to introduce poor laws into Ireland, Mr. O'Connell spoke against it, saying, "That they take from those resources which are applied to the employment of productive labour." In the same speech he calls the poor laws "*A moral cholera*," and says, "No one has a right to put his hand into the pocket of another, none except the sick and aged have a claim upon the property of others."

June 20th, 1833.—Mr. O'Connell moved for a committee to enquire into the practicability of constructing a canal from Dublin to Kingstown. In the same year he with other members brought in the Dublin steam packet bill: he appeared to do so as one of the members of the committee on the subject, and not as the originator.

February 20th, 1834.—Mr. O'Connell brought in a bill relative to distress for rent in Ireland, principally for the relief of small holders, who had frequently to pay as much for costs as the sum originally distrained for.

April 22d, 1834.—Mr. O'Connell brought forward his motion on the repeal of the union. The debate lasted a week; on the division, *April 29th*, there were for the motion 38
Against 523
—
485
—

Including the tellers there were 40 for O'Connell, 39 of whom were Irish.

There were 57 Irish members who voted against him.

The English member was Mr. Kennedy, who sat for Tiverton.

June 30, 1834.—On a clause for the impounding strange cattle in the roads act amendment bill, Mr. O'Connell said—"When I look at the manner in which magistrates and grand jurors are constantly in the habit of turning wretched

families into the ditches to starve,—when I remember the instance of one magistrate who not long ago turned out twenty families in one lot, to perish by the road side,—I certainly am disposed to oppose the clause; it is plain that if a cow or a pig be seized, it must be sold to pay the penalty.”

In the same month Mr. James Talbot, after advocating the improvement of internal communication in Ireland by means of roads, bridges, canals, &c. moved for a select committee to inquire into the best means for the improvement of the River Shannon. He was strongly supported by Mr. Lynch, who suggested an addition to it, “To consider the means for the better employment of the poor.” This, however, he withdrew, and the original motion was carried. Mr. O’Connell did not speak on the subject.

March, 1835.—Mr. O’Connell opposed a resolution made by Mr. O’Brien, that a provision should be made by assessment for the relief of the aged, infirm, and helpless poor in Ireland. The following is an extract from his speech: “The present resolution takes the question *per saltum*. It pledges the house that it is expedient to make a provision for the aged, helpless, and infirm poor of Ireland. Now I object to our making such a pledge in the present state of information on the subject. What is the meaning of the motion? What is meant by the word ‘helpless?’ It does not mean the infirm only; for among the helpless must be included all who cannot earn as much wages as will support them.”

February 9, 1836.—“A short debate took place in consequence of Sir R. Musgrave having obtained leave to bring in a bill for the relief of the poor in Ireland. Mr. O’Connell said: ‘I think the time is come when a system of poor-laws must be introduced . . . the *farmers are much more comfortable than they have been; and the condi-*

tion of the labourers in much of the west and the whole of the south of Ireland considerably ameliorated. This then is the proper time to consider the subject, and to carry it into practical effect. I am the more inclined to this opinion, because I see the effect of the power of centralization possessed by the English Poor-law Commissioners in preventing the effect of local feeling and party spirit from interfering with the distribution of relief. As it works so well in England, I see no reason why it should not work equally well in Ireland. The sooner, therefore, the bill is brought in the better."

(There were three poor-law bills for Ireland introduced this sessions, viz.—by Sir R. Musgrave, Mr. O'Brien, and Mr. Poulett Scrope ; but in consequence of Lord Morpeth's stating that the subject was under the consideration of the government, they were withdrawn.)

April 28, 1837.—On the second reading of the poor-law bill, introduced by government, Mr. O'Connell says at the commencement of his speech, " My intention was not to speak upon this measure. I am not for it ; I do not think it is likely to succeed in mitigating the evils to be found in the present state of the poor of Ireland, but that its tendency will be to aggravate them much ; therefore I cannot advocate the measure. I do not mean to vote against it ; I think that it has now become inevitable that we must have some measure like a poor-law for Ireland. I yield to the necessity, while I regret it." He ascribes the distress, of which he draws an appalling picture, to political causes ; thus : " The poverty and distress that have prevailed in Ireland for ages, are, in my opinion, owing to political causes. If any one remembers the nature of the government in Ireland this must be admitted. I need not go farther back than the last century and a half ; looking at that period, no one can be surprised to

find Ireland in that state which she now is in. I allude merely to two heads of those which are called the penal laws. By two distinct branches of these laws, ignorance was enforced by acts of parliament, and poverty was enacted. I will mention the two statutes: *7th Will. III, c. 4, sec. 9*; and *8th Anne, c. 3.*" He gives the substance of these statutes, and goes on: "These were the laws that were in force for a full century. For a full century we had laws requiring the people to be ignorant, and punishing them for being industrious—laws that declared the acquisition of property criminal, and subjected it to forfeiture. For one century ignorance and poverty were enacted by law, as only fit for Irish people. The consequences of a system of that kind are still felt. When you see this, you are at once shown the source from which such misery has flown. There are sufficient political causes for the *present* state of Ireland." Farther on he says, the distress is not occasioned by the undue bidding for land; for "Out of the 585,000 heads of families in a state of destitution, 507,441 have not an inch of land; showing that putting an end to the exorbitant rents now demanded would give relief to 17,000 heads of families only that have land." In the same speech he says—"You say to us, we will give you leave to tax yourselves: *this* is the mode in which you will relieve our misery and distress. The Carlow farmer" (alluding to a case he had previously mentioned) "is dying from not being able to have a refreshing draught to wet his lips in fever: that man is to be taxed; you will compel him to give relief to support wretches, who are not perhaps half so miserable as himself. I believe that you ought to bethink yourselves whether or not you will give to Ireland some annuity. Will you form a proper system of emigration? Why not take the waste lands of Canada? Why not take the colonial waste lands, as the American govern-

ment does? Why not make them a fund? What is it that you propose to do? Do you mean to give us public works? I propose works of public utility; I propose the construction of roads, and means of communication over mountains and through bogs. I propose the drainage of lands, where the capital required goes beyond the means of individuals to supply: but you have nothing for one, except this bill." I may here take the liberty of remarking, that after all these questions and proposals, which he utters so flippantly, scarcely two months elapsed when he tried, on the 30th of June, to throw out a bill for the drainage of Lough Swilly and Lough Foyle, which had been brought in by Alderman Wood, as head of the Irish Society (probably the loughs belonged to the Corporation of London). The Alderman said, on finding that Mr. O'Connell opposed him: "The bill has for its object the employment of some thousands of poor Irishmen; I have no interest but that of Ireland at heart, because I have the honour to be placed at the head of the Irish Society, and I trust that every Irish member will give us credit for wishing to effect all the good we can." Yet Mr. O'Connell tried to have it thrown out on a mere *point of form*; he had no argument to bring against the bill, for he immediately says, "I know nothing of the merits of the bill, but believe the benefits to be exaggerated."

Returning to his speech on the poor law bill, he remarks, "If £103,800 a year" (the sum calculated as being given for charity in Dublin), "be insufficient to relieve the distress of one city; how can it be supposed that £312,000 (the estimated expense of one hundred workhouses) will be sufficient to relieve the distress of the whole country? Recollect how many private charities will have their sources dried up the moment a general measure of this kind is passed." He objects to the bill, on account of in-

jury to the landlords, thus: "If the Irish *people* do not look to the consequences such a measure is calculated to produce, *the landlords will soon discover them. Once let them get the wedge in, and depend upon it the whole bulk of their property will soon be riven in pieces. I tell you that this law must ultimately work the total confiscation of all property in Ireland.* In Ireland, you have surrounding the poorest and most destitute class, a broad margin comprising men who are not actually paupers, but who are scarcely better than beggars, and who are not able by dint of the strongest and most incessant exertions to eke out a livelihood. Every man who is rented at £5 a year, is to become a rate-payer. This will include every man who at present just saves himself from begging. * * * * * After all, my conviction is, that my plan, which political economists may tell you would be altogether inexpedient, would really afford relief to Ireland, at once practical, permanent and substantial. That plan is shortly this—*extensive emigration and a tax on absentees*: on absentees who draw every year a large income from the land, but spend nothing in it. Again, "The inducement to the landlord specially to take care of his tenants will be entirely inoperative, if your bill be not accompanied by enactments providing a law of settlement; yet mark me, I am not for a law of settlement, such a law enslaves the people by tying them to the soil upon which they were born, and enabling you to hunt them like rats." Towards the end of his speech, he says: "I have arrived at a strong impression that a poor law has never done any good in any country where it has been adopted, as far as regards any view of protection to the poor."

Mr. Sharman Crawford spoke next very strongly in favour of poor laws, but objecting to some of the details of the proposed measure, and particularly for not establishing

a law of settlement, thus encouraging, he says, "a description of wandering paupers all over Ireland." Respecting the subdivision of land causing pauperism, he remarks, "What is the district in Ireland in which the condition of the pauper is most comfortable? In the County Down, and yet there the land is beyond comparison most subdivided. How happens this? *Because the relation between landlord and tenant is upon a more kindly footing there than in any other part of Ireland.*" Alluding to Mr. O'Connell he says, "The honourable and learned member for Kilkenny has shown that all the distress, and all the misery it generates, exists in the *absence* of poor laws. But has *he* proposed any remedy? The only remedy which he has pointed out is extensively expatriating the poor of Ireland. I confess that this is not the remedy which I looked for. I am willing to admit that emigration is highly useful in many ways, but I would assist the poor man to supply his wants in his own country. The honourable and learned member talks of confiscation; I have no dread of confiscation at all. If the landlords would take the proper means for improving their estates, they might afford relief to the people, without any loss of property to themselves. On the contrary, the improved condition of the people would prove greatly to their own advantage and profit. He talks too of the benefits of home legislation as likely to take away all grievances of this sort. But surely he must recollect that no less than six attempts were made by the Irish Parliament to establish poor laws in that country. When the Irish Parliament was in existence it was thought by many eminent men to be as necessary to have poor laws as it is considered now. In the year 1741 a bill of this sort was passed and received the royal assent, but was never promulgated."

Mr. O'Brien strongly supported the bill, and, alluding to

Mr. O'Connell, speaks thus: "Indescribably disastrous he' (Mr. O'Connell) " says is the present condition of the Irish poor. In the next sentence therefore we might have expected to hear him declare, that no experiment could be tried that could aggravate their wretchedness. But no! he tells you that for the remedy of these evils you must look to the operation of political measures—measures which, if beyond question beneficial, and if conceded in the largest spirit of liberality, could not possibly work out the effects which he ascribes to good government in a less period than twenty or thirty years. Will the passing of the municipal bill or the tithe bill—measures, the importance and excellence of which no one feels more strongly than I do;—will they feed the hungry and clothe the naked of the present generation?"

Mr. Lynch, on the adjourned debate on the same bill (May 1st), says: "I hope this bill will be one of the means of putting an end to one of the great evils of Ireland, competition for land, an evil to which we may attribute those outrages, that are in fact agrarian, and not political. I contend that this measure will benefit the small farmers in a very material degree, by relieving them from that heavy burden to which they are now subject, namely, the support of the destitute poor, which is now completely thrown upon them. Emigration has been frequently alluded to as a means of relief. It has been said, why do you not send the Irish poor to cultivate the wilds and wastes of America? But have we no waste lands in Ireland equally in want of reclaiming? I believe that the evils of Ireland result in a most material degree from the misuse of the land in cultivation and the non-use of education. The destitution and misery of the inhabitants are the cause of the anarchy and confusion, and consequently of the non-introduction of capital; and till destitution is

relieved, and safety is thereby offered to the capitalist, he will not be induced to embark his capital in that country."

Sir Robert Peel supported the bill, though he says: "I do not deny that I have some doubts as to the ultimate effects of this measure, and shall, when the bill is in committee, state my objections; but the feeling has now become so universal, that it is not consistent with justice, or the urgent demands of charity, that there should be no relief for the poor of Ireland, while relief is given to the poor in the other parts of the empire; that I in common with others admit the necessity of making the experiment, and this being admitted, the sooner the experiment is made the better. I see considerable difficulty in the way, yet if I were asked what other measure would be a more effectual check than the poor law, I should find it difficult to give an answer. There is one other point: much has been said of the sufferings caused by landlords rejecting a number of tenants; and may it not be apprehended that some evil in that respect will arise from the proposed system, and that the landowner will have recourse to the expedient, in order not to be burdened by heavy rates for keeping up the workhouses."—(Lord John Russell answered the last objection by saying: "So far from thinking that ejections will be more frequent, I believe the effect will be the direct contrary; for if a landlord were to eject a number of persons from his estate, they would go to the workhouse, and he would find from the increase of rates that he gained no advantage by the experiment.")—After a debate of two nights the bill was read a second time, but its progress was stopped in consequence of the late king's death. There was never any division in this session on the principle of the bill, though there were several in committee on details. It did not reach the Lords. In consequence of the postponement of the bill, Mr. S. Crawford suggested to Lord

John Russell, that as there was great cause to apprehend extensive destitution in Ireland, it would be advisable for the noble lord to ask for power to expend some money in relieving those unfortunate people who might require it, and which might be repaid out of the poor-rates.

Mr. S. Crawford was not in the next parliament, but at the last election he was returned for an English borough.

In the following year, when the poor-law bill was again brought in by government, Mr. O'Connell spoke against it on the second reading. *Feb.* 5, 1838, he said: "I will support a bill which shall relieve the sick, the infirm, and the aged, and afford temporary assistance to those who suffer from casualty or weakness, and cannot possibly obtain it in any other way. But I will oppose a bill which shall tempt the labouring classes to look forward to the workhouses as a permanent and ultimate refuge." On its going (*Feb.* 9) into committee, he opposed it violently, and moved that it be read that day six months; he made a long speech, but his arguments were only a reiteration of those he advanced the year before. The result of the division was against him, 277 to 25; he also voted against it in committee and on the third reading. The poor-law bill introduced by ministers was only before parliament for two sessions. It was first brought forward by Lord John Russell, *Feb.* 15, 1837, and received the royal assent *July* 31, 1838. It was never thrown out by the Lords.

Mr. O'Connell spoke and voted in favour of the Irish railroad grant in 1839. Sir Robert Peel was against it, on the ground that such undertakings should be left to private enterprise. Lord Morpeth was obliged to abandon the measure, so that the proposed grant was never actually made. The line fixed was from Dublin to Cork, with branches to Limerick and Clonmell. One of the principal grounds of objection was, the jealousy it would create in

the other parts of Ireland, to which, on account of the enormous expense, it would be impossible for government to render any assistance in the prosecution of similar undertakings. At a subsequent period of the same year (*July 23*) Lord Morpeth observed: "If next session private enterprise should be found insufficient and incompetent to complete these works, which it is admitted would be beneficial to Ireland, it will then become the duty of government to consider whether they ought not to lend their assistance." I have looked narrowly, however, through all the proceedings of 1840, and can find no farther mention of the subject. Not having the *Mirror* for the present year, I cannot tell if anything has been done, but I think not.

With respect to other measures introduced by Irish members for the purpose of bettering the condition of their poor countrymen. I find Mr. S. Crawford introduced, *July 2nd*, 1835, a bill to amend the law of landlord and tenant: the object was to enable the tenant to obtain a fair allowance from his landlord for expenses he might have incurred for the improvement of his holding. He did not intend pressing his bill that session, but introduced it for the purpose of having the subject considered. He brought in another on the same subject the next year, *March 10th*, 1836. In his speech he says,—“The object of my measure is to effect some improvement in the condition of the tenant, by not leaving it completely in the discretion of his landlord to deprive him of his parcel of land at his pleasure after the tenant having bestowed his labour upon it for a considerable period. The tenantry of Ireland are generally in the most wretched condition that might be looked for in the most impoverished country of Europe, though born in a land which if properly cultivated would yield abund-

ance and comfort to all. The extraordinary difference between the condition of the inhabitants of Ulster, and the other provinces, is to be attributed to the fact, that *in that province there is an identity of feeling and interest between the landlord and tenant*, whilst in the other parts of Ireland the tenant is generally neglected and persecuted by him, "as if he belonged to a class directly opposed to that of the occupier of the soil." He quotes the evidence of Mr. Nimmo, a celebrated engineer, given before a committee of the Lords; the following is a paragraph: "State your opinion of the state and condition of the peasantry of Ireland." "I conceive the peasantry of Ireland to be in general in almost the lowest possible state of existence; their cabins are in the most miserable condition, and their food—potatoes with water, frequently without salt; and I have frequently met persons that begged of me *on their knees* for the love of God to give them some promise of employment, that, from the credit of that they might get the means of support." Mr. Nimmo then states the practice of distress as the usual expedient for enforcing the commands of the landlord. He states the nature of the term, Irish tenants being always allowed to be from half a year to a year in arrear; the landlord, therefore, can always drive: and their power is applied for all purposes. For example, he says—"I want the people to work for me at *Sd.*, they demand *10d.*, I complain to the landlord, whose interest it is that the work should go on, that the wages might go to the payment of his own rent, and he forces them under the threat of distress. And in like manner, I have known notices sent to prevent them working for me."

This bill was supported or opposed by members, without regard to party; but Mr. O'Connell did not speak.

The second reading was postponed several times, until the 4th of July, when it was put off to that day six months.

In the first session of 1837, Mr. Lynch introduced a bill for the better and more convenient employment of the poor, and another for the reclamation and improvement of uncultivated lands in Ireland. The mode by which these objects were to be attained is not given. The bills were postponed time after time without discussion, until the King's death. He brought them in again on the 12th of December in the same year, but nothing came of them. No other Irish member took part in them, excepting that Morgan O'Connell was ordered to bring in that for the waste lands with Mr. Lynch.

Jan. 23d, 1838 " Mr. Lucas, member for Monaghan (a conservative), brought in a bill for the relief of con-acre tenants. The object was to introduce the principle that the labourer shall not be compelled to keep the land, but that the farmer shall take it off his hands in case of his inability to pay the rent. The second clause of the bill was to provide a remedy for the following grievance:— In addition to the security afforded to the farmer by the promissory note, which is given by him in the first instance for the rent, by the con-acre tenant, it is usual to claim the additional security of a legal lien on the property. Mr. Lucas proposed to modify the law, by introducing the provision, that if the landlord shall have consented to accept the security of a promissory note, such acceptance shall deprive him of the right to claim any other security. Mr. F. French and the O'Connor Don thought little or no benefit would arise from the bill, as, by embarrassing the farmer with legal enactments, he would be less disposed to break up his land for con-acre tenants. Mr. O'Connell took no part in the bill, which went into committee, but was ultimately dropped.

February 8, 1838.—Mr. Barron submitted a motion respecting the board of charitable bequests in Ireland, which, from the number of its members, and their engagements, was quite incompetent to the discharge of the duties; and as it consisted entirely of Protestants, did not possess the confidence of Catholics, who consequently conceal from it the nature of their charities, consisting of nineteen out of twenty in the whole country, and are accustomed during their lifetime to hand over large sums of money to be distributed to individuals, instead of giving them to charities, or placing them in the hands of trustees. “In the year 1809,” he says, “a relation of my own for these reasons, handed over £10,000 to four or five individuals, with merely verbal instructions as to its disposal; and at this distance of time, it is impossible to know whether the money has been properly applied. Twenty-five years ago, £20,000 were left by a Mr. Fanning to the poor of the city of Waterford, but as yet the poor of that city have not touched a single shilling.” He states the estimated value of property left for charity, and not under any legal control, to be two millions two hundred thousand pounds, producing at four per cent. an annual income of £110,000. Lord Morpeth suggested that Mr. Barron should bring in a bill for the obtaining a commission of inquiry, which would have greater powers than one appointed by the Crown: and Lord Morpeth promised the assistance of government.

February 13.—Mr. B. introduced a bill for the purpose. Mr. O’Connell took no part in the discussion till the second reading, when he spoke shortly in its favour. It was postponed time after time till June, when it was put off for three months, by which time Parliament was prorogued. I cannot find that it was ever mooted afterwards.

June 2, 1840.—Mr. O’Brien moved the following resolu-

tions: "That in Great Britain and Ireland, the working classes are frequently exposed to extreme privation, from inability to procure employment:" That in several of the British colonies the demand for labour is urgent, continuous, and increasing, and its remuneration is comparatively ample, whilst the prosperity of these colonies is much retarded by its inadequate supply. That under these circumstances, it is expedient that a free passage to those colonies which offer the greatest rewards to industry should be provided by the state for such of the labouring classes as are disposed to emigrate thither. Your lordship will perceive his motion is a general one for the promotion of emigration. In his speech, which is very long, he confines himself, however, almost entirely to Ireland: He appeals for support to the English members thus: "Unless the condition of the labouring classes in Ireland be elevated to that standard of comfort which is the right of every human being, it will follow as an unavoidable consequence, that the working population of England must be reduced to the same level of misery and indigence as theirs. It is contrary to every law that regulates the social system, to suppose that, in two countries so closely united, there can permanently exist two separate scales, by which English and Irish labour shall be differently remunerated. The commissioners of poor inquiry estimate that in England 1,055,982 agricultural labourers create agricultural produce to the value of £150,000,000 per annum, whilst, in Ireland, 1,131,715 produce to the value only of £36,000,000 per annum. They also calculate, that as the cultivated land in England may be estimated at 34,250,000 acres, whilst the cultivated land of Ireland is 14,600,000 acres, there are five labourers in Ireland for every two in England engaged in the cultivation of any given quantity of land." He

states also from his own knowledge, and from "unquestionable sources, that the average wages of the Irish labourer, throughout the greater part of that kingdom, do not amount to three shillings per week, I should rather say two shillings and sixpence." He goes on: "My assertion cannot be contested, when I state that the industrious labourer, often as estimable in all the moral relations of life as any of his superiors, is frequently compelled to live with his family upon a diet of potatoes, without milk, unprovided with such clothing as decency requires, and sheltered in a hovel wholly unfit for the residence of man. If the crop of potatoes which he has sown upon his morsel of con-acre ground should fail in any degree, he is reduced to that absolute extremity of want which may be properly designated as starvation." Alluding to the ejection of tenants, he says: "We know that of late years a very extensive system of ejection has prevailed in Ireland, in order to effect the consolidation of farms, for the general improvement of estates. In the great majority of cases, I fear that such ejection has been wholly unaccompanied by any concurrent provision for the ejected cottier, who becomes a forlorn outcast, unable even to procure employment, still less to regain the occupation of land. Hence we hear of land being turned up in order to induce the farmer to let out a larger quantity of con-acre for the growth of provisions for the labourer, and we find that an extensive ejection rarely takes place without the accompaniment of outrage. I feel bound to assign the true cause to which occasional disturbances may be traced." Farther on he says: "If, through the want of employment, 500,000 persons are upon an average supported at the expense of others, the lowest amount at which their maintenance can be calculated is one million and a half. Now, I am persuaded

that half this sum applied annually to emigration would, within a few years, almost extinguish pauperism in Ireland." Towards the close of his speech, he says:—" Though no one can deprecate more strongly than I do the prevailing system of ejectment for the clearance of estates, I believe, at the same time, that where land has become very much subdivided, it would equally conduce to the benefit of both landlord and tenant, that a portion of the superabundant population should be enabled to emigrate." The motion was seconded by Mr. Hutt, the member for Hull. *No other Irish member took part in the discussion, excepting Mr. Lucas who supported it.* Several English members spoke pro and con. Lord John Russell thought the proposition was of too wide and general a nature; that as it afforded such a vast field for emigration, without defining any precise means by which it was to be accomplished, and without stating the extent of the burden the state might have to bear, the affirmation of the proposition at the present moment would be in the highest degree inexpedient.

Sir Robert Peel appeared to be of the same opinion as Lord John. Alluding to the ejectment of tenants, Sir Robert says: " It may be correct, according to the principles of political economy, to remove the people from their small holdings, in order to throw their possessions into one large farm. The giving sudden notice to ninety or a hundred families to quit their possessions, and then turning them loose into the world, may be the means of insuring the better management of gentlemen's estates, and may be true wisdom, according to the principles of political economy, but it is not true according to the dictates of moral principle and Christian obligation."

In a discussion which took place in the House, July 27, 1835, Mr. S. Crawford gives as one reason for the expul-

sion of small tenants, the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders: landlords, in order to strengthen their political influence, having consolidated the small holdings into larger ones of the annual value fixed as the franchise.

ALTON TOWERS.—*January 1st, 1842.*

MY LORD,

I have examined some of the reports on Irish affairs, beginning with that of 1830, made by a committee of the House of Commons, moved for by Mr. Spring Rice, on the *11th of March* in that year. In the report, portions of the evidence are quoted to illustrate the observations or recommendations of the committee.

At page 4, the report says, “ A very extensive contractor, Mr. Mullins, considers ‘ that there is rather a tendency to increase the rate of wages than otherwise,’ and in comparing the present wages with what was received during the war, the same witness adds; ‘ that the labourer can now purchase as much provision for six shillings, as he could formerly for twelve shillings.’ Clothing he farther states, ‘ is less than one half cheaper; linen is to be had for one half the price: cottons, calicos and checks, those kind of fabrics which the poorer class of females wear, are now to be had for one fourth !—Mr. Mahoney observes”— (page 5), “ ‘ That the state of the peasantry has improved very rapidly of late years;—that the country has greatly altered for the better, that the peasantry are better clothed, and in every way seem more comfortable; and that their houses are improving.’ He adds ‘ that agriculture has improved; the mode of ploughing; the description of carts, and other farming implements:’—more land is cultivated, and the people are considered to possess more comforts than formerly, and on Sundays and holidays to

be better clothed. Among the better class of farmers, Mr. Musgrave considers, 'that very great improvement has taken place, and that the number of slated houses is increasing very considerably: that the repeal of the union duties has produced a great cheapness of calico, and dress of that kind, and that in country villages there is a much greater number of bakers' shops than there were a few years ago.'—The report observes, "the house will at once perceive the importance of this last observation. The peasantry who by means of the facilities of steam navigation carry their produce to the English market are said to 'acquire information and good habits by their intercourse with England; the fruits of which are becoming more and more manifest in Ireland.' The statement of Mr. Wiggins, an English land-agent, in describing the south-west of Ireland is equally satisfactory. 'A very great improvement has taken place in all respects during the last twenty-two years; with regard to food there is not much change: but in the habits of cleanliness and order, and regularity; in their clothing and sense of propriety, and I conceive in their moral character and conduct altogether, the improvement has been very striking. * * * I think the improvement of Ireland has been more rapid than any improvement I ever saw in England in any large tract of country.'"

Respecting the law of landlord and tenant, the report states (page 6), "under the strong excitement of war prices, and of the free trade in corn with Great Britain, agriculture advanced with great rapidity. In this advancing state, the demand for labour increasing daily, the population augmented in a similar proportion. Lands arose greatly in value from year to year, and lessees were tempted to realize profits by subletting their farms. In this way a system previously existing was continued and

extended, and one or more mesne tenants were interposed between the owner and the occupier. The latter was always ultimately subject to the demand for rent, and was in fact liable to be distrained by the head landlord, as well as by all the mesne tenants. The tendency on the part of the tenant was, either to sublet or subdivide among his family. If the former course was taken, the class of middlemen was created. This system operated as an absolute bar to any encouragement which might have been given to their tenants by the proprietors of estates. It led to the payment or the promise of much higher rents by the occupier." Portions of the evidence of Dr. Doyle, are then quoted (page 7), to show the effects of subdivision: " ' Where a small farmer took twenty or thirty acres of land, and was permitted to subdivide it among his children, he did so, when they grew up, and hence the subdivision immediately resulted. Those children again subdivided it among their children, until the farm of forty acres was subdivided into pieces not exceeding an acre each. Now if the tenant taking the forty acres had not been permitted to subdivide his land, he would have provided for his children by sending them one into the army, another into the navy, and then left his holding to a third: thus the farm would have been continued in its first state: but the tenant being at liberty to subdivide, availed himself of that privilege, and the landlord encouraged him in doing so, because instead of having one freeholder, he had by the subdivision, four.' " Another witness observes: " ' The ease with which a family is provided with the miserable cabins before-mentioned, and the sympathy of their ordinary food, consisting almost entirely of potatoes, induce early marriages among the poor; and these new families are scantily provided for by a subdivision of the lands. This subdivision is a most

serious evil, because it tends to the increase and spread of the most abject poverty and misery ; and burthens estates with a numerous and almost naked population. I do not think these people could have become better from the low degraded state of society in which they were.' Such was the state of things so soon as a fall in prices occurred after the peace. A change then began to take place in the system of managing lands. The great decline of agricultural produce prevented many of the middlemen as well as the occupiers from paying their rents. An anxiety began to be felt by the proprietors to improve the value of their estates, and a general impression was produced in the minds of all persons that a pauper population spread over the country would go on increasing, and the value of the land at the same time diminishing, till the produce would become insufficient to maintain the resident population. 'That evil became so obvious,' continues Dr. Doyle, 'that the proprietors thought some remedy ought to be applied, and they did accordingly apply remedies of the principle of which I highly approve ; but I thought, and still think, that those laws ought to have been accompanied by some provision for the poor.'

"The new system of managing lands," says the report, "was that of consolidating farms, and bringing the landlord and tenant more immediately into contact. It is stated to lead to a better system of husbandry, to a greater certainty of the potatoe crop, to farm buildings, and more comfortable habitations. Lower rents are assumed, but on the average of years larger rents are paid, and a race of yeomanry is likely to spring up and be encouraged. . . . So far from its being for the interest of the landlord to sublet, and so far from there existing any inveterate habit of subdividing farms, for the sake of acquiring higher rents, experience has shown that personal interest

imperatively prescribes a contrary mode of proceeding. . . . If the condition of the landlord, and of those tenants who remain in possession of the soil, are alone considered, the change is undoubtedly one of unmixed good. But the situation of another class remains to be considered, that of the ejected tenantry, or of those who are obliged to give up their small holdings in order to promote the consolidation of farms. Their condition is necessarily the most deplorable. . . . The change was unavoidable, and could not be delayed; a postponement could not have averted the evil day which would eventually have come, and have been attended with pressure aggravated by reason of the postponement. 'Had the evil gone much farther,' continues Dr. Doyle, 'the misery would of necessity have increased. It was indeed essentially necessary to the good of the country that the system should be corrected, and every wise man applauds those measures which were taken for the correction of it; but I believe there are very few people who now witness the sufferings of the poor of Ireland, who would not be inclined to say, that along with those acts to which I have referred, there ought to have been a provision made for the ejected.' "

In the fourth section of the report (p. 14), steam navigation is stated to have been attended with the most beneficial effects to Ireland. "The small inland trader now finds his way into the English market with what he has to sell, and he buys there what he wishes to retail in his own district. Steam navigation has given to Ireland the best and dearest market for her agricultural produce, of all sorts; and the best, because the cheapest, market from whence to bring manufactured goods in return. . . . The effect is of the last importance with reference to the quantity of business done with the same capital. It is stated by Mr. Williams, that not one fourth of the capital

is now wanting to carry on the same extent of business ; and he adds, 'I anticipate that this will shortly lead to the erection of shops and other establishments, in the interior of Ireland, for the sale of a vast variety of articles that are not now to be had there.' Some of the small dealers, who were formerly turning but a few hundreds a-year, can now turn ten thousand pounds in the same articles. Fifty tons of eggs, and ten tons of poultry, are sometimes shipped from Dublin in a single day. The sale of these articles adds more to the wealth of the tenant than to the landlord's rent. Steam has also been applied to the navigation of the river Shannon, with the most beneficial consequences. In three years, the tonnage on the Middle Shannon has augmented seven-fold."

On the state of manufactures, the report states (p. 15), "The most severe pressure of the existing distress is to be found in Dublin, and the other great towns. This is stated to arise from two causes,—the influx of paupers from the agricultural districts, and the diminished profits of manufacturing industry. Mr. Blake says, 'The great distress of the poor of Dublin has resulted from the decay of manufactures that existed there, and from their transit to other situations ; and from some modes of labour that had hitherto existed being altogether superseded by the use of machinery.'" The distress among the manufacturers is stated to have been increased by the superior machinery and greater capital of England. Farther on the report states, that "it is in vain to think that the rude hand-labour of Ireland can compete with the machinery of Great Britain. If the manufacturers of Ireland are therefore to be sustained, it can only be by the application of machinery."

Under the head of "public works," the report states, (p. 37) "Your committee have referred to all the reports

made on public works during the last eight years, and they all lead to the same conclusion. Mr. Nimmo states in 1823, that the fertile plains of Limerick, Cork, and Kerry, are separated from each other by a deserted country, hitherto nearly an impassable barrier between them. This large district comprehends nearly six hundred Irish, or nearly 970 square miles British. In many places it is very populous. As might be expected under such circumstances, the people are turbulent, and their houses being inaccessible for want of roads, it is not surprising that during the disturbances of 1821 and 1822, this district was the asylum for white boys, smugglers, and robbers, and that stolen cattle were drawn into it as to a safe and impenetrable retreat. Notwithstanding its present desolate state, this country contains within itself the seeds of future improvement and industry." Subsequently an engineer, Mr. Griffiths, was appointed by government to execute some public works in this district. In the year 1829, Mr. G., after the completion of the works, reports with respect to it: "A very considerable improvement has already taken place in the vicinity of the roads, both in the industry of the inhabitants and the appearance of the country. At the commencement of the works the people flocked into them seeking employment at any rate, their looks haggard, their clothing wretched. They rarely possessed any tools or implements beyond a small ill-shaped spade, and nearly the whole face of the country was unimproved. Since the completion of the roads, rapid strides have been made: upwards of sixty new lime kilns have been built. Carts, ploughs, harrows, and improved implements have become common, new houses of a better class have been built, new inclosures made, and the country has become perfectly tranquil, and exhibits a scene of industry and exertion at once pleasing and remarkable. A large

portion of the money received for labour has been husbanded with care, laid out in building substantial houses, and in the purchase of stock and agricultural implements, and numerous examples might be shown of poor labourers, possessing neither money, houses, nor land, when first employed, who in the past year have been enabled to take farms, build houses, and stock their lands." (The above statements of Messrs. Nimmo and Griffiths are quoted by the committee, the first, "Report ordered to be printed 25th May 1824, p. 1," the latter from "Report on the Southern District, 1829, No. 153, p. 2.") "A most interesting account of the effect of these works on the habits of the people," says the report, "will be found in the minutes, p. 98. 'At Abbeyfeale and Brosna,' observes Mr. Kelly, 'above half of the congregation at mass on Sundays were bare-footed and ragged, with small straw hats of their own manufacture, felt hats being only worn by a few. Hundreds or even thousands of men could be got to work at 6*d.* per day if it had been offered. The farmers were mostly in debt, and many of the families went to beg in Tipperary and other parts. The condition of the people is now very different; the congregations at the chapels are now as well clad as in other parts; the demand for labour is increased, and a spirit of industry is getting forward, since the new roads have become available.'" At page 39, the report quotes part of the evidence of Mr. Williams as to the benefit of public works: he says, "I will here mention two facts that have come to my own knowledge: one, that in consequence of the expenditure of £100,000 in public works in Connaught, in seven years, the increase of the annual revenue has been equal to the whole of that expenditure. I find also a corresponding increase in the Cork district, where Mr. Griffith expended £60,000 in seven years, and the increase of

customs and excise has been £50,000 a year, attributable mainly to the facilities of communication, by which whole districts have been rendered available for productive purposes, and a miserable pauper population converted into a class of consumers.' ”

On the subject of drainage and embankments, the report states, (p. 45), that “ There are about 3,000,000 Irish, or 5,000,000 English acres of waste lands which are considered to be almost reclaimable. Experiments which have been tried seem to confirm the reasoning and anticipations with respect to the great profit and practicability of these drainages. It is in evidence, that by an expense of somewhat about £7 per acre, land in the county of Sligo has been reclaimed and rendered worth a rent of 30s. ; or if preserved in the hands of the proprietor, that it is made capable of repaying all expenses by three years' produce, leaving all subsequent returns clear gain.” Other and greater advantages the committee think will arise from the reclamation of these lands. In another paragraph, the report says, “ If this work can be accomplished, not only would it afford a transitory but a permanent demand for productive labour, accompanied by a corresponding rise of wages, and an improvement in the condition of the poor. Opportunities would also be afforded for the settlement of the peasantry, now superabundant in particular districts, on waste lands, which at present scarcely produce the means of sustenance, or suited for human habitations. This change would be alike advantageous to the lands from whence the settlers are taken, and to those on which they may hereafter be fixed. The severe pressure of the system of clearing farms and ejecting sub-tenants may thus be mitigated and the general estate of the peasantry improved.”

On emigration the report observes : “ The peculiar

nature of the present relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland, the alteration of the system of managing estates that has been for some time in progress, as well as the increase of pauperism in England, have rendered the subject of colonization one which occupied a considerable portion of the attention of parliament. The question remains to be settled, at what rate of expense, emigration can be conducted, from whence the funds can be supplied, and whether those funds can be more profitably employed, with a view to the public interests, in any other manner? However these questions may be decided, were it proposed to raise a tax for emigration, it appears to your committee that emigration, as a remedial measure, is more applicable to Ireland than to any other part of the empire. Emigration from Great Britain, if effectual as a remedy, must tend to raise the rate of wages here, and thus to increase the temptation to the emigration of Irish labourers. Colonization from Ireland, on the contrary, by raising the rate of wages in the latter country, diminishes the inducement, and reduces the number of Irish labourers in the British market. These principles are correctly stated in the following words, at the close of the second report of the Emigration Committee in 1827. Whatever may be the immediate and urgent demands from other quarters, it is vain to hope for any permanent and extensive advantage from any state system of emigration which does not primarily apply to Ireland, whose population, unless some other outlet be opened to them, must shortly fill up every vacuum created in England or in Scotland, and reduce the labouring classes to one uniform state."

The report then suggests that the expense of emigration should be borne by the landlord and tenant. At p. 56 is the following paragraph: "Your committee cannot better conclude this report than by extracting from the

evidence the following answer, given by James Weale, Esq. in which they most entirely concur : ‘ I can hardly conceive a limit to the new market for British manufacture, and for native labour, by an improved system of management and cultivation of landed property in Ireland. There is such an immense mass of people in Ireland, who are unclothed, unfed, and unhoused, that I doubt whether even the new markets we have sought for in South America can be considered half as valuable as that which lies at our door ; and it is from improvements in that market alone that I look for any material alleviation in the pressure of the heavy taxation which the sister kingdom must in the mean while necessarily sustain.’ ”

The report then concludes by recommending nineteen bills to be brought in for various purposes, to carry out the views of the committee ; among them are the following :

8th. A bill for the extension and promotion of public works, &c. &c. advances being made from the Treasury upon public security.

9th. A bill to amend the subletting act.

10th. A bill for the drainage of bogs, embankment of marshes, &c.

11. A bill to provide facilities for the voluntary emigration from Ireland to His Majesty’s North American colonies, the expense being borne by the landlords of such emigrants, or by such emigrants themselves.

19. A bill to provide for the education of the poorer classes of all His Majesty’s subjects.

Alton Towers, Jan. 13, 1842.

MY LORD,—I send with this a sheet of statistical tables, by which your lordship will be able to see the progress of Ireland in trade and commerce since the Union ;

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the last of them, which refers to savings banks, will show the improvement in the condition of the poorer classes. The tables have taken me a considerable time to arrange, as I had to procure them from a number of different works; many of them I have condensed or extracted from other matter. I have given the authorities, and your lordship may rely on their accuracy, as far as I am concerned.

The speech of Mr. Spring Rice, who replied to Mr. O'Connell, on the subject of the repeal of the Union, in behalf of the government, is conclusive, as to the advancement of Ireland since the Union: the least satisfactory part was the state of manufactures. The following extracts from his speech show that they were in a declining state, however, previous to the Union.

“ On the 30th October, 1781,” says Mr. Rice, “ there was presented to the Irish House of Commons a petition from Cork, representing that numbers of manufacturers and artificers were then in the utmost distress. On the 6th of December a similar petition was presented from Wexford. On the 31st of October, 1783, the broad cloth manufacturers stated, that the exportation of raw materials, and importation of manufactures, had reduced them to unparalleled distress. On the same day the Lord Mayor and citizens of Dublin prayed for protection and restrictions, to restore the almost ruined manufactures. On the 3rd of November Capt. Brooke petitioned for a loan of £40,000, to carry on ‘ mixed linen and cotton manufactures,’ so as to employ a number of the distressed weavers of Dublin; and on the 28th of the same month parliament granted him £25,000, upon condition of his constantly employing 2000 manufacturers from Dublin for ten years. On the 3rd of November, 1783, the guild of merchants of Dublin presented a petition, representing the kingdom as

‘pregnant with the most alarming circumstances of distress.’ Similar petitions were presented from other towns on the same day. On the 15th of February, 1787, the merchants and shopkeepers petitioned, for the purpose of representing the bad state of trade, and the ruin of Irish manufactures by the sale of smuggled goods at auctions. . . . On the 31st of January, 1788, the manufacturers of sattinets, camlets, &c. complained that their distress was insupportable, and that more than half of the working manufacturers were reduced, by want of employment, to a degree of wretchedness beyond description. . . . In 1788, the sovereign and inhabitants of Belfast petitioned for the enactment of an additional tax on the exportation of cattle, stating that the curing trade was very much diminished by such exportations. In this prayer” (says Mr. Rice), “for the exclusion of Irish cattle from the British market, the people of Belfast adopt the worst system of the worst times of British jealousy, and show the miserable ignorance and folly that must inevitably belong to separate legislation. Next, the woollen manufacturers of Dublin presented a petition, attributing great losses to the depravity of the working people. . . . In the year 1793, petitions were presented by the Irish manufacturers of cotton and woollen fabrics, stating their inability any longer to give employment to the working people, of whom 15,000 were in wretchedness. On the 18th of June, 1793, a petition from the worsted weavers of Dublin stated, that they were reduced to penury and famine: that in this branch of trade, 2000 looms had been employed in 1789, but that they had been diminished to less than one-fourth, and that the materials had fallen in price 20 per cent.”* Mr. Rice continues to

* And to this condition would they be reduced again, were they abandoned to their own resources.—*S.*

give similar proofs of the decay of trade and manufactures in Ireland up to the time of the Union ; and then shows that there had lately been great improvement ; he says : “ The most important feature in the extension and improvement is the manufacture of machinery, which has of late years sprung up in Ireland : affording the best proof that our general manufactures are thriving. The construction of steam-engines, and other machinery, is now successfully undertaken in Dublin, Belfast, and other places, demonstrating, that a demand for these machines is increasing rapidly throughout the country. And here I must say, that if there be one argument more cogent than another, to prove that until Ireland is allowed some repose, never can her powers of improvement and her natural energies be fairly developed ; that argument is to be deduced from the present state of manufacturing industry throughout the world. A country stands in a very different position when her manufactures are carried on by machinery, from that in which she was placed in a simpler state of society. Ireland must inevitably sink as a manufacturing country, unless she employ machinery in competition with all other countries. But, unless we have tranquillity—unless we have security for life—how can we expect that any reasonable man will be induced to invest his wealth as fixed capital, and expose himself to the enormous risks inseparable from continual political agitation ? When manufactures were carried on in a more simple mode, this political agitation, and this insecurity, were not productive of so much inconvenience and danger. The female spinner, or the peasant with a loom in his cottage, might have consoled themselves in thinking, that their very poverty was a security against attack, and that even if danger approached them, they had not much to lose. The case of a capitalist, who is called on to invest

many hundred thousand pounds in a cotton or flax mill, is very different. He is readily discouraged, and in many instances may say—‘As long as the trade of agitation is kept up in Ireland—as long as my property is exposed to hazard—as long as there is a chance of my being denounced, if my politics do not concur with those of the popular leaders—as long as my private life may be disturbed and embittered—I will not, and dare not, invest my capital!’ It is on this account that the position of Ireland is one which renders her liable to peculiar loss and danger from the effects of agitation. It is on this account that repose is more necessary than at any other period of her history. It is on this account, that there is not a gentleman who chooses to pursue the course of agitation, who does not incur the awful responsibility of arresting the progress of his country in the career of improvement; and of depriving that very peasantry, whose interest he affects to advocate, and for whose rights he thinks he contends, of their only means of advancing in wealth, civilization, and happiness.”

Farther on, he alludes to the number of houses that have been built in the large towns since the Union, as a proof that they had not decayed. The increased annual rental of Dublin he calculates at £128,520 (your lordship will find the particulars of the increase among the tables). Speaking of chapels that have been built since the Union, he says, “There is another fact to which I may here allude; I mean the increase of Roman Catholic chapels since the Union, the amount of money which has been invested in them, and the splendid buildings which are rising daily in that metropolis and in the principal towns. I rejoice to be able to make this observation; I think it proves the increase, not only of the wealth, but of the religious feelings of my countrymen. At the period of

the Union, there was but one respectable Roman Catholic chapel in Dublin—that of Clarendon Street—I believe there are now eight or nine [which he names], and one of them cost upwards of £ 40,000. . . . I may venture to suggest also, that the large subscriptions which are raised for political purposes throughout Ireland, afford some proof that the people are not quite so distressed as they are said to be. We know that these subscriptions, whether called rent or tribute, are made a matter of boast; these subscriptions cannot be adduced as evidence of the poverty of the country.”

To show that the affairs of Ireland had not been neglected by the imperial parliament, Mr. Rice gave a list of the number of reports on Irish affairs, made from the Union up to the time he was speaking: viz., from select committees, 60; from commissioners, 114; total reports, from 1801 to 1833, inclusive, 174. Mr. Rice gave also a statement of the various grants made by parliament for the benefit of Ireland. (Your lordship will find them among the tables. The grants for harbours are extra to the sums voted for public works.)

Since writing the above, I have been looking over the debates, to obtain, if possible, some information respecting Lord Roden’s committee, and was fortunate enough to light on a speech of Mr. Barron, in which he asserts boldly the improvement of Ireland under the then government; and his evidence is the more valuable, for he was one of the thirty-nine who voted for Mr. O’Connell’s motion for repeal, in 1834: his statements therefore cannot be impugned, as false or partial, by the repeal party. The occasion of his speech was a debate on the policy of ministers in Ireland; Lord John Russell wishing to obtain a vote of approval from the Commons, as a set-off to the vote of

the Lords, granting the committee moved for by the Earl of Roden, which ministers considered as a vote of censure. Mr. Barron says (April 17, 1839), " An imperious sense of duty compels me to waive all minor considerations, and to offer, in the name of my constituents, my testimony to the greatly improved state of Ireland within the last *seven* years ; and to prove, by facts, that commerce, agriculture, and manufactures—yes, manufactures—are progressing in that country, where the Lords say that neither life nor property is secure. I pray the calm consideration of English members to such facts as I shall quote ; and I court investigation. I shall also be able to prove that the value of land, of mines, and other property, is steadily improving, and that rents were never better paid than at this moment, when the Lords tell you that neither life nor property is secure in that country. I pray attention to the facts I am about to prove my statements by. As a resident magistrate, and landed proprietor, I can fearlessly state that in my part of Ireland there is a visible diminution of crime, and a decided increase of comfort and security amongst the people. The facts I shall commence with first, are connected with the trade and commerce of Ireland ; and the first and most prominent of these is, that since 1829, up to the 1st of January, 1839, the export of corn from Ireland has increased by one-half. In 1829 it was only £2,300,000 sterling in value ; in 1838 it was £3,400,000 ; thus showing the most extraordinary rapid progress of trade and of agriculture perhaps ever witnessed in so short a period. The next point I shall quote is one of import ; and here again is a great increase. In 1838 the imports of tea into Ireland were one-fourth more than in 1829. In the article of coffee the increase is three-fold. We imported in 1838 three times the

quantity of coffee that we did in 1829. These two latter articles, being matters of comparative luxury, show clearly an improvement in the riches and comforts of the people. They are also articles of taxation, and tend to improve the revenue of the country and its public resources. In the article of coals the imports have doubled since 1829; thus proving, in both our imports and exports, that trade, and commerce, and revenue, are improving, whilst the Lords tell you, in their resolutions, that neither life nor property is secure in that country. But there are still more decided improvements taking place in our trade than were then quoted. Some entirely new branches of trade have started into life since 1829, and most of them since Lord Normanby went to govern that country. Amongst these, the trade in grinding corn is the most important. In 1829 this trade was very feeble; in 1838 there was scarcely a river in the country that could not boast of new mills erected on it; and both English and Scotch capital, combined with Irish capital, is increasing these mills in every direction. Some of these have been erected at a cost of £50,000, in a country where you are told neither life nor property is secure. The cotton trade has also found its way into the south of Ireland; and in my own neighbourhood, a most enterprising and intelligent gentleman has successfully established that trade, and invested a large capital therein. Other minor manufactures are in a prosperous state, such as glass, serge, and flannels. A large increase in the export of porter has likewise taken place, which is quite a new trade in Ireland; and strange as it may appear to the house, I can vouch for the fact, that a considerable quantity of barley was this year imported, in order to meet the increased demand for Irish porter in the English market. New mines are opened in that

country, and the shares are at a premium; showing that the parties conversant in these matters, and who have invested large capitals in them, feel perfectly secure of their property; and I know, of my own knowledge, that the company working one of these mines in the county of Waterford, is now about to increase, or has lately increased, their investments in this undertaking; thus giving employment to the people, diffusing riches and comfort amongst them, and getting in return a large interest on their capital.

“ I now turn to the value of land, and I pray particular attention to my facts on this head. In the year 1809, a valuable estate, let to solvent and very respectable comfortable tenants, all of them having leases and a considerable interest in their holdings, was sold by the Earl of Enniskillen for twenty years' purchase. This was during the war, and high prices. A portion of that estate which was then bought in small lots at twenty years' purchase, is now in the market and is valued at twenty-four years' purchase at the least, and I have little doubt will fetch more. In 1816, after the war, an estate of the late Sir Thomas Osborne, in the county of Waterford, sold for sixteen years' purchase. That same estate sold last year for twenty years', and part of it for twenty-five years' purchase; and another part thirty years' purchase was offered for. A third instance of the increased value of landed property occurred within these few months, when an estate belonging to a relation of my own sold for twenty-four years' purchase under the courts in Dublin, by public auction, whereas I can show that in 1830, that same estate was valued at only twenty years' purchase. Then again, as to the rent of land, I fearlessly assert that never were rents better paid than at this moment in Ireland and,

there is no part of the world that well managed estates more punctually pay their rents." Mr. Barron then states that crime was diminishing ; the people generally less inclined to turbulence than formerly, and the laws well administered.

A registration bill for Ireland was introduced on the part of government by Mr. Woulfe (attorney-general) *May 9th*, 1838: it was put off from time to time till *July 6th*, when " committee thereupon deferred to that day three months." There was very little discussion on it. A bill for a similar purpose was brought in by Mr. Serjeant Jackson, *May 23d*, 1838, which went through **some** stages, but was ultimately deferred like the **other**.

March 5th, 1839, Mr. O'Brien obtained leave to bring in a registration bill ; nothing however came of it. Lord Stanley obtained leave to introduce his registration bill, *February 25th*, 1840 ; there was a debate of several nights on the second reading, which was carried by 250 to 234. On the motion for its going into committee, there was another long discussion and division, which ended in Lord Stanley's favour by 301 to 298 : every obstacle was thrown in the way of the bill, and every clause violently contested. On *June 11th*, there was another vote in favour, 213 to 220. *June 19th*, there was a division against him, 296 to 289, this was the only time that he was beaten. On *June 26th*, another in his favour, 275 to 271. Having only been able to get through with three clauses out of the forty-six, Lord Stanley withdrew his bill *July 6th*, on account of the impossibility of getting it passed, from the advanced period of the session.

The government bill for the same year, was brought in *June 2nd*, by Mr. Pigot (solicitor-general for Ireland) ; the second reading was deferred from time to time, and at

last the bill was withdrawn by Lord John Russell on the same evening that Lord Stanley withdrew his. The government bill appeared to be kept back until the fate of the other should be decided.

In 1841, Lord Stanley obtained leave to bring in another registration bill *February 2nd*, and withdrew it *May 28th*: it was only read once; his reason for withdrawing it was the expected dissolution of parliament. Lord Morpeth got leave for the introduction of his bill *February 4th*, and moved the second reading *February 22nd*. Lord Stanley moved that it be read that day six months, after a debate of four nights the second reading was carried by 299 to 294. In committee *April 26th*, an amendment was proposed by Lord Howick, supported by Stanley and Peel, and opposed by Lords John Russell and Morpeth: ministers were beaten by 291 to 270. On *April 29th*, they were again defeated on the second clause by 300 to 289. Lord J. Russell considering this the most important part of the bill, declined proceeding any farther with it.

The Precursor Society was established in 1838. I am sorry that I have not been able to find the exact date, but it would appear to have been in the latter end of that year, as it is mentioned in the *Quarterly Review* for *December* 1838, as the "NEW society." It was founded after the dissolution of the General Association.

(The more particular object of the latter was an alteration of the tithe system). The repeal association was established some time in the spring of 1840, but not earlier than the end of March: for Mr. Shiel in his speech on the registration bill *March 25th*, says: "Why make the experiment at the present moment: Ireland is in a state of political tranquillity: Look at the tithe question, that is adjusted; the feeling on *another question* is dormant,

if not dead." There can be no doubt that "another question" means repeal; the association could not therefore have been in existence then. But on *July 6th*, Lord Glengall alludes to it in the upper house. He says: We have the repeal society organized in full force;" the association must then have been established between *March* and *July*. All the agitation consequent to the Precursor Society must have been in existence previous to Lord Stanley's bill: but the repeal association was in consequence of that bill.

Lord Roden obtained his committee, *March 21st*, 1839. The evidence was presented *July 19th*. The report consists of only about a dozen lines, and does not recommend any measures. It says: "The committee think it desirable that the evidence should be submitted to the house unaccompanied by any comment or opinion upon the part of the committee."

Continuation of Appendix.—No. V.

Having lately received one number of Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, I am enabled to add the following:—*On the 2nd of June*, 1840, Mr. W. S. O'Brien introduced the subject of emigration at great length in an able and interesting speech, but to a very thin house. In the opening of his subject, he thus alludes to the circumstance:—"I confidently ask for attention, on account of the intrinsic importance of the subject itself. It wants, indeed, the stimulating excitement which belongs to party questions, and which never fails to produce a full attendance of members." Later, he says, "As to the objection frequently urged in Ireland, that the labour of

her population might be much more usefully employed at home,—that our waste lands should be reclaimed,—that public works, on a large scale, should be undertaken,—and that the land already under cultivation should be improved by an increased application of labour, before emigration should be encouraged by the state,—I can only say, that no one feels more strongly than I do the advantage which would arise from directing to these objects the industry of our unemployed population. I have frequently solicited the government to give every encouragement within the scope of legislation to the reclamation of our waste lands, and even to undertake their cultivation, to a certain extent, by way of experiment and example. If earnest entreaties could have induced Parliament to establish a general system of railways, and to promote other useful works in Ireland, they would now be in progress. But even if these things were done, still vast numbers of our teeming population would remain inadequately provided for. As for the application of private capital to the improvement of land, I admit that it is most desirable, and that it would be attended with equal profit to the capitalist, and advantage to the labourer; but to wait for it while the people are starving, is to stand like the rustic gazing on the river,—

—‘Expectat dum defluit amnis, at ille
Labitur, et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.’ ”

He had already stated that the average wages of the Irish labourer throughout the year may be estimated at 3s. or 2s. 6d. “We know also,” says he, “that of late years, a very extensive system of ejection has prevailed in Ireland,—*not for the purpose of securing the payment of rent, which is, of course, an incident essential to the maintenance of the right of property, but—in order to effect the*

if not dead." There can be no doubt that "and question" means repeal, the association could not have been in existence then. But on *July 6th* O'Connell alludes to it in the upper house. He says "I have the repeal society organised in full form of association must then have been established *March and July*. All the agitation commenced by the Precursor Society must have been in existence before Lord Stanley's bill: but the repeal association is the consequence of that bill.

Lord Roden obtained his committee, The evidence was presented *July 19th*. It consists of only about a dozen lines, and does not recommend any measures. It says: "It is highly desirable that the evidence should be presented in the house unaccompanied by any committee report on the part of the committee."

Continuation of App

Having lately received one of the *Monthly Parliamentary Debates*, I am enabled to state that on the 2nd of *June, 1840*, Mr. O'Connell made the subject of emigration at the subject of an interesting speech, but to the opening of his subject, he alluded to the principle [of converting the subject into a very good in political respects moral obligation. The subject is likely to arise in this country, and the families would be turned out of their houses. The objection frequently urged is answered without a division, but it

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consolidation of farms, for the general improvement of the estates. In the great majority of cases, I fear that such ejection has been wholly unaccompanied by any concurrent provision for the ejected cottier. Nothing can be conceived more truly deplorable than the condition of a person so ejected. From having been the occupier of a few acres of land, for which he has often paid his rent with the utmost punctuality, he now becomes a forlorn outcast, unable even to procure employment, still less to regain the occupation of land. Is it surprising that a population in such a state should occasionally be tempted to commit acts of violence? Whilst I cannot withhold my admiration from the patient resignation which renders crime and outrage the exception in Ireland, and restrains the Irish poor under unparalleled privations within the limits of the law, I feel bound to assign the true cause to which occasional disturbances may be traced."

"Mr. Lucas thought that the country was highly indebted to the hon. gentlemen for calling the attention of the house to the subject, and he much regretted that the present state of the house did not afford a more favourable opportunity for its discussion, particularly when he knew, and every member of the house knew as well as he did, that if the question was whether a member should be added to the whig or tory side of the house, the benches would be filled to repletion."

Sir Robert Peel said, "That principle [of converting small into large farms] may be very good in political economy, but it is not true as regards moral obligation. I do not believe that a case is likely to arise in this country where forty or fifty families would be turned out on light grounds."

The motion was negatived without a division, but it

does the greater credit to the mover, who, with Mr. Lucas, Mr. S. Crawford, Mr. Lynch, and Mr. Wyse, seem to have interested themselves the most in the many vain attempts which have been made for alleviating the distresses of the poor of their native country. The little interest that this debate inspired amongst the Irish members generally, is much to be deprecated, if it were only upon the principle that fair and frequent discussion cannot fail to produce its advantage. Mr. O'Connell is reported, only the other day, to have given his testimony to this effect in the Repeal Association:—"I always found," said he, "in political matters it was necessary to repeat facts over and over again, before the community at large saw them (loud cries of hear, hear). There was in that repetition a kind of magic power to cause them to become known and inquired into, and to make a due impression on the public mind." Yet, with the exception of the mover and Mr. Lucas, no Irish member took any part in the discussion.

Throughout, it appears to me clearly proved, that no general effort was ever made by the Irish members, or even by the influential portion of them, when that influence was at its zenith, to bring into practical operation the many schemes for the improvement of their country, which were so frequently and so urgently recommended by the committees and commissioners appointed to inquire into the grievances and destitution of the Irish poor; and it seems very unjust to throw such heavy imputations upon the indifference or hostility of England, till they can first show that all due efforts have been made upon their side. While, to prove that even the greatest acts of injustice on the part of England have not always been an unmixed evil, I insert the following from the *Dublin Review* for October 1838:—

“The population of Ireland, supposed at present to be 8,523,000,* is very unequally distributed over the surface of the island. Some of the northern counties† are the most densely inhabited, but the proportion of heads to the square mile is large in several parts of Leinster and Munster. The condition of the people is as unequal as their distribution. It is not best where there would appear to be least ‘pressure on subsistence,’ as the Malthusians would term it. On the contrary, districts in which there are most mouths, enjoy far above the average comforts in food, clothing, and habitations. The most productive counties are by no means the most thickly peopled; and, if an opinion were to be founded upon what is witnessed in localities not even of third-rate fertility, sustenance could be drawn, with ease, from the Irish soil for triple its present population.

“The commissioners make the common remark as to the superiority of the general condition of the population of the northern counties. ‘They are a frugal, industrious, and intelligent race, inhabiting a district for the most part inferior in natural fertility to the southern portion of Ireland, but cultivating it better, and paying higher rents in proportion to the quality of the land, notwithstanding the higher rate of wages.’

“The ‘plantation’ of Ulster, utterly opposed as it was to the law of civilized nations, and monstrous as was its injustice to the natives, had in it, nevertheless, the ele-

* In 1731, the amount was	-	-	2,010,000
1791	-	-	4,206,000
1821	-	-	6,801,000
1831	-	-	7,767,000
1834	-	-	7,943,000

† Armagh, Monaghan, and parts of Antrim and Down.

ments of much good. It created a large resident proprietary, upon whom it imposed the imperative duty of improving the land, and bettering the condition of its cultivators. One of the obligations of an English or Scotch undertaker, was that he should live five years on his estate, or place some other person to act for him, and be resident five years. He was to erect certain buildings, and effect other improvements within the time. To encourage him in his operations, he was at liberty to 'send for, and bring into, Ireland, out of Great Britain, victuals and utensils for his household, materials and tools for building, and husbandry, and stock to manure the lands, without paying any custom for the same.' He was to have sufficient timber out of his Majesty's woods, 'without paying anything for the same,' for two years. Better than all, he was to make *certain estates to tenants*, and 'forbear Irish exactions.' The natives were, in all instances, placed under worse conditions; but such as were permitted to share in the new distribution were allowed estates in fee-farm, on the condition of erecting certain buildings, granting interests for lives or years to their dependents, abstaining from Irish exactions, and 'using tillage and husbandry after the manner of the English Pale;'—a manner, it must be confessed, somewhat preferable to that of the Irish, amongst whom '*ploughing by the tail*' was prevalent far later than the commencement of the seventeenth century. Under these circumstances, a great stimulus to improvement must have been given in the north of Ireland more than two centuries ago, and the effects cannot but be perceptible in the present times. The north escaped the worst visitation of the Cromwellian usurpation, and of the more recent calamities of the Williamite revolution."

This surely affords us another proof of what may be

effected by due attention to agriculture—much more than by political agitation—and that a thick, teeming population is not in itself an evil. It only requires to be properly directed. The same state of things as is yet to be found in Ireland, out of Ulster, existed in the time of Spencer, above two hundred and fifty years ago, who tells us, “that the landlords there use most shamefully to rack tenants;” and the same remedy presented itself to his intelligent mind,—the encouragement of agriculture. “It is the most easy,” says he, “most needful, most enemy to war, and most hateth unquietness. It is the nurse of thrift, and the daughter of industry:” and however difficult the task may be,—to apply the remedy so that it may answer the end,—yet, in the words of this sagacious political economist, a good government “ought to think nothing so hard, but that through wisdom it may be mastered and subdued.” The facilities for the undertaking are incomparably greater now than they were then, and though there seems to be a disposition in some to decry every measure that brings redress; though the tithe composition act which was offered as an act of peace, has been converted into a watchword for war,—though the poor law, which was intended as an act of humanity, is stigmatized as a system of degradation and oppression; yet, from the vigorous application of the only remedy which has been ever universally recommended, though never efficiently tried, I still hope to see the day when the *people* of Ireland may be able gratefully to acknowledge “the many blessings and benefits which, within these few years past, had been poured upon them,” and to say with greater truth than did the Irish Commons in 1615, “whereby we, all of us, sit under our own vines, and the whole realm reap the happy fruits of peace.”

STATISTICAL TABLES.

Account of the Net Ordinary Public Revenue of Ireland at different periods, from 1802 to 1830 :—

For the 10 years ending Jan. 5, 1802.	10 years ending Jan. 5, 1812.	10 years ending Jan. 5, 1822.	8 years ending Jan. 5, 1830.
£16,729,398 : 0 : 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	£34,743,051 : 3 : 4	£43,829,502 : 7 : 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	£27,456,920 : 0 : 5 $\frac{1}{4}$

Account of the Quantities of Tea, Sugar, Coffee, and Tobacco, entered for Home Consumption in Ireland, in the years 1784, 1800, and 1827 :—

Year.	Tea in lbs.	Sugar in cwts.	Coffee in lbs.	Tobacco in lbs.
1784 -	1,551,228	- 190,483	- 7,182	- 3,477,649
1800 -	2,926,166	- 355,662	- 120,985	- 6,737,275
1827 -	3,887,955	- 319,736	- 585,739	- 4,041,172

Number of Vessels entered inwards, and cleared outwards, in the ports of Ireland, for the year 1801, and every fourth year until 1829 inclusive* :—

Years.	<i>Inwards.</i>		<i>Outwards.</i>	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1801 - -	7,690	- 711,242	No account of ships cleared outwards for this year.	
1805 - -	7,960	- 754,462	7,135	- 703,717
1809 - -	7,864	- 695,943	7,737	- 704,110
1813 - -	9,922	- 899,181	9,555	- 890,170
1817 - -	10,890	- 954,012	9,909	- 887,520
1821 - -	10,724	- 961,535	10,061	- 918,366
1825 - -	12,658	- 1,167,414	9,689	- 878,173
1829 - -	14,971	- 1,470,977	9,645	- 1,039,461

Number of vessels employed in the coasting trade, which entered inwards or cleared outwards with cargoes, and employed in the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland in the years ending 5th January 1836, 5th January 1838, and 5th January 1840 :†—

Years ending 5 Jan. 1836.	<i>Inwards.</i>		<i>Outwards.</i>	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1836 - -	10,116	- 1,138,147	14,608	- 1,473,258
1838 - -	9,820	- 1,179,062	10,299	- 1,202,104
1840 - -	9,221	- 1,176,893	17,335	- 1,708,243

* This and the two first Tables are compiled from the Appendix to the Report on state of the Poor in Ireland for 1830.

† This last Table is extracted from "Companion to British Almanac," but taken originally from "Parl. Papers."

*Aggregate Official Value of Imports and Exports of Ireland for 1801, and every fourth year to 1825 inclusively.**

IMPORTS.

Imports.	1801.	1805.	1809.	1813.	1817.	1821.	1825.
From Gt. Britain	£3,270,350 12 0	4,067,717 1 7	5,316,557 5 1	6,746,353 12 10	4,722,766 0 3	5,338,838 4 6	7,048,936 5 6
— Foreign Parts	1,350,994 4 6	1,227,250 3 4	1,580,204 13 9	1,050,932 18 2	923,797 3 6	1,068,589 11 3	1,547,849 3 5
Tot. from all parts	£4,621,334 16 6	5,294,967 4 11	6,896,711 18 10	7,797,286 11 0	5,646,563 3 9	6,407,427 15 9	8,596,785 8 11

EXPORTS.

Exports.	1801.	1805.	1809.	1813.	1817.	1821.	1825.
To Gt. Britain	£3,537,725 8 8	4,288,167 11 5	4,588,305 10 7	5,410,326 12 1	5,696,613 13 2	7,117,452 0 1	8,531,355 5 5
— Foreign Parts	526,819 12 1	514,000 13 2	710,012 4 11	1,289,930 14 4	901,372 18 9	665,423 15 3	711,854 17 2
Tot. to all Parts	£4,064,545 0 9	4,802,168 4 7	5,298,317 15 6	6,700,257 6 5	6,597,986 11 11	7,782,875 15 4	9,243,210 2 7
<i>Tot. of Exp. & Imp.</i>	<i>£8,685,889 17 3</i>	<i>10,097,135 9 6</i>	<i>12,195,139 14 4</i>	<i>14,497,543 17 5</i>	<i>12,244,549 15 8</i>	<i>14,190,303 11 1</i>	<i>17,839,995 11 6</i>

Official Value of Imports and Exports of Ireland from and to Foreign Parts, for the years 1833-4-5-6-7.

	1833.	1834.	1835.	1836.	1837.	Imports of Ireland from all parts.
Imports - - -	£1,423,264	1,453,880	1,447,932	1,497,549	1,512,427	In 1825 - £8,596,785 8 11
Exports - - -	368,653	348,139	458,038	353,735	246,131	In 1835 - 10,918,459 4 4
Total value - - -	£1,791,917	1,802,019	1,905,970	1,851,294	1,758,558	Increase - £2,321,673 15 5†

* After the year 1825, no separate account was kept of the trade between Great Britain and Ireland. The above Table is compiled from the Appendix to Report for 1830.

† This Table is taken from the Tables of Revenue, Population, Commerce, &c. of the United Kingdom.

It would appear by this that I have under-rated the imports of Ireland from Great Britain,—which I took from some other work,—by about one and a half million. I am happy to discover the mistake, because even Mr. O'Connell must acknowledge it as a proof of increasing prosperity. “ But (says he, in a speech in the House on the 1st of June 1840) the honourable gentleman talked of the prosperity of Ireland! He said that Ireland was prosperous, because it exported the prime necessities of life! Now, if the honourable gentleman spoke of its imports, it would then be known that the country was prosperous, because it was a consumer of those necessities of life. On the contrary, it was a proof of the poverty of the people. Did the manufactures of England go to Ireland in return for their exports, or did money return to Ireland for them?—no; the provisions went to Liverpool—they were turned into money, and it was sent to the banking-house of the absentees.” I wish the people could consume more of the good things they are employed in producing. Still it is quite clear that the poor never were worse off (saving a period of absolute famine) than in those years in which agricultural produce was a drug in the market. Neither can any man in his senses deny, that the first object of every one who creates produce for sale, whether it be corn or whether it be calico, is to find a good and ready market for it. Does not this enable the producer to employ the people to create more? And if he could not sell it, would he produce it? Even Mr. O'Connell, who rates the absentee rents at six or seven millions, has never before, I believe, carried them up to fourteen millions, which I suspect to be the value of the agricultural exports of Ireland at the time Mr. O'Connell was speaking; and yet he says, they all go into the banks of the absentees!

Number of Cattle, &c. sent from Ireland to Liverpool and Bristol alone in the year 1831 :—

	Liverpool.	Bristol.
Cattle - - -	91,911	6,078
Horses and mules - -	539	159
Sheep - - -	160,487	11,640
Pigs - - -	156,001	84,107
Total - - -	408,938	101,984

Number of Cattle, &c. sent from Ireland to Liverpool alone in the year 1837 :—

Black cattle -	84,710	
Calves - - -	316	
Sheep - - -	225,050	
Lambs - - -	24,669	
Pigs - - -	595,422	
Horses - - -	3,414	
Mules - - -	319	
Total - - -	933,900	Estimated Value. £3,397,760

Total amount of the Official Value of the Exports and Imports of Ireland, for the fourteen years immediately preceding, and the fourteen years immediately subsequent, to the Union :*

	Exports.	Imports.
The 14 years preceding the Union	£64,861,000	£59,623,000
The 14 years subsequent -	80,316,000	92,971,000
Increase - - -	£15,455,000	£33,348,000

Number of Houses in the following Towns of Ireland, in the years 1800 and 1831 :—*

	1800.	1831.	Increase.
Dublin - - -	14,111	17,324	3,213
Limerick - - -	2,979	7,820	4,841
Belfast - - -	3,053	7,750	4,697
Galway - - -	1,212	4,606	3,394
Kilkenny - - -	1,548	3,759	2,211
Carrickfergus - -	475	1,497	1,022
Dundalk - - -	1,083	1,618	535
Waterford - - -	3,107	3,614	507
Newry - - -	1,503	1,992	489
Clonmell - - -	1,249	1,615	266

* Taken from Mr. Spring Rice's speech, April 23, 1834.

Grants from Imperial Parliament to Ireland for the following purposes since the Union :—

From Jan. 1801 to Jan. 1833.

Grant to charitable and Literary Institutions	-	£4,225,750
— for Encouragement of Manufactures and Agriculture	-	1,340,421
— for Public Works and employment of Poor	-	3,072,160
		<u>£8,638,331</u>

Grants of Money for the Improvement of the following Harbours in Ireland :—*

Howth	-	345,194
Kingstown	-	304,335
Donaghadee	-	132,672
Portpatrick	-	125,379
Dunmore	-	79,175
Hobbs' Point	-	23,422
		<u>£1,010,177</u>

Amount of Deposits, and Number of Depositors, in Savings' Banks in Ireland from 1834 to 1840 :—†

Year.	Amount.	Number of Depositors.
1834	£1,150,766	53,179
1835	1,608,653	58,482
1836	1,759,960	63,183
1839	2,158,665	74,333
1840	2,152,732	75,141

** Exclusive of sums deposited by Charitable and Friendly Societies.

* Mr. S. Rice.

† About three-fourths of the amount deposited is in sums not exceeding £100.

Though the year 1840 shows a small decrease in the amount, there is an increase in the number of depositors, and the increase was among those whose deposits did not exceed £50 each.

I find I have also taken the revenue and charges upon the debt, as given in the body of the letter, from incorrect statements; for, from the finance reports, the net revenue of the United Kingdom, ending January 5th, 1841, is given at £49,161,436; the charges on funded and unfunded debt for the same period were £29,371,717; but it will make out rather a worse case for Ireland than otherwise. The British debt at the Union, given by Mr. O'Connell in a debate on the assessed taxes in June 1840, was £446,385,000, and the annual charge £16,821,000. The debt in 1841, is stated at £837,521,684, so that it has not quite doubled itself since that period; but then the revenue raised in England is as forty-five millions to £4,161,436, or thereabouts in Ireland. Thus while Ireland may exhibit rather a large surplus revenue over the regular expenses of her establishments, because she would not have quite two millions a year to pay as interest on her debt,—which we cannot now presume to have doubled itself—yet the taxation of England is still larger in proportion to Ireland than I had anticipated—being at least five and half to one on the population. We are now raising full seven millions in taxes in England upon items which are not liable to taxation in Ireland at all; and we undoubtedly pay the *whole* interest of our own debt from our own resources—for surely it will not be denied that as long as Ireland remains attached to the English crown, which Mr. O'Connell declares it is to be, at least as long as *he* lives,* that she is bound to contribute towards the

* “The *Morning Chronicle*” says he, “said that repeal would not take place; but *he* would say that if they did not yet repeal, separation would ultimately follow, and it was to prevent that separation that he was an advocate for the measure. *If repeal was not granted in his life-time,*

general interests of the state to which she is an appendage, and in whose fortunes she must participate. If we rate her stake in the empire at one fourth, then would she have to contribute near five millions per annum—exclusive of the interest of her debt—the whole annual expenditure falling little short of twenty millions; deduct two, which are expended on her establishments in Ireland, and which we have presumed her to have already paid, and there remains three millions due towards the general exigences of the United Kingdom. This, however, I conceive to be an unfair way of putting the case, and should prefer to rate her only according to her revenue:—supposing her revenue to be as five to one, she would then have to contribute half a million over and above the expenses of her various establishments, and which she has done, at the very least, till the present moment; and no one, I am sure, would desire to see her taxed to supply the defalcation incident on Father Mathew's mission. The taxes raised upon Irish absentees in England would certainly make a full set-off—leave perhaps a surplus in her favour—against all monies spent in public works in Ireland. So that, take it all in all, it would appear that Ireland was neither creditor nor debtor, but partaking fairly of the burdens of the country, and receiving also her full share of benefit and protection from them. It is quite clear, at all events, that, in a

the people would be forced to separate; but, whilst he lived, the connexion with England should not be broken, because he was convinced of its utility, and he would never cease to seek for the attainment of that measure which could alone make it permanent. Whilst he lived he THOUGHT he might promise that no separation would take place; but if repeal was not granted in his life-time, he was of opinion that the Irish connexion with England would not long continue after.”—Speech in the Repeal Association, Jan. 5, 1842.

financial point of view, she is no charge upon England ; but it is equally clear that the statements so often put forth by Mr. O'Connell, as in his speech in the House of Commons on the *1st of June*, 1840, that England has imposed an undue amount of burden upon Ireland, are altogether visionary and unfounded. Let agitation cease, and the poor be employed, and she will bear her present taxation with ease, and even gain fresh claims upon the financial consideration of the government, by the increased amount of her remittances to the public treasury.

APPENDIX.—No. VI.

It was my intention to have collected evidence to show, what is already sufficiently known to all, but the advocates of general suffrage—the little importance of the Commons in former times; and more especially, how slight a foundation there is for the idea that there had, at any period of our history, existed any approach to universal suffrage, in the election of the great body of the representatives of the people; or that any law or custom had prevailed, in which annual parliaments were, or were compelled to be assembled, in the sense in which we understand that term; but, on the contrary, that, parliaments, as a general rule, were only assembled when it suited the purposes of the sovereign, and that the basis of our representative system was property rather than numbers. A very singular instance of this is thus related by Lingard: “Even,” says he, “after this time” (Henry IV), “it is certain that many elections were made by a very small number of electors. And here I may instance the extraordinary return, made by the sheriff of the county of Dublin, of representatives to attend at a parliament held by Edward III in England. The court consisted of no more than forty-four persons, of whom twenty-four elected Nicholas Houth and William Fitzwilliam; twenty elected Nicholas Houth and Richard White; and the sheriff returned the latter, because the twenty voters in his favour were of higher rank and greater substance than the twenty-four who voted for his competitor.” (Lel. vol. i. App. p. 376.) I rather think Mr. O’Connell would even now be glad to avail himself of this

plea, to enable the returning officer to decide the Dublin election in favour of his aristocratic, finality, anti-repeal, and English whig candidate—Lord Morpeth! rather than suffer defeat through the wholesale bribery of the men “of little substance, and no value,” and who thus inopportunistically place the return of his nominee in jeopardy.

Though the evidence I have already met with, appears to me quite conclusive upon the subject, still there are many other writers and documents to be canvassed than I have had either leisure or opportunity to consult, before a sufficient mass of historical testimony can be brought to bear upon every portion of the case. I have, therefore, preferred to leave the matter as it is, introducing only one remark; not indeed on the composition, but on the character of the Commons' House, from that learned and acute historian already named, who, at the close of the reign of Henry VII, thus expresses himself in a note:—
“In the composition of these sheets I have frequently been inclined to believe, that we ascribe to the spirit of the Commons in former times more than they really deserve. On many important occasions they appear to me to have been put forward and supported by the peers; on others, to have been merely the instruments employed by the ruling party. If this be so, there can be no wonder that after the depression of the House of Lords, they fell into a state of dependence on the crown.”

Nor have the Commons of England ever enjoyed the just weight and influence which is their right, so perfectly as at the present moment. Under Charles I they were like a mighty stream, which burst its embankments and desolated the country, and having exhausted its powers, returned quietly within its former unoffending course.

APPENDIX.—No. VII.

Mr. Sharman Crawford's Letters to the Repealers of Ireland.

[As the following able letters have only appeared in the newspapers,—though there are opinions and expressions in them in which I do not concur—yet I consider them as important historical documents, and well deserving the attention of the reader.]

OBSERVATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE REPEALERS OF IRELAND.

*Extracts from Mr. O'Connell's speech, Monday, Sept. 6th.—
(Freeman, Sept. 7th.)*

In the first place, I think the man insane who expects that we can fix on any measure useful to Ireland short of repeal.—(Hear, hear, and cheers.) * * * I wish it to be distinctly understood throughout Ireland that every man must be either for or against the repeal. We can allow no neutrality.—(Hear, hear.) I admit that they have a right to count every man who is not for us.—(Cries of hear, hear.) I am perfectly candid, and I am willing to allow that every man who is not with us ought to be ranked against us. The powerless, sluggish, sleepy man, I consider as our most dangerous enemy.” * * * * *
Speaking of the avowed opponent he says :—“ The man who opposes me thus gives me the advantage of refuting his opinions by argument, but the sleepy, drowsy fellow gives me no such advantage, he is therefore the worst opponent of repeal, for he is ranked among the enemy, while, at the same time, there is no reasoning with him.—(Loud cries of hear, hear.) * * * I can use these arguments against the open opposer of repeal, but I shrink from no

man but he who will not come out manfully to oppose repeal, or to join me in carrying it.”—(Hear.)

Being satisfied that the great body of those Irishmen who support the repeal question have a sincere love for Ireland, I respectfully submit to them the following considerations, with a view of inducing them to consider whether the present repeal agitation is likely to attain the object in view, or in any way to advance the interests of their country :—

1. In the speech from which I have quoted the foregoing extracts, the honourable and learned gentleman has offered a fair challenge to those who oppose his present repeal agitation. I think the demand is a reasonable one, and I do not find that it has yet been responded to. For my own part, I do not shrink from discussion ; and as parliamentary duty has now had a temporary cessation, I take up the gauntlet which the honourable gentleman has thrown down. I have no wish to do an unfair injury to the cause of repeal by ‘sleepy, drowsy silence.’ I agree with the honourable gentleman, *the time for neutrality is past*, and that every man ought to come out manfully to oppose his system of agitation, or join him in carrying it forward. To keep such a question as the repeal of the Union in suspense is paralysing every effort to advance the real interests of the country. It is a question which, *if useful and practicable*, should be urged on with *prompt and decisive action* ; but if, on the other hand, the nature of the proposition renders it either objectionable or unattainable, it is not right that the energies of the country should be wasted on a phantom, and that contributions should continue to be levied from an impoverished population for unprofitable speculations. It is time that the friends of Ireland should endeavour to bring to a close that futile system of varied agitation which has been car-

ried on for the last ten years without any consistent principle of action, and without any useful result, but with the greatest damage to the cause of Ireland, and to the cause of public liberty, as well as to the character of every public man who has been directly or indirectly connected with it, and has thereby been the chief means of elevating to place and power that party whose system of government has been hitherto so justly offensive to the Irish people, and hostile to the general extension of popular rights.

2. When such results have taken place, neutrality becomes a crime. The man who has not the moral courage to stem the torrent of popular delusion, deserts his post, and forfeits any claim to the respect of his fellow-countrymen.

3. Impressed with these views, I oppose the present repeal agitation, because I consider it a mere delusion in every sense of the word. Under the specious pretext of raising Ireland to the dignity of a nation, and the powers of independent legislation, it is swamping her practical weight in the Imperial Parliament, and preventing the prospect of its increase—it is following a shadow, and losing the substance—it provokes the hostility of England, and prompts a resistance to the just demands of Ireland—it is an attempt to bully without the power, which is the sure way to render either an individual or country contemptible ; and, in my judgment, can have no other effect than that of weakening her moral force as a nation, and thus increasing her legislative dependence upon her irritated superior, and, in this way, creating a greater degree of provincial degradation.

4. Whilst I am ready to admit the value of that which I have before contended for—namely, a system of local legislation by a local legislative body, in conjunction

with an imperial representation for imperial purposes, I am of opinion that the project of restoring to Ireland the Parliament of the constitution of 1783, is equally objectionable and impracticable. I deny that it is possible for Ireland to possess an independent Parliament in connexion with the British Crown. The Parliament of the greater country must control the Crown, and the Parliament of the lesser country must submit or *separate*. If the patriots of 1783, instead of establishing a nominally independent Parliament, had profited by the principles of the American confederation, and had demanded a federal connexion, by which I mean a representation of Ireland in the British Parliament conjointly with an Irish Parliament, having defined local powers, I have no doubt that the constitution would still have remained in existence, working for the common good of both countries. It was this error which has deprived us of the advantage of a practical system of local legislation, and the same evil is produced by the present agitation for the restoration of that *nominal but untenable independence*. Because the question of repeal of the Union being raised in a spirit of hostility to England, and on a foundation which must manifestly lead to *separation*, every modified proposition must be viewed merely as a preparatory step to that final object.

5. It becomes the more necessary for the supporters of this agitation now to consider maturely their views and intentions, when they are committing themselves by the acceptance of pecuniary aid from the people of a foreign independent state. On what grounds is that money given? Clearly with a view to enable repealers to push forward their cause by *physical power*, if *moral power* fails. Are you, repealers, prepared for this? If you are not, do not lose character by permitting your well-intending

friends at the other side of the Atlantic to transmit their liberal subscriptions under a wrong impression of your intentions.

6. In stating my objections to the measure of repeal, as contended for by Mr. O'Connell, I shall not dwell upon minor points, but shall endeavour to base my arguments on the great principles of constitutional liberty.

7. There can be no security for the political rights of the people in an hereditary monarchy, except by the indirect but practical power of the representative body over the executive ; which, without changing the individual on whose head the crown is placed, actually changes the measures of the executive power, by forcing a change of the ministers who act for the crown, whenever their policy ceases to be in accordance with the views of the Parliament. Without this constitutional power, an hereditary monarchy would soon degenerate into an absolute tyranny.

8. This power could not be possessed by an Irish Parliament under the Crown of England, in case of variance with a British Parliament. The Crown must yield to the pressure of the more influential body. The late events furnish me with an illustration of my reasoning. If the Irish representatives had been sitting in a separate Parliament, the vote which has placed a tory ministry in power would have been rejected in that Parliament, whilst it would have passed in the British Parliament by an overwhelming majority, rendered greater by the absence of the Irish representatives. I ask, then, could the queen have retained her late ministers, in accordance with the vote of an Irish parliament, in opposition to that of the representatives of England, assembled in a separate Parliament? The most ardent repealer must answer in the negative. Then how would your Irish independent Par-

liament have secured you from tory misrule? I shall be answered, the Irish Parliament would exercise the right which her constitution would confer—she would stop the supplies. But would this stop the machine of government, and compel the Crown to submission? No such thing. The Crown would have supplies from another quarter. How impotent would be the puny wrath of an Irish Parliament stopping the supplies—not more than one-tenth of the revenue—when the British Parliament would vote the other nine-tenths! The British Parliament would vote the supplies. What then? Behold the example of Canada. The British minister would put his hand into your Irish treasury—he would pay the state charges without the vote of your Parliament. Then, if you were still disobedient, the English Parliament would treat you as they did Canada, and were about to treat Jamaica, when her Parliament was refractory. The British Parliament would extinguish the mockery of your independent constitution; then you would have the alternative of submission, or fighting for separation (and recollect, the British sovereign, by the terms of your constitution, would have the command of your enemies); and if you failed in that contest, what would be the result? You would be the unrepresented slaves of British domination.

9. Thus it is clear, that a separate parliament for Ireland, in connexion with, and under the domination of, the English crown, would afford no security against English aggression. You must find that security either in a just system of imperial representation, or in *absolute separation*.

10. The foregoing is the great principle in which I contend that a local parliament can give no security for the rights and interests of a *smaller* state in connexion with a *more powerful* one under the same sovereign, unless that smaller state is at the same time *fairly* represented

in the parliament of the greater country, in which all imperial interests shall be discussed and decided ; but if it be objectionable on the general principle, the objections exist with multiplied force under the circumstances of England and Ireland, both as respects foreign and internal relations—the collisions would be frequent and inevitable. I would ask which parliament is to govern the colonies ? If the colonial legislation be given up to the British parliament, would this be no sacrifice of Irish independence ? If the two parliaments disagree about the political or commercial relations with foreign states, what is to be the result ? Could the crown adopt the views of the Irish parliament against the British ? It is evidently impossible ; the British parliament must rule those points ; and Ireland, not being represented in that parliament, could have no weight in these great questions of general policy so deeply important to her interests.

11. Difficulties equally great would arise with reference to home policy. The commercial relations of the two portions of the empire would produce instant causes of contention. The views promulgated at the repeal association and the Irish board of trade, render it manifest that if an Irish House of Commons existed at this present moment, the honourable leader would make a declaration of war against British manufactures ; a tariff of exclusive duties would be proposed, and thus a commercial warfare between the two countries would be instantly commenced, the consequences of which might be of the most disastrous nature.

12. There are various other causes of contention, which space does not permit me to particularise, which would necessarily produce collision, suspicion, and hostility of feeling, if not of *action*.

13. It may be said that a security would be found

against partial or evil legislation in the veto of the crown, and in the power of the House of Lords—a body emanating from the appointment of the crown. I admit this ; but is it a constitutional principle to look to a security depending on such sources?—are we to concede that either the lords or the crown should be in a position to offer a successful resistance to the commons?—are we to revive the obsolete power of the veto of the crown?—are we to suppose that the crown ought to constitute a House of Lords to resist the commons? But if the crown did, by the power of the House of Lords, or by its own veto, overrule the commons, would not this immediately produce a contest between the commons and the crown? And then the commons must either lose its constitutional power, or seek the same remedy as in the previous cases—*separation*.

14. The symptoms of all those evils which I have pointed out, were manifested during the short existence of the Irish parliament, after the establishment of its nominal independence. The navigation laws, the commercial intercourse, colonial legislation, were all unsettled subjects of discussion, but most prominently the regency question. I think that the honourable gentleman has proposed to obviate this last evil by surrendering all power on this point, and permitting the Sovereign or Regent of England, to be *ipso facto* Sovereign or Regent of Ireland, thus surrendering the independence of the Irish parliament on this vital point—placing in the hands of a parliament, in which Ireland is not represented, the regulating of the succession to the crown, as well as the appointment of the persons who, in certain cases, are to hold the temporary exercise of the royal authority. Is this a matter of no importance? If, by any fatality, we were to be deprived of our present estimable Sovereign, would it be right that Ireland should have no power in the appointment of the

Regent? If that case unfortunately arose at the present moment, is it not manifest that the parliament of England would select a tory regent as they have now selected a tory administration; the regency would last for a series of years, and would an Irish House of Commons patiently submit to this infliction? On the other hand—if an Irish House of Commons had an equal right, a different Regent would be appointed, and separation must be the inevitable consequence; how is this to be avoided, except by an imperial representation, giving to each minor portion of the union a balancing power in determining imperial interests.

15. But the question of regency is merely a branch of the question I have before argued with reference to a ministry—the ministers are the depositaries of the royal power, for the time being; a difference between the two parliaments on the subject of a ministry would lead to the same practical results, as a difference about the Regent on the succession to the throne. A parliament which can neither control the appointment to the royal power, nor the principles on which that power should be administered, has no pretensions to independence, and affords to the people represented no security for political liberty. Such objections must always exist to an union of a smaller and greater state under the same crown with separate *independent* representative bodies; but they exist in an immensely greater degree when the union is between two countries having jealous or hostile feelings towards each other, and must lead more certainly and speedily to a struggle for *separation*.

16. The demand now made for repeal of the Union is founded on the allegation of the hostility of England as a nation, and of her refusal of justice to Ireland. It is plain, then, that if this allegation be true, all the objections I have stated would be operative, and that the independence

of an Irish parliament, if obtained, would be certainly assailed by all the machinery which either power or corruption could supply; and it is also plain, that if the refusal of just legislation in the imperial parliament arises from the hostility of the English nation, the same feeling would bar the concession of repeal, which it is argued would be the great means of justice to Ireland: *and, therefore, I affirm repeal could not be obtained by any other means than forcible separation.*

17. I will not so far understand the sagacity of the honourable and learned leader of the present agitation as to suppose that he is not aware of all the objections to which I have referred. I cannot imagine that he really contemplates the continued existence of an independent Irish parliament in connexion with the crown of England. All the arguments of the learned gentleman, bearing upon the power of Ireland, would lead to the ultimate establishment of an independent existence. He says, "Ireland must be no longer a *province*, but a *nation*." I would ask, would not the establishment of a separate parliament, without a separate sovereign, be that very state which would indicate most strongly a provincial existence? If Ireland is to be a nation, she must have a separate crown as well as a separate parliament. It is true that the honourable gentleman cannot prudentially put forward this proposition in a direct argument; but he goes sufficiently far to give any reflecting person an indication of his meaning. What does he say in the same speech I have been quoting? "Oh, no, no! it is a glorious struggle that we are engaged in; it is a struggle animated by all the noble feelings that raise man above his kind—the feelings that inspired Kosciusko to fall, that made Washington triumph, and that supported Lafayette in exile. If I weep over the grave of Kosciusko, I am not the less rejoiced at the

spirit which brought him to it, and I share in the triumph which awaited the more fortunate Washington."—(Loud cheers.) What do these examples mean but the obtainment of *absolute independence*? The honourable gentleman proceeds to say that it shall be a struggle without blood; but can any one believe that a successful necessity can be obtained by the *moral* power of Ireland contending against the opposing moral power of Britain? Can any one believe that Britain will submit without a bloody struggle to have Ireland wrested from her sovereignty? Let no repealer deceive himself. The man who joins in the present agitation for the repeal of the Union must prepare to contend for separation, or else he is deluding himself with a phantom which never can have a real existence; he must prepare himself for all the dreadful consequences of civil war, aggravated by the contending of the armies of foreign nations on the soil of Ireland; he must be prepared to suffer the immediate consequences of all those evils, and the still more dreadful consequences, of possible (if not probable) failure.

18. I would call upon every repealer deliberately to consider that question which the repeal of the Union virtually raises—namely, *whether Ireland can exist as an independent state*—whether she can prosper as such? It is plain that she cannot exist, by her own individual power, against an hostile neighbour so very close to her and so powerful as Britain. She must enter into an alliance with some foreign state: this state will be at enmity with Britain; Ireland will be the part on which the attack and defence of the British territory will be contested; the powers of Europe will join in this warfare. These are certain consequences. Let repealers consider them, and inquire how the prosperity of their country is to spring out of such a chaos of evil.

19. Now, I confess I am not prepared to join in the struggle of blood on this doubtful prospect of advantage, and I will not be a party to a *delusive agitation*. I think there are other remedies for the evils of Ireland, and other securities for her rights and interests. I think that a full proportional representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament (together with an equalisation and extension of the franchise) is the only basis on which the rights of Ireland can be secured under the sovereignty of the British Crown. I consider this object should be contended for—not as an *Irish* question, but on the principle of a new distribution and equalisation of the electoral districts over the United Kingdom, and that its attainment should be sought by a thorough union of Irishmen with those of the aggrieved and unrepresented classes in England and Scotland, who would join in seeking like objects by *constitutional* means; thus insuring justice to Ireland by making the common cause of justice to England and Scotland also. No other basis of security can be founded. Local elective bodies for local purposes would be a most important and valuable addition both in Ireland and Scotland, but the hostile principles on which the present repeal agitation is conducted, bar the consideration of such a proposition and necessarily set aside every other consideration but *union or separation*.

20. I shall be told that an experiment has been made, and that England has refused equal rights and franchises to Ireland—I maintain that a *fair* experiment *has not been made*. As this is a matter of great importance, I shall reserve the discussion of it for a subsequent section.

W. SHARMAN CRAWFORD.

Crawfordsburn, October 14, 1841.

OBSERVATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE REPEALERS OF IRELAND.

(Second Part.)

21. In the previous section, I alluded to the argument in favour of the repeal of the union, founded on the assertion that an experiment *had been made*, and that England had refused equality of rights to Ireland—I maintained that a fair experiment had not been made. I now proceed to state the grounds on which I sustain that assertion.

22. The act of Emancipation had hardly come into operation, when the honourable and learned leader commenced the agitation for the repeal of the union. No new grievance had then been created by any act of *legislation* subsequent to the Emancipation act. The distribution of office was complained of, and there was one particular appointment personally offensive to the honourable and learned gentleman; but the Emancipation act had been generally supported by the Protestants of England and Ireland, as the tardy fulfilment of an honourable condition of the union contract. They agreed to the Emancipation act as the closing link of the union bond—consequently, the repeal agitation, raised without the concurrence of any new legislative act of grievance, was considered as a breach of faith, and by this agitation, the leader as well as the Irish people (through his means) were brought into hostile collision with the reform government of Lord Grey, —bad feeling was generated between the Irish and the English people — a split was produced in the reform interest in Ireland, and when the Irish Reform Bill came under discussion, a hostile disposition to the extension of Irish rights existed both on the part of the ministry and of the English people. The Irish people, buoyed up with the expectation of repeal, did not energetically press their claims for an enlarged number of members. The hon.

and learned gentleman himself lost influence in the House of Commons, and the result was, that the least possible increase of members was granted to Ireland. How could it be expected that the opponents of repeal, which the leader had declared to be his ultimate object, *and not a conditional object*, would consent, by increasing the number of Irish members, to increase his power of carrying that to which they were opposed. Thus the repeal agitation acted on the occasion of the Reform Bill, and has since been uniformly acting with the most deleterious influence, on every proposition for the advancement of the rights or interests of Ireland.

23. But, independently of the particular effect alluded to, the unsteadiness of operation tended to depreciate the moral power which the putting forward this claim might otherwise have been expected to produce. The agitation commenced in 1830, and was carried on through the medium of various successive associations during the years 1831 and 1832. At the elections in 1832, the constituencies were called on to reject all candidates who would not take the *unconditional* repeal pledge, and some candidates (former representatives) of high character were consequently rejected. Here was a strong step. When such a step as this was taken—when an *unconditional* pledge to support this question in *Parliament*, was made an *unavoidable* condition of the support of the electors, it was naturally expected that it was intended to press the question *promptly* and *vigorously*. What was the result? In the succeeding session of 1833 the question was postponed. In 1834, it would have been again postponed, had not Mr. O'Connell been operated on by the moral compulsion of Mr. Feargus O'Connor to bring it forward. Mr. O'Connell did then bring it on in an indirect form, by moving for a committee of inquiry into the effects of the

Union, &c.; but since that time the question has never been moved or debated in Parliament. Parliamentary discussion has been shrunk from, and the project only mooted in assemblies prepared to approve by universal acclamation. Was this the way to create moral power? Was this the way to raise the character of Ireland in the opinion of Britain? Moral power will only be created by the leaders of a cause proving their own confidence in the rectitude of that cause, by having the moral courage to face their opponents in Parliament, or whenever else the opportunity of free discussion occurs; but not by the continual reiteration of common-place arguments, delivered to meetings composed only of the admiring throng of supporters and followers.

24. Notwithstanding that the constituencies were compelled, in 1832, to reject some of their best representatives in consequence of the unconditional repeal pledge, in 1834 the *repeal pledge was abandoned*, and the repeal question kept in abeyance from that time till its present revival. The assigned ground for this proceeding was, that an experiment might be tried on British justice. I shall now refer to the most important incidents of that experiment.

25. The tithe question holds the first place in the experimental list. The people of Ireland were stimulated by every means which the power of agitation could produce to demand the *total extinction of tithes*, and never did any people make a more enthusiastic struggle for any object than the Irish nation did for this object—an object which they most surely would have carried out to a successful issue, if their efforts had not been rendered vain by the compromise of their leader; but the blame is now cast upon the English people. They (the English people) are accused of having passed an act which only extinguished one-fourth of the tithes, and continued the other three-

fourths to the uses of a Church not the Church of the people. Who was the leading party and instigator to this compromise? The hon. and learned leader himself. After three years' shuffling with this question, after all the sacrifices made and sufferings sustained by a patient people, this degrading compromise was passed by the concurrence and support of the hon. leader himself; it was passed whilst there was still a majority in the imperial House of Commons in favour of the principle of new appropriation, if that principle had not been deserted by the hon. and learned gentlemen himself, and by the ministry who acted in this respect under his guidance. And what was the bill passed in 1837? It was not simply throwing overboard the principle of new appropriation, but it gave to the clergy a new and more powerful grasp on the lands of Ireland, making the *landlords their proctors*, and thus giving them a means of defeating every future effort of the people, and in consideration of this increased security the fourth of their income was surrendered by the clergy. It was a contract which was at least an honourable binding *on every man who sanctioned it*, not to disturb them in the remainder. And yet the honourable gentleman, who was the originator and promoter of this bargain now casts the blame of it on British injustice, and calls again for the total extinction of tithes. It is said that the rights of Ireland are to be contended for by *moral power*. I would ask, how is moral power to be raised if the proposers of a great principle are the first to turn their backs on its support? Such was the experiment on the tithe question.

26. A similar course of proceeding was adopted with reference to the *Irish Corporation Bill*. A bill founded on the perfect assimilation to the English act—was first introduced. This was defeated in the Lords. Other bills were introduced in succeeding sessions, *progressively deteriorated* in

the details, but these concessions were all submitted to by the honourable and learned gentleman; and the act which is now complained of, when it came back from the Lords in its present mutilated form, passed in that mutilated form, unopposed in that stage either by the honourable member or by the other Irish liberal members. It was their choice to take it—they thought it expedient to succumb to the Lords. The ministry supported it, and they acceded. Some will say that they were right; but if they were wrong, it is not the fault of British members or of the British people; but one particular charge has been made in a late speech and petition at the repeal association, which is worthy of observation:—the charge is, that the Irish corporations were denied a power which is given to the English ones, of *electing sheriffs*. On this point I refer repealers to the debate and division on the 20th of March, 1837—(Debate, *Mirror of Parliament* for that year, pages 771 to 773). It will there be found that the then member for Dundalk moved a clause in the committee, on the Irish Corporation Bill of that year, for the purpose of conferring on the Irish corporations this assimilating right—viz. of electing their own sheriffs. What was the result? The only Irish member (besides the mover) who spoke in its favour was the Hon. Colonel Butler, who seconded the motion. The hon. gentleman, the leader of repeal, who had been previously in attendance, left the house. Only four Irish members, with the mover, divided in favour; fourteen Irish liberal members against it—the rest absent. I put it to every honest repealer to declare who were, in this case, the refusers of justice to Ireland? Was this the way to carry out an experiment of English justice?—and yet this very point is now brought forward as a leading charge against England!

Can any cause prosper that is so supported? Is it not a plain and certain system of delusion and defeat?

27. But let it not be forgotten that whilst the leaders of Irish policy showed a disposition boldly to sustain Irish rights, they had the support of Britain. In the year 1836 we had substantial proofs of the interest of Englishmen and Scotchmen in our cause. When the Lords returned the Irish corporation bill of that year to the Commons, with the municipal corporations extinguished, instead of being reformed on the principle of popular representation, a vast number of petitions were presented with the greatest promptitude, both from England and Scotland, praying the house to reject the Lords' amendments, and to confer upon Ireland equal rights with themselves. At that period the honourable leader expressed himself in the following terms (I quote from the *Mirror of Parliament* for 1836, page 1702, June 3rd): — Mr. O'Connell, after alluding in the previous sentence to the repeal question, proceeds to say—"Sir, I am bound to acknowledge these are no longer my feelings. No, sir, I no longer desire to find arguments for the repeal. I have, since the period of which I speak, seen too much of the English people, received at their hands too much kindness, to desire to be separated from them. At that bar we have but lately heard of the chief magistrates of the first city in the world, on behalf of their fellow-citizens, expressing themselves in language such as freemen cannot suppress, and such as this assembly cannot refuse to concur in. I will tell you the petitions of such a community you dare not refuse. For my own part, with the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer, I shall henceforth no longer consider that my country is separated from Great Britain, but proclaim myself a West Briton." Here then is the proof of the kind feelings of the English

people at that period from the mouth of your leader. But if another proof were wanting, it is afforded in the following fact: that the amount of the funds supplied under the direction of the English committee for the relief of the Irish poor, from the 20th of August, 1831, to the 8th of July 1835, was £90,980. This appears from the closing report of the committee, signed by the (late) Earl of Caledon, chairman. Whatever just reason Ireland may have had at former periods to complain of British injustice, here are proofs undeniable that a favourable change had taken place, and was in progress of increase. Have these manifestations ceased? Have the English people ceased to feel an interest in Irish rights? If it be so, the cause has sprung from yourselves; from this miserable, degrading, (and I think I may say) dishonest policy.

28. But if additional proof were required of the disgraceful proceedings which I am denouncing, what have I to do but to refer to the proceedings connected with the curfew law bill of 1835. This bill which gave a power to the executive to place any portion of the Irish people out of the pale of the constitution, which made them liable to punishment for a misdemeanor if out of their houses between one hour after sunset and sunrise, which subjected the poor inhabitants of the proclaimed district to domiciliary visits of police at any hour of the night—this bill, taken from the worst pages of the book of tory legislation, was supported by the repeal leader and the great body of the Irish liberal representatives in that parliament. In 1837, on the occasion of a motion of the (then) member for Dundalk for its repeal, it was again supported by the honourable leader in the following words (*Mirror of Parliament* 1837, page 1602):—Mr. O’Connell—“ I am ready to take my share of any odium which may attach to the continuance of this act. I know it is a useful act—

it protects the people of Ireland against the poorer class of disturbers. I, for one, should be exceedingly sorry were his Majesty's government to consent to its repeal." On the division, Mr. O'Connell voted against the repeal, and only four Irish members, with the mover, supported the motion. This act died a natural death in the year 1840, but it has left a memorial behind it which cannot be easily obliterated. The refusal to repeal this act was a death-blow to British sympathy—a refusal sanctioned (because unobjected to) by the Irish people—a refusal by the leader, who possesses their unabated confidence. It was a warrant signed by the Irish people for their own degradation. If such was the avowed condition of Ireland, that the higher classes required this act to protect them against the poorer classes, on what grounds could equality of rights and franchise with England be claimed? And yet, the honourable leader desires to cast the odium of refusal on the English nation.

29. In the succeeding Parliament a motion for that equalization was introduced by the honourable member. That ministry who had received his support on the Curfew Law Bill of 1835, did not now return the compliment by supporting his motion. They opposed him; his own former vote gave them ground for doing so; the motion was lost; but was that the fault of the British nation? Was it to be expected that British members would oppose the ministry on this Irish question, when the honourable gentleman had so repeatedly declared them to be the only government who had the disposition to do justice to Ireland for three hundred years? Was it to be expected that British members should stand forward when Irish members retreated?—only thirty-three Irish members voted with the honourable mover; thirty-six Irish liberal members were absent. Was it to be expected that the

English people or the English members should come forward to give equality of rights to a people then still under the brand of the stigma imposed by the vote of the honourable leader himself? That vote, and the speech of the honourable member above quoted has never been qualified or explained. It remains on record against him, and what is still worse, against his country. If his statement be true, and that act was necessary, Ireland is not fit either for equality of rights or for self-government.

30. But the honourable leader charges this refusal of equality of franchises, which was made by the ministry which he protected and supported, not upon them but upon the British people, as a ground for repeal. Did he after that refusal, withdraw his confidence in that ministry, or did the Irish people do so? No such thing. He continued his support, and in a very short time after, addresses and petitions came from all parts of Ireland, with a view of retaining them in office. On all these material points, which are now pressed for, the late ministry were hostile—extinction of tithes, increase of the number of Irish members, abolition of the Established Church, repeal of the Union. And yet the honourable leader quarrels with the British people, because they would not follow in his track—because they would not give an undeviating support to the Melbourne ministry—because they would not hold back from pressing their own rights to accommodate the expediency policy, and he blames on the British people those refusals to which the ministry whom he adulated were as culpable parties as their opponents.

31. But some will say that all this compromising policy—all this evil legislation, was encouraged and permitted, because *repeal* was the great object in view; that the bad acts of the Imperial Parliament would be on record in the statute books, whilst the promoters of these acts would be

forgotten—that thus they could be used by the supporter of repeal (as the honourable leader now uses them) as so many charges against the English nation. By those who approve of this Machiavelian policy, I shall be accused as being a truth-telling marplot; but I am ready to abide by the consequences—I am ready to face the storm. No cause can be deserving of support—no cause can prosper, which requires the use of a dishonest policy. The first step to Ireland's advancement must be the releasement of the public mind from delusion, and the institution of an honest and consistent principle of action; there must be a relinquishment of the separating policy—a cessation of unjust and irritating charges against the English people, and a common action created among the suffering and unrepresented classes of the United Kingdom for the general advancement of the rights of all.

32. Thus the system of Irish agitation was nothing else than a mass of contradiction, and in this way the cause of Ireland has fallen from that position to which it had been raised by the act of emancipation. This was a great effort, not for a *separating* object, but for one of common interest, and *common good* to the United Kingdom. It raised a great moral power by the adoption of the non-compromising principle—it attained its object, not by servile submission to the trammels of faction or governments, but by the defiance both of ministers and factions. But what has been the melancholy change in our late proceedings? The agitation has lost every quality to demand respect—a degrading attachment to faction, a seeking for office by many of those who had been the most prompt supporters of the people's rights—principles, pledges, and declarations, violated—a continual system of yielding, bringing weakness and contempt upon the

popular cause, and giving strength and confidence to the opponents.

33. I have now referred to the past proceedings of this agitation; but the present are in correct keeping with the examples which preceded. It appears by the same day's report of the proceedings of the repeal association which I have referred to—that first a petition is to be sent to parliament for a repeal of the Union; afterwards petitions to be forwarded for a redress of all other *grievances, including an increased number of representatives*. Now, here are two petitions to be sent forward at the same time and from the body, praying for two objects directly contrary to each other—the one to abolish the imperial representation of Ireland—the other to increase it. Can such inconsistent proceedings obtain any respect from parliament?

34. But the delusive nature of the repeal agitation is manifested in another way—the time at which its attainment is to be effected. In Mr. O'Connell's letter, in the year 1830 (September 7), he says, 'I will conclude this letter with a prophecy, that before three years the Union will be repealed.' It is now eleven years since that time. The period at present fixed depends upon a contingency—viz., *when five millions of repealers shall be enrolled*—not one moment sooner. This is a safer engagement than the former one. The question when can five millions of repealers be enrolled may be estimated as follows:—Taking the population of Ireland at eight and a half millions, the half being females, the whole male population would not exceed 4,250,000, and the adult male population cannot be estimated at so much as the half of this; but I will take even one-half—viz., 2,125,000, or one-fourth of the whole population, *as adult males*. Now, it follows that if the whole male adult population of Ireland were enrolled, *they would not amount to half the number*, upon which the

success of repeal is contingent. I cannot conclude that the honourable gentleman means to fill up the numbers with women and infants, because he would exclude these classes even from the suffrage. Thus, unless the carrying of repeal is to depend on *foreign repealers*, you must wait till the population of Ireland is doubled, and all the adult males willing to sign for it; and I shall leave each repealer to calculate that time for himself.

35. The honourable leader is reported to say, in this speech, speaking of repeal, "*I say there can be no harm in trying, as there is no fear of our being worse than we are.*" On this point I take leave to differ; we may be rendered far worse than we are. If the honourable gentleman does not succeed in producing the independence of Ireland, he will undoubtedly succeed in creating the hostility of England, and thereby obstruct every chance of improving legislation. He will do more: he will create a feeling in the breasts of Englishmen that it is necessary for their own protection to keep Ireland weak, in order to prevent her having the power of repealing the union, or establishing an hostile independence. He will give an excuse for new systems of coercion, or the revival of old ones (such as the act of 1835, which the honourable leader supported); he will afford grounds for the refusal of equality of rights; he will separate Ireland from the protection of the English people, who would feel it their interest to stand by Ireland, if Ireland stood by them in the coming struggle for free institutions, and he will turn away the minds of the Irish people from the agitation of every question of practical utility. So long as the repeal of the union is represented as the only panacea for the evils of the wrongs of Ireland, no other question can be effectively agitated; and then another evil may arise; whilst the honourable leader indulges his hearers with exaggerated

statements of their own power, thus affording every possible *indirect* inducement to the use of it—hope too long disappointed may burst *his* confining threads. The horrors of 1798 may be reacted, and the progress to liberty and improvement immeasurably retarded.

36. These are prospective evils; but there are others which are immediate, and pressing on us at this very time. The honourable leader says there shall be no neutrality. I agree with him; there can be no neutrality. Then, what is the immediate effect of pressing this measure? He forces the best friends of the rights of the people, who (in the North of Ireland especially) are hostile to the repeal of the union, either to retire from any part in public affairs, or to coalesce with the conservative party. The opposition to the repeal question tends to unite whigs and tories as in a common cause against liberty. Many have so united already, and many others will do the same, if this agitation be continued. It checks registration, because many voters favourable to the cause of liberty do not desire to register, on the chance of being called on to vote for repealers. It checks landlords in giving leases, lest they should thereby constitute repeal voters—it prevents the acquirement of friends to the extension of the franchise, to the ballot, and to every means of increasing popular rights; because they dread that any increase of power to the people would increase the means to effect repeal. Thus the friends of liberty become disjointed and incapable of effort, whilst their opponents triumph on their own united action, and in the addition to their number daily extracted from the ranks of liberty. If this agitation shall be continued, the reform party in Ireland will be either wholly neutralised or demolished. I ask are these, and all the other results I have pointed out, *doing no harm?*

37. I put it to the repealers, then, who have their country's good at heart—after eleven years, during which this question has been kept before the country in one shape or other, sometimes of activity, sometimes of quiescence, sometimes under a smothering smoke, sometimes bursting into flame—whether it is not now time that they should demand to have some distinct course of action explained to them, which would show a probability of its attainment, or else that they should discontinue an agitation productive of all the evils I have laid before them?

38. Are my statements and reasonings true? If not, let them be contradicted. I have numbered each paragraph of these letters, in order to facilitate reference in case any arguer should think them worthy of notice; but if a reply should be made, I claim that I shall not be met by declamation or wholesale contradictions, but that my specific objections shall be answered by specific replies. If my statements and arguments be correct, I ask then, can that man be properly designated as not *in his sane mind*, or as an enemy to his country's rights, who refuses to join in such an agitation as the present, who views it as a mere delusion, to terminate, as all the former agitations for the last ten years have terminated, in disgraceful defeat? And now I answer the question which Mr. O'Connell puts to Irishmen, in his speech before quoted—"Are you content to have the mark of a degraded slave stamped upon your forehead?" I reply, that if it be the lot of Ireland to have the slave stamped on her forehead, it is by such proceedings as those I have described that the stamp will be indelibly impressed. I wish not to see my country assuming a mockery of independence, with the slave mark under her garments—I wish to see her enjoying the reality of freedom, not the name of it only; and this, in my opinion, can alone be effected by a *united* effort with the

friends of liberty in Britain, for reformed institutions, equally beneficial to all.

I trust I have now thrown off the reproach as respects myself individually of injuring the cause of repeal "by sleepy, drowsy silence." If, in replying to the challenge, I have spoken truths which may not be pleasing, I am not to blame. I did not volunteer the contest; but when I entered into it I would not shrink from the full statement of facts. If the honourable and learned leader of repeal can controvert me—if he can remove the objections which I have raised—if he can show that the repeal of the Union can be obtained, and the independence of Ireland preserved by *moral power*, he is then welcome to derive all those advantages to the cause which he seems to contemplate from discussion: but if he cannot, I hope he will be induced to desist from so injurious a course, and to apply his talents and his vast influence over a confiding people to more beneficial objects.

WM. SHARMAN CRAWFORD.

Crawfordsburn, October 16th, 1841.

MR. SHARMAN CRAWFORD'S REPLY TO MR. O'CONNELL.—
OBSERVATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE REPEALERS OF IRELAND.

(*Section III.*)

I trust it may not be thought that I am unreasonable in soliciting the public attention to a few observations in reply to the reported speech of the honourable and learned member for the counties of Cork and Meath, at the meeting of the Loyal National Repeal Association of Ireland on Monday last.

The honourable gentleman has thought fit to notice the first number of my address to the repealers. He has

left all my arguments unanswered, but has dealt most profusely in personal invective. When he found himself incapable of damaging my arguments by reasoning, he took the course of weakening their power by the attempt to damage my political character, and to place me in a position of offence to my countrymen. The defence of *my* political conduct thus becomes a part of my argument; and if this were not the case, I should not intrude on the public with one word of reply to his allegations.

First, with reference to the repeal question, he charges me with inconsistency (if not with dishonesty). What are the facts? In my second section I have stated the first proceedings with reference to the repeal agitation in the year 1830, and the injury produced by that agitation with reference to the Irish reform discussion. I disapproved of that agitation, and thought it my duty to express my public dissent from it by signing the Leinster declaration; but this declaration contained also the following paragraph:—

“ At the same time that we express these sentiments, we deem it a duty to declare our conviction that it is essentially necessary to the well-being and tranquillity of Ireland, that the attention of the imperial parliament should be immediately called to her condition, and its desire for her welfare be practically manifested by the speedy adoption of measures calculated to ensure her general and permanent improvement.”

I, therefore, viewed the declaration against the repeal question as only a conditional binding, founded on a compliance with the terms of the paragraph I have quoted. The proceedings of the imperial parliament on the Irish reform bill—the passing of the Grey coercion act, and the absence of any measure for the benefit of Ireland, together with the hostility and indifference thus manifested

by the liberal representatives of the English people, induced me to feel that those who had signed the Leinster declaration were bound to take active measures to enforce that declaration ; and, therefore, in the year 1833, I gave a *qualified* support to the repeal agitation, and it was with reference to that conduct of the imperial parliament (which the agitation of Mr. O'Connell might palliate, but could not justify) that the paragraphs partially quoted by the honourable gentleman in his late speech were written. I shall refer, in particular, to one of those sentences which he quotes, but omits the first portion of the paragraph. The following is the whole paragraph—the part omitted is now put in italics :—

“ *The only bond which could firmly consolidate the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland would be the feeling, in both countries, of mutual benefits conferred by that connexion ; but, under present circumstances, is there any approach to so desirable a position? A reluctant union exists, under which there is neither an identity of feelings, rights, interests, nor legislation. At present England considers Ireland as a nuisance, an incumbrance, a drain upon her resources, a wen, which she is forced to nourish, whose growth she desires to contract, but dare not amputate ; and Ireland, on the other hand, looks on England as a tyrant, whose power she is forced to submit to, but whose domination she detests.*”

I maintain that the above (together with the other paragraph quoted by him) gives a true description of the relationship existing between England and Ireland *at that period*. But since that time a change to a certain extent has taken place. The *British liberal members* of the House of Commons, representing the British liberal party in England, have, since the spring of 1835, supported every measure introduced by the government of Lord

Melbourne for improved legislation in Ireland. To this effect we have the voucher of the hon. leader himself, as quoted in my second section ; my observations, therefore, are not now applicable to the same extent they were at that period ; but *if the present hostile agitation be continued*, England will be again compelled to consider Ireland “ *as a nuisance, an incumbrance, * * * * a wen whose growth she desires to contract, but dare not amputate.*” She will feel she has no other way of obviating the effects of Irish hostility but by *debilitation*. The hon. leader’s proceedings will effect this, and Ireland will be obliged to submit or else contend for *separation* ; no other alternative will remain to her. He will revive all those hostile feelings of Englishmen and Irishmen towards each other which existed as I described in 1833 ; but which since that time have been rapidly subsiding.

But the object of the hon. gentleman in quoting the passages I allude to from my letters, is to deduce an inference that my present opinions are at a variance with those I entertained in 1833. He quotes from the 5th section. I shall take leave to extract a few paragraphs from that same section :—

If the necessity of a local representative body be granted, still a question arises as to the nature of its construction and powers ; and this question, by its not being temperately and candidly discussed, has the effect of separating the friends of domestic legislation, and of withholding many well-wishers of Ireland from the support of that cause. The very term assumed (the Repeal of the Union) is, in the minds of many, synonymous with separation. Now surely a little consideration would show that the Union act cannot be repealed without the substitution of another act in its place, creating a new legislature for Ireland, and new terms of connexion with England—that

the single repeal of the Union act, without the formation of a new arrangement, would produce an impracticable state of confusion, which no person could possibly desire ; and a little farther consideration would probably show, that whilst the perfect independence of the local parliament might be maintained in the discharge of the legislative powers entrusted to it, still, that some limitation, as to the extent of its powers, with respect to the internal local arrangements, and external imperial relations of Great Britain, would be both just and necessary.

“ In considering this subject, it may be useful in the first instance, to refer to the state of the Irish parliament previous to the declaration of independence in 1782. By Poyning’s act, no parliament could be held in Ireland till the acts to be proposed were first certified by the lord lieutenant and council to the king, and then on the king’s approval and license being obtained, a parliament will be held to pass the acts sanctioned ; and by the 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary, any alteration by the Irish parliament, in the form or tenor of such acts, was prohibited. Under this system the English privy-council had the power of altering and suppressing ; and the Irish parliament were without power to originate, alter, or amend : it possessed merely a negative power. After the declaration of independence, the Irish parliament assumed powers equal with the British legislature, not only as respected local concerns, but the general interests of the empire. At the same time this extension of power, although theoretically asserted, was practically subverted and the supremacy of England maintained by the engine of corruption. Thus, in the early stage, the Irish parliament was legally dependent ; but, in the latter stage, it was virtually so, although legally independent. Thus, Ireland never had a parliament both legally and virtually independent, and possessing

the independent exercise of equal powers, as to external relations, with the British legislature. The former state of the Irish parliament gave Britain a more unlimited control over the Irish interests than she possesses even now ; and therefore, she was satisfied with it. The latter state was insufficient to secure the prosperity of Ireland, or to give strength to preserve her independence ; but more than sufficient to excite the apprehensions of England, and cause the determination to undermine that position by fraud or power. Might it not, then, be a fair subject of discussion, whether some principle of arrangement could not be adopted which would obviate the evils of the first and second stages of the Irish parliament, and secure the rights and interests of Ireland without giving reasonable cause of danger to the integrity of the empire ?

“ On a subject of such importance and difficulty, it is not presumed, by the writer of these observations, to come to any positive conclusion ; but merely, by drawing attention to the details, to induce a just and temperate discussion, and by a concession of minor objections, to obtain assent to the great principle of domestic legislation.

“ In discussing this question, the following considerations naturally present themselves—keeping in view as an essential part of the subject, the maintenance of British connexion on principles beneficial and equitable towards both countries ; and we are, therefore, not to consider merely what Ireland may demand, but what England may object. We ought to feel ourselves as referees between the two countries, paying just attention to the claims and interests of both.

“ An Englishman might fairly object, with reference to the demand of unconditional repeal, Is it just or reasonable, for the smaller country to demand of the greater a power, by her separate legislature, to control all the exter-

nal relations, or the internal regulations of the greater country? Could England ever be expected to accede to such a demand? The important questions discussed last session of parliament may be brought forward as examples:—the slave trade of the West India islands, the East India Company's charter, the bank charter. The last subject, alone, is a sufficient example in itself. Could an Englishman be asked to give up the power, or even a share of the power, of regulating the provisions by which the state and the bank were to be connected, to a local parliament of a minor portion of the empire? Would not this be a sacrifice of his own legislative independence? Could it be justly or fairly demanded? And if this can be admitted, it at once disturbs the foundation of unconditional repeal, and lays a ground for limitation. If the greater country is prohibited from interfering with the local interests of the smaller one, must not a similar prohibition exist with reference to the smaller country, as respects the greater? If the legislative powers of the two countries are separated, then certainly the colonies must be considered as belonging to England, and, consequently, as part of her local interest. Could England, then, be expected to permit an Irish parliament to interfere in her colonial legislation, or would the colonies be satisfied with such an arrangement?

“It may be said, that if the smaller country contribute by taxation to the support of the external relations of the greater country, the former has a right to a corresponding control in the management. It is perfectly true she has a right to proportional, but not to an equal or predominating, control; and if the legislature of the smaller country had equal powers with that of the greater country, she must have an unfair predominance, and differences must arise impossible to be adjusted. What

alternative, then, can be proposed, but the separation of local and imperial legislation? If this be granted, the question arises—how is this separation to be effected or adjusted? There appear only two modes; by giving up to the legislature of the greater country the power of legislating as to the external relations of the empire, and retaining that check upon her legislation, which would arise from the legislature of the smaller country having supreme power over the taxation raised within its own territory; or, secondly, by the smaller country retaining the power of sending representatives to the legislature of the greater country to vote with reference to imperial concerns, and thus constituting an imperial legislature.”

The above extracts will show that I was then alive to the same objections to an independent parliament in Ireland, which I have lately more fully stated, and which every hour's experience from that time has fixed with greater force upon my mind. I am impressed as strongly as I was in 1833 with the feeling that the Union cannot continue to exist—that separation must ultimately result, unless it be based on just and equal principles towards both countries. It must be amended in some way or other. Under these impressions I am desirous to contend, in conjunction with the British people, for a new distribution of electoral districts, and for an extension and equalization of the franchises, as the first step to render the Union just and useful, and by making these objects a common cause with Britain. I see a chance of obtaining these improvements, which would be hopeless under a separate Irish agitation—which agitation has been rendered contemptible and powerless by the system of conduct I have described in my second section—a system abounding in the most offensive and often exaggerated imputations, bombastic threatenings, violated declarations, and extending

demands, ending in disgraceful compromises, emanating from the same source, which proclaimed both the charges and the threatenings. When such proceedings as these are sanctioned by a nation, I ask, are not grounds laid for the imputation that such a nation is not in a condition to acquire or to maintain the rights of freemen? When you act in this way, you encourage England to treat you as slaves; and I address you in the words of Grattan:—"If England is a tyrant, it is you have made her so. It is the slave that makes the tyrant, and then murmurs at the master whom himself has constituted."

With respect to a local legislative body for Ireland, on principle, I should be ready to contend for the same views I expressed in 1833. But I feel that the proceedings of the honourable leader of the present repeal agitation are, in every form, of such an hostile character to British connexion, that it is impossible for any man favourable to that connexion, to enlist under his banners, even for any modification of the principle. On this subject I wish to express myself clearly. I cling to British connexion as the sure ground of prosperity for both countries, when founded on just and equal principles. As an Irishman, I would not submit to be the slave of Britain, even at the sacrifice of that connexion; but I must first see that the alternative is inevitable—that the oppression of Britain is carried to that extent which would cancel that oath of allegiance which I have so often sworn. Such is not the case now; and, as an honest friend of my country, I feel myself bound to resist the separating principle, and to endeavour to amend the connecting principle, and so to consolidate the incorporation of the two countries.

When I proposed a local legislative body, I did so under the impression that such a body would tend to consolidate the Union by removing many causes of grievances; but

when I see the spirit under which the honourable leader is acting—when I see the spirit he is raising in the people of Ireland—of what I must say is now unjust hostility to Englishmen—I feel that I lose my footing. I cannot meet the arguments of those who would say that such a body, under the control of the leader, would only be a preparative to the ulterior object; that such a body, under existing circumstances, would be under his control, I cannot deny; and experience proves that the control of the honourable leader would not be exercised by the gentle persuasion of successful reasoning, but by the crushing hand of the aristocrat, acting more powerfully under the garment of the democrat. I feel all this—I feel, also, that in any humble efforts I should make for extension of rights to Ireland, the same stumbling block is interposed in my way. Having all these objects honestly at heart, I conceive it to be a bounden duty to protest against the course of proceedings now going on, and to endeavour to bring the public mind of Ireland to a sounder state of feeling and opinion.

I am not so vain as to think that my puny efforts will be available; but I am not without hope that I may be the means of inducing others, who have more weight and ability, to reflect, and to move forward in the cause.

There are several other matters I should wish to have referred to in Mr. O'Connell's speech, but I do not think myself justified in intruding farther on the public attention with anything personal to myself. I shall only allude to one other point. The hon. gentleman charges me, and through me the Ulster Association, with want of success in their operations. I have shown in my second letter the effects produced by his repeal agitation on the reform cause in Ireland. These same effects operated on the Ulster Association, and have been the means of impairing

every endeavour to render it available for the chief purposes intended, namely, co-operation with British reformers in the cause of reform principles. The association was hardly formed, when the hon. leader attempted to assume the mastery over it, or to put it down. This, together with repeal agitations, created disunion, and prevented a united movement in the cause of popular rights, in the manner I have already explained. The hon. leader calls it *my* association. It is not *mine* in any sense of the word. It did not emanate from me. I consented to act as one of the secretaries, in obedience to the wish of those who formed it. The hon. leader must know that the association rejected an important proposition (on the suffrage) moved by me. I have no power of ruling that association, nor ought I to have that power. The spirit of those who compose it is too high to submit to the *dictation* of any man. In that association men think and act for themselves, and are not the slaves of a leader. I admit that I despair of that association, or any other political association in Ireland, doing any good, so long as the repeal agitation shall be continued.

The personal vituperation contained in the honourable leader's speech shall receive no reply from me. I hope I have not, in any of my observations, exceeded those limits which the honour and feelings of a gentleman should impose, and no provocation shall tempt me now to depart from that course.

I am truly thankful to the press of all parties for the circulation which has been given to my previous numbers, and I trust that, although this section is rather of the nature of a personal defence, I may hope for a continuance of their indulgence.

WILLIAM SHARMAN CRAWFORD.

Crawfordsburn, Oct. 25, 1841.

APPENDIX.—No. VIII.

MY object in presenting the reader with the following summary of the history of Catholicity in Ireland since the change of religion,—which is but one dismal tale of persecution, more continuous, more varied, and more determined than any upon record in the annals of Christianity,—is twofold: to shew how vain has been every attempt to eradicate Catholicism from that country; and to remind the people and the government, as far as they may respectively be concerned—those on whom the sins of their forefathers may have descended, and on whom the duties of retribution may have devolved—that though it is impossible to repair the wrong, it is at least their duty, as it is within their power, to mitigate its effects, by a system of legislation analogous to the spirit of the age, and now recommended by the example of all other Christian states.

THE means which were adopted to bring about an acknowledgment of the spiritual supremacy of Henry VIII in Ireland, and the suppression of the monasteries, were in perfect accordance with the means employed for the same purpose in England. George Brown, a Lutheran, was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin by Cranmer, and, accompanied by certain commissioners as assistants, was sent over with the necessary instructions: “the nobility were to be overawed by threats—splendid promises and high prospects were to be held out to the ecclesiastical body; while bribery on the one hand, and the king’s displeasure on the other, were to be alternately employed, according as the subject might seem to require.” The

announcement of the object of his mission was received with astonishment and a determination to suffer death rather than to submit to such an alteration in the religion of their ancestors. Brown, discouraged and disappointed, wrote a letter to Cranmer, acquainting him with the forlorn prospect of his affairs; "he assures him that the king's commission had been treated with contempt—that he and his vice-generalship became the subject of public scorn—that so steadfast were the Irish people in clinging to the ancient faith, that they might be said to equal, if not to excel, the heroism of the primitive martyrs—and in short, that nothing less than the authority of parliament and the enforcement of rigorous laws could extort from them even a partial acknowledgment of the king's claim to the title of supremacy." Lord Grey, the deputy, following his instructions, assembled the parliament, which was found servile enough to pass the act of supremacy, by which, "all appeals to the court of Rome in spiritual causes were prohibited; while any subject, who should in future attempt to maintain the supremacy of the apostolic see, was to be apprehended and rendered subject to a *premunire*. Thus through the means of a corrupt parliament and the terrors of a tyrant, did schism for the first time get a footing in this country." Some of the prelates and a few of the inferior clergy, fearing for their dignities and riches, obeyed; but the great majority refused to sacrifice their consciences and to detach themselves from the unity of the Church.

The great ruling motive for this wonderful zeal in the cause of reformation was soon apparent: "the spirit of avarice was to be appeased by plunder, and accordingly an act was passed for the suppression of religious houses. In this manner did the work of destruction commence, while Brown with his associates was among the first to pull down the cross from the altar and revel amidst the pro-

fanation of the sacred vessels of the sanctuary. Grey had now that opportunity in his hands which he had long wished for in his heart. For years was he compelled to throw himself on the remnants of a shattered fortune ; but the means which he now enjoyed of repairing it were more than sufficient to silence those occasional whisperings of conscience which might perchance still linger in his breast. While the schismatics in Dublin had been enriching themselves with the spoils of the sanctuary in that city, the Lord Deputy was actively engaged in plundering the churches of Ulster. The splendid and venerable cathedral of Down was first gutted and afterwards burnt to the ground by the incendiary ; at the same time the tombs and relics of Saints Patrick, Brigid, and Columbkille, were demolished, and the ashes scattered with the winds of Heaven. The image of the blessed Virgin was torn from the high altar of the abbey of Trim, and profaned in the public market. The relics of the martyrs, after having been turned into mockery, were cast on the streets and thrown out on the high-ways ; while the image of Christ crucified was brought from the abbey of Balliboghan, and the crozier of St. Patrick from Christ Church, and were both indignantly committed to the flames. But the confiscation of the property belonging to religious houses was that on which the plunderers had been most particularly intent : and an act was passed, granting the full and free disposal of all the abbeys and priories to the king, who, as Ware remarks, soon after disposed of their possessions to his nobles, courtiers, and others, reserving to himself certain revenues or annual rents. The multiplied indignities thus outrageously heaped upon the Irish people—the attempt to wrest from them the sacred deposit handed down by their fathers—the sacrilegious insults offered to their altars, and the public plunder of their

churches and religious establishments, had so powerfully worked on their national and religious feelings, that in a short time the whole nation rose up in arms.

The Catholics of the north were led on by O'Neil; O'Brien of Thomond had the command of the army of the south. Owing, however, to that unfortunate spirit of rivalry and division which has at all times been the bane and curse of Ireland, these leaders began to despair of being able to make head against the common enemy, and submission to the English power was the consequence.*

After the death of Henry, as might be expected, the schism soon degenerated into heresy. The managers of the reformation, under the guidance of Somerset, issued a proclamation, "enjoining the performance of the new liturgy of the English Church in all places of worship, with orders that all bishops and parish priests throughout the kingdom should at the same time yield their assent and conform to the royal mandate." The reasoning of Brown to induce submission is admirable. Taking the proclamation, at the meeting of clergy in the council chamber of the primate, he said, "This order, good brethren, is from our gracious king, and from the rest of our brethren of England; unto whom I submit, as did Christ to Cæsar, in all things just and lawful, making no question, why or wherefore; as we own him our true and lawful king." The virtue however of this reasoning was not so apparent to his auditors, and it failed in its effect. "Bribes, threats, and promises were now held out in great abundance—stations of trust and honour were presented to the laity: promotions, wealth, and pleasure, were placed be-

* Almost the whole of this summary is taken from *Brenan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*—where the authorities may be seen.—Dublin, 1840.

fore the eyes of the clergy. To the honour of the Irish priesthood, be it stated, all these alluring temptations to recreancy had been spurned and treated with contempt. Out of the whole episcopal body, as it stood in the beginning of the reign of Edward the Sixth, not one could be induced to abandon the religion of his fathers, except Staples, bishop of Meath, together with Magenis of Down and Burke of Clonfort, both of whom, under the influence of their avaricious propensities, had long since subscribed to the schismatical law-doctrines of Henry the Eighth. The English inhabitants of the pale, as well as the native Irish, openly denounced it as an innovation, and wherever its doctrines had been circulated, treachery, turbulence, and ruin were but a few of the many evils which inseparably followed in its train. At the time of Edward's death, and during the administration of Crofts, the state of Catholicity in Ireland was deplorable. The clergy in many places were obliged to retire and conceal themselves from the fury of the pursuers; churches and places of worship were closed, the celebration of the divine mysteries was suspended, and religion appeared to have been threatened with all the horrors of sanguinary persecution." Mary replaced the clergy who had been dispossessed, and restored the Catholic religion. The rigorous and barbarous measures adopted in England against the Reformers were not pursued in Ireland—no blood was spilt on the score of religion. "It is well known that several English families had, at that period, repaired to this country, where they found an hospitable asylum, and were sheltered from the fury of the storm by the generous and noble-minded Catholics of Ireland. On the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, in 1558, a new era commences, and in the sacred name of the Gospel of peace, torrents of Christian blood are let flow." She determined to overthrow

the ancient religion of the country, and if pains and penalties could have accomplished it, she would have succeeded. A parliament was called, but it was little more than "a legislative mockery; one half of the nation having been disfranchised, and even the few who had been summoned (seventy-six in number) were notoriously hired minions—bribed and corrupt tools in the hands of the government. The nobles of the country were at the time Catholics: these therefore had been carefully excluded." In short, as Hooker remarks: "this assembly was more like a bear-baiting of disorderly persons than a parliament of wise and grave men." In this profligate and packed parliament, the first penal statutes had been framed for stripping the Irish of their religion, and setting up Protestantism in its place. The following acts, selected as a specimen, may serve to give the reader some notion of the persecuting spirit by which the legislature had at this time been actuated.

I. "Any clergyman who refused to use the book of common prayer in his church, or who used any other form of worship, rite, ceremony, or manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper, *openly* or *privily*, than was laid down in the said book of common prayer, was to forfeit all the profit or income of his benefice, for one year, and also suffer imprisonment for six months. II. For the second offence, he was to forfeit his income for ever, and suffer imprisonment at pleasure. III. For the third offence, he was to suffer imprisonment for life. IV. Laymen, for the first offence, were to undergo imprisonment for one year, and for the second, imprisonment for life. V. Every person in the kingdom, absenting himself from the usual place where common prayer was read on Sundays and Holidays, was subject to a fine of twelve pence, and also to *the censures of the Church.*" By express enactments, all appeals to

Rome were strictly forbidden; the laws regarding religion, which had been enacted in the reign of Mary, were annulled, and every individual, whether lay or ecclesiastic, in possession of livings or offices, was, under a penalty of forfeiting the same, obliged to come forward and take the *oath of supremacy*. These acts of oppression filled the country with dismay: the churches became deserted, the clergy had, in most places, been obliged to fly and conceal themselves in the recesses of the mountains, while every unprincipled hypocrite was at liberty to tear down the altar, plunder the church, and pollute the sanctuary. "All over the kingdom," says Leland, "the people were left without any religious worship; and under pretence of obeying the order of the state, they seized all the most valuable furniture of the churches, which they exposed to sale without decency or reserve." While the people of Ireland evinced an heroic determination to suffer death sooner than renounce the religion of their fathers, the innovators on their part demonstrated that blood, sacrilege, and licentiousness, were the frightful, but favorite objects they had contemplated. That this truth may be placed before the reader in an unquestionable point of view, we shall take the liberty of briefly referring to the testimony of some of their own writers. "Whatever disorders," says Spencer, "you see in the established Church through England, you may finde here, and many more—namely, *gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshy incontinency, careless sloath*, and generally, *all disordered life* in the common clergyman." "So deformed and overthrown a Church," says Sidney, "there is not, I am sure, in any region where the name of Christ is professed. Such horrible spectacles there are to behold, as the burning of villages, the ruin of churches, yea, the view of the bones and skulls of the dead, who partlie by murder, partlie by famyn have died in the

fields, as in troth hardelie any Christian with drie eies could behold." "I knew it was bad," observes Strafford, "very bad in Ireland, but that it was so stark nought, I did not believe." "There were few churches to resort to," says Leland, "few teachers to exhort, fewer still who could be understood, and almost all, at least for the greater part of this reign, of scandalous insufficiency. * *

It must not be surprising that such unexampled outrage on the feelings of the nation should have produced the most formidable reaction. O'Neil in the north, and Desmond in the south, had recourse to arms: the terrors of civil war spread from one extremity of the kingdom to the other—what escaped from the sword fell a victim to the flames; while the whole face of the country presented the hideous spectacle of one great, indiscriminate, national slaughter-house. In the midst of these awful scenes, the Catholic priesthood of Ireland stood by the people; many of them came forth like the martyrs of old, and publicly preached against these novelties, now attempted to be forced upon the nation. * * * Between the statute-book, the informer, and the sword, we may readily conceive what must have been the melancholy condition of the Church of Ireland at this period. The episcopal sees were laid desolate; the parish churches, torn, plundered, and profaned, were to be seen in all directions of the kingdom without either a pastor or a congregation; while in the meantime whole groups of unprincipled English ecclesiastical adventurers were drafted over into Ireland, and on these the bishoprics and other Church dignities were liberally conferred, according as the Catholic clergy had been ejected out of the sees and parishes. These intruders, immediately on their appointment, had directions to suppress the Catholic institutions in the respective diocesses, and to establish Protestant

schools on their foundation. To complete this system of juvenile proselytism, a corresponding code of laws had been framed, by which parents were compelled to send their children to these schools: the violation of the statute was attended with pecuniary fines, which were soon after changed into penalties for high treason. In the meantime, the notorious proclamation of 1559 underwent another edition, and every individual in the kingdom was again commanded to come forward and acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of Elizabeth.

“Every means within the reach of refined and systematic cruelty had been now employed to seduce the Catholic priesthood of Ireland, and force from the people a surrender of their faith; the ingenuity of the persecutors had been exhausted, but the results which they anticipated were far from being attained: the firmness displayed by both priests and people became the admiration of their very enemies.” Language cannot describe the frightful persecution which followed. “It would appear,” says an ancient writer, “that the infernal pit itself had conspired with the dark and deadly passions of men, to root out the very name of Catholicity from the country. The nation, from one extremity to the other, was filled with hired informers,—the clergy were pursued with more unsparing ferocity than the very beasts of prey,—and of those who suffered (De-Burgo remarks), the names and number can be known only in the just and eternal records of the book of life.” The learned and eloquent Dermot O’Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel; Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, distinguished for sanctity and learning; Redmond O’Gallagher, Bishop of Derry; Edmund Magauran, who succeeded Richard Creagh in the metropolitan see of Armagh; Cornelius O’Duane, Bishop of Down; and a multitude of others, fell victims to this persecution, while

numbers who had escaped the sword, suffered most grievously from the penalties which followed them at every step at home, or from the miseries and privations which attended their exile abroad. The work of destruction, although scarcely paralleled by Roman barbarity, was still incomplete. The sword, tired with the slaughter of so many illustrious victims, had scarcely slumbered in its scabbard, when a new race of generous champions, as brave and determined as the former, arose in the sanctuary, and devoted themselves to the service of their suffering countrymen. To eradicate the Catholic priesthood, however, altogether from the country, Catholic education, both public and private, was proscribed throughout the kingdom; and one would have imagined that the ancient religion was at length doomed to be banished from the Island of Saints. But the nations of Europe, pitying the sufferings and misfortunes of Ireland, and remembering with gratitude the instruction their ancestors had received in her monasteries and colleges, admitted her priesthood to the rights of hospitality, and erected colleges for the education of her students; so that in a few years the objects of the exterminating statutes of Elizabeth were defeated. "The consequences of this disappointment may be readily conceived; the spirit of the persecution had hitherto been grievously violent, it now became desperate and infuriated. Proclamations were issued and published without number, and all persons who had children, relatives, or wards, in foreign countries, were commanded to deposit the names of the absent individuals with the local magistrate within ten days, to have them recalled within four months, and on their return, to have them presented before the authorized authorities. After that period they were prohibited to send money to any students, to receive them into their houses, or to afford them hospitality or shelter. Those

transgressing were considered traitors, and punishments were awarded them by law." What a wretched, what a revolting picture did this unhappy land exhibit towards the close of Elizabeth's reign. "The miseries which the wretched Irish endured" (says Leland), "were affecting even to their very enemies; thousands perished by famine, and the hideous resources sought for allaying the rage of hunger, were more terrible than even such a calamity." "The famine of Jerusalem" (observes Cox) "did not exceed that among the Irish. "Whosoever" (writes Hollinshed) "should travel from one end to the other of all Munster, even from Waterford to the head of Smerwicke, which is about six score miles, he would not meet anie man, woman, or child, saving in townes and cities, nor yet see anie beast—but the very wolves, the foxes, and other like ravening beasts; many of these laie dead, being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere." "Notwithstanding," (says Spenser) "that the same (Ireland) was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought they should have been able to stand long; yet in one year and a half they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods they came, creeping forth upon their hands—for their legs could not bear them—They looked like anatomies of death—they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves. *They did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them; yea, and one another soon after, inasmuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves—and if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time; yet not being able long to continue therewithal, that in a short space there were none almost remaining, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of both man and beast.*"

Grievous, however, as were these inflictions, "they were but a mere prelude to the crucible through which the same persecuted but faithful people were, during the entire period of the seventeenth century, doomed to pass. When the sceptre of England had been placed in the hands of the Stuarts, and that James the first ascended the British throne, in 1603, the hope of obtaining justice began once more to beam upon Catholic Ireland. Many of those who had been forced into exile returned to their native country: churches were rebuilt—monasteries repaired—the sacred duties of the sanctuary were resumed, and the offices of the Church were performed with undisturbed safety throughout the kingdom. This state of comparative tranquillity was not, however, suffered to continue: the mercenary spirit of James had rendered him callous to the feelings of humanity as well as to the dictates of religion; and whenever wealth was to be accumulated or favouritism indulged, both religion and humanity became alike disregarded."

And when the sovereign, albeit said to be of a humane disposition, determined to enter upon the legacy bequeathed to him by his predecessor, and to continue the work of extermination, the gracious resolve was announced to the world in a proclamation, dated the 4th July 1605, by which the enactments of Elizabeth were to be rigorously enforced, because, said the king, "it hath seemed proper to us to proclaim, and we hereby make known to our subjects in Ireland, that *no toleration shall ever be granted by us*; this we do for the purpose of *cutting off all hope* that any other religion shall be allowed, save that which is consonant to the laws and statutes of this realm." The attempt, however, was abortive; for though the sword was drawn, and the altars and priesthood abandoned to the fanatical plunderers of the day; the chapels demo-

lished; the clergy obliged to conceal themselves from the wrath of an edict which required all bishops and priests to quit the kingdom under penalty of *death*; which confiscated the property of any one who harboured them; which forbade all to send their children to seek an education abroad, which the law prevented any from imparting to them at home; and which commanded all persons of every age, sex, and rank, to attend the service of the new liturgy; and though Knox, who had been appointed bishop of Raphoe, with the title of supreme prelate, and with the second seat among the counsellors of the kingdom, was selected as the fittest instrument for carrying the benevolent designs of the monarch into execution—and he could not have chosen a better—and who entered into a solemn engagement with the king, before he left London, to extirpate the Catholic religion from Ireland,—yet after a most vigorous and almost unremitting persecution of ten years, Chichester, the lord-deputy, who had played no small or unwilling part in the tragedy, was wont to declare “*that Popery must be something inherent in the soil of Ireland; that the very air and climate must be infected therewith; when, sooner than abandon it, men were determined on renouncing obedience to their prince, all regard for their posterity, and even their own temporal happiness and lives.*”*

Chichester's successor, however, Sir Oliver St. John, nothing daunted, renewed the work with redoubled vigour; when “*armed commissaries scoured the country, the houses of the nobility were pillaged, numbers were cast into prison, while terror and despair once more covered the face of the kingdom;*”† till at length the king, in 1622, at the instance of the king of Spain, consented to break

* Porter, 280.

† *Analecta Sacra*, 356.

from his charitable resolve, and to grant to the Irish Catholics *the unrestricted exercise of their religion*.^{*} Usher, however, interposed between a suffering people and the clemency of the monarch, and the year following "the former sanguinary edicts were renewed, while the clergy, both secular and regular, were once more ordered to quit the kingdom within forty days, or be subject to the penalties specified by law. Such was the lamentable condition in which the people of Ireland stood when James closed his mortal career on the 27th March 1525." During the early years of Charles I, there appears to have been some slight relaxation in the severity of these proceedings, but again the better feelings of the king were overcome by the importunate and insatiable bigotry of the Irish bishops, and, in 1629, the usual edicts were revived, and the work of persecution begun afresh.

By degrees the cause of the Puritans gained with the Irish Parliament, and the certain vengeance which the growing spirit of fanaticism was about to wreak on the ill-fated Catholics, drove them at length, by the natural instinct of man, into measures of self-defence. A national convention assembled at Kilkenny in 1642, where the bishops also met in synod, and unanimously passed the following resolution:—"That whereas the Catholics of Ireland have taken up arms in defence of their religion, for the preservation of the king already threatened with destruction by the Puritans, as likewise for the security of their own lives, possessions, and liberty, we, on the part of the Catholics, declare these proceedings to be most just and lawful. Nevertheless, if, in the pursuit of these objects, any person or persons should be actuated by motives of avarice, malice, or revenge, we declare such

* Ware ad an. 1622.

persons to be guilty of a grievous offence, and deservedly subject to the censures of the Church, unless, upon advice, they change their intentions, and pursue a different course." Given at Kilkenny, 12th of May, 1642.* Success attended the arms of the confederates, and a truce was concluded for a twelvemonth, which was soon converted into a treaty of peace, by which "the free exercise of their religion, and the perpetual possession of all the cathedrals, parish churches, and convents, which they then enjoyed, together with the property appertaining to each of these establishments, was granted to the Catholics in the name of the king. The confederates, on their part, were pledged to raise a force of 10,000 men, and to embark forthwith for England to the assistance of Charles," then reduced to the greatest extremity; and had it not been for the bigotry and the treachery of Ormond, in all probability the royal cause had triumphed even over the fury of fanaticism: but he declared the treaty null and void, and drove the confederates once more into active resistance. Innocent X now sent an agent to encourage, exhort, and co-operate with them in the struggle for the preservation of their lives, and the establishment of civil and religious liberty in the kingdom. Amongst other things, he exhorted them to maintain inviolate their allegiance to the king, assuring them that "nothing on earth would give greater satisfaction to his holiness, than that the confederate Catholics, having recovered the full and free exercise of their faith, should show unto their mighty and most serene king, although a Protestant, every mark of subjection, assistance, and reverence."† It is not within the scope of this short analysis to note the various

* Bruodin, *Descriptio Rel. Hib.*, p. 63.

† *Analecta Sacra*, p. 200.

events of this singular and interesting contest; suffice it to say, that on the 17th of January, 1649, Ormond at length ratifies the peace which he had formerly rejected, but too late to save the monarch, who perished on the scaffold only twelve days afterwards, and too late to arrest the torrent which levelled the bulwarks of liberty and civilization in England, devastated Scotland, and well nigh swept every living thing from the entire surface of Ireland! The folly, the meanness, and the perfidy of the son, threw him into the arms of the men who had so recently betrayed and sold his father to those who murdered him, and he refuses to ratify the peace, and abandons the Irish to their own dissensions, and to the vengeance of Cromwell. "The unprecedented success which had attended the arms of [this revolutionary tyrant, had now transformed the country into one frightful scene of carnage and desolation; villages became a mass of ruins, towns and cities were stormed and plundered; in short, the kingdom from one extremity to the other assumed the awful appearance rather of a region of death, than of a land intended by nature for the residence and happiness of human beings. The fury of the storm was particularly levelled against the altars and priesthood of the country, who were compelled to take refuge in inaccessible morasses or amidst the rocks and caverns of the mountain."* Numbers, however, suffered death by the public executioner, and crowds were confined as prisoners in the island of Bofin, or shut up in the gaols of Cork and Galway. But the insatiable cruelty of the fanatics was not exhausted, "and on the 6th of January, 1653, the first edict emanated from the commissioners appointed by the republican parliament for managing the affairs of

* Porter's Annals, pp. 400 et seq.

Ireland, which revived the exterminating statute of 27th of Elizabeth: “twenty-eight days are allowed for the departure of all priests out of the kingdom, but after that period should any priest be detected in the country, he incurs the guilt of high treason,—he is therefore to be hanged, cut down while alive, beheaded, quartered, bowelled, and burned, the head to be set on a spike and exposed in the most public place; moreover, should any person entertain or harbour a priest, he shall suffer the confiscation of his property, and be put to death without the hope of mercy.”* Every exercise of the Catholic religion, even in private, was now held and declared a capital offence; spies and informers were to be seen in all directions scouring the country; a reward of 5*l.* was to be given for the apprehension of a priest, and the informers promoted to offices and dignities, as men who deserved well of the state.† To these refined cruelties, the following supplement was soon after annexed. “And if any one shall know where a priest remains concealed, in caves, woods, or caverns, or if, by any chance, he should meet a priest on the highway, and not immediately take him into custody, and present him before the next magistrate, such person is to be considered a traitor and an enemy to the *republic*. He is accordingly to be cast into prison, flogged through the public streets, and afterwards have his ears cut off. But should it appear that he kept up any correspondence or friendship with a priest, he is to suffer death.”‡ “All the male adults capable of bearing arms, with the exception of a sufficient number of slaves to cultivate the lands of the English, were transported to

* O'Daly, p. 375.

† Morison, *Threnodia, Hiberno-Catholica*, p. 27.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 31; Bruodin, p. 95.

France, Spain, and the West Indies. A great number of females were transported to Virginia, Jamaica, and New England. The rest of the inhabitants of both sexes, the young, the aged, and the infirm, were ordered, on pain of death, to repair, by a certain day, into the province of Connaught, where, being cooped up in a district ravaged by war of ten years' continuance, desolated by famine and pestilence, and destitute of food or habitations, they suffered calamities such as the wrath of the Almighty has never inflicted on any other people."* "No pen can describe or mind conceive the frightful scenes of misery that now ensued. It was death to step beyond the limits; a Catholic found in any other part of the kingdom could be butchered by any private individual, without jury, or judge, or magistrate." Such were the means employed for the extermination of Catholicism in Ireland by those who had rebelled in the cause of civil and religious liberty, and who had murdered their king because they chose to call him a tyrant, when he had certainly lost the power, and had probably no longer the inclination, to be so. But the providence of God is superior to the malignity of man, and from this wretched outcast remnant of a degraded people have sprung those countless thousands who have carried the faith of St. Celestine and St. Patrick† into the remotest regions of the world, as well as the millions who now enjoy in undisturbed peace and security the inestimable blessing of religious toleration upon their own soil,—though 2,700,000 acres of that land, the property of the ancient *Catholic* families of the country, were confiscated and divided in lots among Cromwell's soldiers, and though "a

* O'Connor's History of the Irish Catholics.

† It was Pope Celestine I who sent St. Patrick to preach the Gospel in Ireland.

new colony of new settlers, composed of all the various sects which then infested England,—Independents, Anabaptists, Seceders, Brownists, Socinians, Millenarians, and dissenters of every description, many of them infected with the leaven of democracy,—poured into Ireland, and were put in possession of the ancient inheritance of its inhabitants, of all who had taken part in the rebellion, or followed the fortunes of the king, after the murder of Charles I ;”* and who were thus splendidly remunerated for their triumph over the last hold of loyalty in the three kingdoms, and which remuneration was confirmed by one of the first acts of the restoration.

Out of the twenty-eight prelates who composed the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland in 1650, in 1665 only three were to be found : “ the aged and venerable John Burke, archbishop of Tuam, who, having been sixteen years an exile, had just then returned from the Continent, intending (as he himself expresses it) to have his ashes laid in the tomb of his fathers ; Patrick Plunket, bishop of Ardagh, who arrived in the same year ; and the infirm, suffering, saintly bishop of Kilmore, Owen M’Sweeny,” who through age and infirmity had never been able to fly. The inferior clergy, it seems, had suffered less, for they returned in such numbers that, in the same year, they amounted to about 1200 seculars, and 800 regulars (400 Franciscans, 200 Dominicans, 100 Augustinians, and 100 Jesuits, Carmelites, Cistercians, and Capuchins).

The tactics were now changed, and Ormond endeavoured to accomplish by artifice what he had been unable to achieve by force. The failure was no less signal, and the Irish clergy proved themselves as true to God as they were to Cæsar. “ Before many years had elapsed, the

* Lord Clare’s Speech.

power of Ormond, already at its summit, was seen to give way. He was supplanted by his rival Buckingham, while Berkeley, a wise and moderate man, was at the same time invested with the administration of the affairs of Ireland. During his commission, which lasted only four years, the Catholics enjoyed stations of trust and honour; they became members of corporate bodies and of the magistracy, while an unprecedented calm appeared to settle upon the nation. It was no more than the periodical stillness with which every boisterous element in nature is attended; for in 1673 the reins of government were once more placed in the hands of Ormond, and the country, with its religion and rising happiness, is again converted into an universal scene of terror and blood. Through the infamous intrigues of Shaftesbury, Lord Chancellor of England, Titus Oates, and other wretches of hired villainy were brought forth; Catholic plots and Popish treason became the ordinary outcry of the day, The old machinery of past sanguinary times was got ready, and Catholics of every rank were marked out as the victims in whose blood these tragical preparations were to terminate. During the following year the Catholic chapels of the kingdom were closed, priests both secular and regular were proscribed; the same spirit which walked abroad in the days of Elizabeth and of Cromwell was now making rapid strides along the hamlets, towns, and cities of the country. Peter Talbot, the venerable archbishop of Dublin, sinking under age and infirmity, and Lord Mountgarret, old and bed-ridden, were both taken into custody and dragged to prison. The saintly, learned, and illustrious archbishop of Armagh, Oliver Plunket, fell a victim to the malice of his enemies in London. Dominic Burke, bishop of Elphin, and numberless others, found means of retiring from the kingdom, and thus escaped the pursuit of their persecutors. These frightful

scenes were kept up with but little intermission until the year 1685, when Charles II ended his mortal career..... James II, who ascended the throne on the death of his brother, had, both before and after his elevation, openly declared his religious principles and avowed himself a Catholic. Religious toleration was now proclaimed throughout Ireland; the churches and monastic institutions of the country were repaired or rebuilt; the clergy, secular and regular, appeared in their respective ecclesiastical costume, and all the ceremonies of the Church were performed with the same pomp and solemnity as had been observed in the brightest period of Catholic times. To complete this scene of universal joy, and to consummate the happiness of the nation, Richard Talbot, Vicount Tyrconnell, brother of Peter Talbot, the late archbishop of Dublin, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His bravery in the field had long since entitled him to this distinguished honour; his prudence, moderation, and love of justice, are a few among the many other excellent qualities which had pre-eminently fitted him for the faithful discharge of this high and trust-worthy commission. James, however, had been scarcely three years on the throne, when all the symptoms of popular convulsion, so characteristic of those times, began to make their appearance. The Protestants of England and of Ireland, as well as the Puritans of Scotland, took the alarm. Many of the great landowners of the country, inheriting property to an immense amount, and resting on no better title than that of confiscation, began now to give way to their fears; an universal panic broke in at once upon their hitherto undisturbed repose. Religious bigotry, the curse and scourge of mankind, presently lent its aid, while James, in the midst of this revolutionary movement, had the mortification of witnessing his kingdom invaded, and his throne assailed by no less a personage

than William, Prince of Orange, his own son-in-law. With the civil events of the country this analysis has but little connexion; it may, however, be remarked, that by the battle of the Boyne, on the 2nd of July 1690, the fate of king James was decided; the sacking of Athlone and the battle of Aughrim in 1691 inflicted another deadly blow, but when Limerick surrendered on terms solemnly pledged, yet afterwards shamefully violated, the whole kingdom almost instantaneously submitted, and recognized the sovereignty of William III.

“The history of this reign, so far as Catholicity was concerned, would be little more than a mere rehearsal of all the sanguinary laws and revolting cruelties which disgraced the times of Elizabeth, and of the usurper Cromwell—events which with pain and sorrow have been already unfolded. He set out, as in general all revolutionary adventurers do, by holding up promises which were never performed, and by acts of occasional lenity and moderation; but when, in 1695, the administration of this country had been placed in the hands of Capel, the veil was instantly removed, and the Catholics of Ireland had a full view of the chasm which time and intrigue were working, and had already prepared for their seemingly universal destruction. During the government of this viceroy, acts were passed to prevent domestic as well as foreign education, to prohibit the diffusion of knowledge, and to brutalize the Irish. Both houses of parliament were closed against Catholics; the oaths of supremacy and of abjuration were enforced, and, as had been the case in the terrific days of old, all bishops, vicars-general, and friars, were compelled by law to quit the kingdom on or before the 1st of May 1698. The return of these ecclesiastics was adjudged high treason, but should any person attempt to conceal them, he shall for the first offence be liable to a

penalty of twenty pounds, for the second offence forty, and **for** the third he shall be subjected to the forfeiture of all **his** goods and chattels, one-half of which to be given to the **informer**, and the other half to the crown.

“ The outrageous manner in which the people of Ireland had been now treated, elicited the commiseration of all civilized Europe. Among the numerous letters of condolence which during these melancholy times had been addressed to the prelates and people of Ireland, there was one from that venerable father of the faithful, Innocent XII; it was dated, at St. Mary Major’s, 10th of June, 1698. In this epistle the holy father, after alluding to the crucible through which the Church of Ireland had passed, and the ordeal to which it was now exposed, exhorts both prelates and people to look with patience to that eternal kingdom which had been so dearly purchased for them— ‘ Nor, says he, are your sufferings like those of yesterday; they are the sufferings of centuries; your nation, renowned for sanctity, has preserved for ages the glory of the faith, to your eternal honour and the salvation of your souls. Therefore suffer all things with Christian patience, knowing that the Lord will not permit any being to be tried beyond his strength—as to us, our prayers shall be unceasing before the throne of mercy.’ The same venerable Pontiff immediately after, by apostolical letters, enjoined processions to be made and public prayers to be offered in behalf of the suffering Church of Ireland, throughout the several dioceses of Italy and all the adjacent islands. The persecutions under William remained unabated: according to South’s account, the number of regulars banished in that year (1698) from Ireland, amounted to 454; namely, from Dublin, 153; from Galway, 190; from Cork, 75; from Waterford, 36. These inoffensive men, thus exiled from the land of their birth, were afterwards scat-

tered over the nations of Europe ; existing witnesses of the merciless government under which they lived, and by their banishment, poverty, and sufferings, proclaiming to the world the unfeeling, intolerant spirit of the British laws." * * * * Early in the reign of Anne, perceiving that Catholicism, in spite of the weight and severity of the penal code, was still increasing, " the whigs in 1703, introduced into the Irish House of Commons a measure which, even in the absence of every other penal enactment, might be properly termed a compendium of all legal oppression ; it was entitled a bill to prevent the farther growth of popery. * * * * The following are among the most remarkable of its enactments :—the third clause provides, that if the son of an estated Papist shall conform to the established religion, the father shall be incapacitated from selling or mortgaging his estate, or disposing of any portion of it by will. The fourth clause prohibits a Papist from being the guardian of his own child ; and orders that, if at any time the child, though ever so young, pretends to be a Protestant, it shall be taken from its own father, and placed under the guardianship of the nearest Protestant relation. The sixth clause renders Papists incapable of purchasing any manors, tenements, hereditaments, or any rents or profits arising out of the same, or of holding any lease of lives, or other lease whatever, for any term exceeding thirty-one years. And with respect even to such limited leases, it farther enacts, that if a Papist should hold a farm producing a profit greater than one-third of the amount of the rent, his right to such should immediately cease, and pass over entirely to the first Protestant who should discover the rate of profit. The seventh clause prohibits Papists from succeeding to the properties or estates of their Protestant relations. By the tenth clause, the estate of a Papist, not having a

Protestant heir, is ordered to be gavelled, or divided in equal shares between all his children. The sixteenth and twenty-fourth clauses impose the oath of abjuration and the sacramental test as a qualification for office, and for voting at elections. The twenty-third clause deprives the Catholics of Limerick and Galway of the protection secured to them by the articles of the treaty. The twenty-fifth clause vests in her Majesty all advowsons possessed by Papists. * * * * * In the execution, however, of this measure, a variety of impediments presented themselves; the assistance of the public informer could not well be dispensed with, while the co-operation of an unfeeling magistracy was perhaps still more indispensably demanded. With a view, therefore, of removing that national and natural indignation which must always pursue the former class, the Commons resolved "that the prosecuting and informing against Papists was an honourable service," and lest any of the feelings which belong to our common humanity should make their way to the magisterial bench, it was in like manner resolved, "that all magistrates who neglected to execute these laws were betrayers of the *liberties* of the kingdom."

"That the act already noticed might become a productive instrument, it had been doomed, even before its birth, to have it in the first instance levelled against the clergy. It was accordingly accompanied by an act of registration, agreeably to which each secular priest in the kingdom was required to appear at the quarter-sessions to be held after the 24th of June, 1704, and there register the place of his abode, his name, age, and parish, also the date of his ordination, the name of the prelate from whom he had received orders, and give security for his constant residence in the district assigned him: should he presume to keep a curate, he was liable to the penalty of transportation and

of high-treason in case of return. In the mean time all bishops, vicars general, secular priests not registered, and regulars of every order, were subjected to the statute of the seventh of William the Third, and compelled to quit the kingdom. The deadly object of such a measure must appear obvious; on former occasions, for want of sufficient evidence, it was sometimes found impossible to convict a priest, whereas now they had but to evoke the storm, and their victim stood before them adjudged by his own written acknowledgment. This registration was executed according to counties, while the number registered throughout Ireland amounted to 1080. Notwithstanding all these precautions, the bill "for the farther growth of Popery," manifested such symptoms of imbecility that nothing was heard but complaints and lamentations from every man who had submitted himself to the disgrace of being in any manner mixed up with it. Many of the bishops, vast numbers of the secular clergy, and almost the whole body of the friars, continued with unbending firmness in the kingdom: they retired to those asylums which nature had prepared for them, and to which they had been long accustomed—to the caverns of the mountain, and to the wild, impassable morass of the country. Such as had submitted to exile, found immediate protection in the generosity of other nations, and ere long were favoured with opportunities of returning in disguise to their native land. The picture which Ireland exhibited under the tory administration of Queen Anne, was awful enough; it was, however, considered capable of a darker shade; it remained for the whig government, under the Earl of Wharton, to complete the terror of the piece. In the speech of that viceroy to the parliament of 1709, he worked upon the passions of the House by malicious references to the numerical strength of the Catholics, by

exhibiting them as a disloyal and treacherous people, and by denouncing the existing laws as insufficient to attain the end contemplated—their total extermination. To an assembly already prepared for measures of destruction, this language was more than intelligible: the Commons accordingly resolved that several Popish bishops had lately come into the kingdom, and by ordaining great numbers had presumed to continue the succession of the Romish priesthood, and that their return was owing to a defect in the laws. A reward of fifty pounds was offered for the conviction of a bishop or other dignitary exercising jurisdiction, and twenty for every regular: this money to be levied on the Catholics of the county in which the individual had been detected. In the meantime it was ordained, that all Popish schoolmasters, ushers, or private tutors, should be subjected to the same penalties as the proscribed ecclesiastics. Nothing now remained to complete the barbarity of this code, except the direct extinction of the registered clergymen; it was, therefore, ordained that before the 25th of March, 1710, each registered priest should present himself at the Quarter Sessions, and there take the oath of abjuration, under a penalty of transportation for life, and of high treason if he should ever after presume to return to the country. Out of one thousand and eighty registered priests, thirty-three yielded to the tempest and took the oath; the remainder stood firm, and set the terrors that surrounded them at defiance. * * * * *

At the close of Anne's reign the politics of England underwent a complete revolution; the whigs were thrown out of office, and the tories got the ascendancy. From henceforth the two parties assailed each other with rancorous animosity, and in the violence and fury of the contest; they both lost sight of the Catholics. Anne died on the

first of August 1714, * * * * and George 1st had been scarcely seated on the throne when the hatred of a whig administration was directed against the Catholics.— In 1715, the Scotch raised the standard of revolt in favour of the Pretender, and although the ranks of the insurgents had been composed chiefly of Presbyterians, and that Ireland had at the time presented an universal calm, nevertheless the Catholics were marked out and pursued with the same rancour as if they had actually taken the field in support of the Scottish cause. In pursuance of an address from the Commons, the Lords Justices issued orders for the apprehension of many of the Catholic nobility ; at the same time the chapels throughout the kingdom were obliged to be closed, priests were seized in many instances at the very altars and hurried to prison, and the usual encouragement was held out to informers. To the credit of these times, however, it must be observed that this description of miscreants, usually termed *priest catchers*, were generally Jews, who pretended to be converts to the Christian religion, and some of them assumed even the character of the priesthood for the purpose of insinuating themselves more readily into the confidence of the clergy. * * * * The persecution would no doubt have been conducted with more rigour, were it not for the public odium in which this infamous tribe had been held, not only by Catholics but also by great numbers of high-minded, benevolent Protestants ; whenever these informers appeared in public they were sure to be received with marked execration ; they were hooted and pelted in the very streets of the metropolis. The loyalty and peaceable demeanour of the Irish Catholics at length confounded their very enemies ; that not one of them had been implicated in this insurrection was honourably attested and fully established by the Protestant primate, Stone, in

his memorable address to the House of Lords, in 1762.”

* * * * * The measures which were attempted against the priesthood towards the end of this reign, although accidentally defeated by the refusal of the royal assent, “must reflect eternal disgrace on the individuals by whom they had been contrived. The penal code had been already swelled to an awful magnitude, every means within the reach of the most refined cruelty had been put into operation, nevertheless, leave was once more given for introducing into the House the heads of a bill for amending the act already passed to prevent the farther GROWTH OF POPERY. * * * * *

During the greater part of the reign of George II, the history of the Irish nation presents little more than an almost continued succession of varied calamities. The year 1741 was ushered in by a dreadful famine; fluxes and malignant fevers prevailed; the streets and highways were covered with the bodies of the dead, while the number of those who perished by famine and pestilence had been computed at four hundred thousand. Scarcely had this awful visitation subsided, when the rumour of an intended invasion by France, under Mareschal Saxe, in 1743, supplied the intolerants with new grounds for oppression. Inflammatory pamphlets issued from the press; the pulpit resounded with invectives against Popery, and pastoral letters of a similar tendency had been circulated without number throughout every part of the kingdom; at one time the arrest of the Catholic clergy was demanded, at another the aggregated strength of the code was to be brought into requisition, while a member of the privy-council openly proposed an indiscriminate massacre of the Catholic population, as the only means by which the safety of Church and State could be secured. To satisfy this unnatural rage for hu-

man destruction, the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant, Devonshire, appeared on the 28th of February 1743; a reward of one hundred and fifty pounds was offered for the conviction of an archbishop or bishop, fifty pounds for the conviction of a priest, secular or regular, and two hundred pounds for the conviction of any person who should afford protection to a bishop, besides the premium already specified by law. The promulgation of this edict struck the nation once more with dismay; Catholic chapels all over the kingdom were closed, and in the meantime the clergy were obliged to take shelter, some in the recesses of the mountains, and great numbers in the metropolis and other populous cities, where they found means of concealing themselves among the dense and obscure haunts of the poor. This is the period of which we often heard our fathers in the bitterness of their soul unfold many a melancholy and heart-rending narrative; when the divine mysteries were celebrated on the brow of the mountain, the unhewn rock serving as an altar, and the canopy of heaven as a roof for the temple, and when some were obliged to be stationed as watchmen in the plains beneath, while the great mass of the people congregated on the mountain were on bended knees, offering up the Christian sacrifice to the God of heaven. Notwithstanding the opportunities of concealment which the large towns and cities afforded to the clergy, it became at length impossible to escape the vigilance of their pursuers.".....Towards the latter end of this reign, however, the rigours of the penal code "appear to have been gradually mitigated: on the 17th of March 1744, the chapels of Dublin were allowed to be opened, while a similar indulgence was soon after extended to the whole kingdom through the wisdom and humanity of that excellent viceroy the Earl of Chesterfield."

In 1756, another and very rigorous attempt was made

in the Irish Parliament to revive the dormant statutes against the Catholics, and it was lost only by a majority of two. In the following year it was again attempted, but was checked by the Crown. This was the last expiring effort of an infatuated bigotry; and in his first speech from the throne, George the Third, in 1760, declared himself "the friend of religious toleration, and the guardian of the civil and religious rights of his subjects." "It is to be hoped (says the historian of these tragical periods) that the time is now arrived, when that spirit of bigotry, which had been too long the scourge of mankind, will be excluded for ever from the councils of an enlightened nation, and that religion will be no longer permitted to be used as a pretext for oppression, or as a barrier to separate man from his rights."

TO THE READER.

Rome, Feb. 3.—I see by the papers that Mr. O'Connell has announced his Reply to my Letter as nearly ready for the press, but as far the greater part of this was printed before that announcement reached me, I have not considered it advisable to suspend its publication.

LONDON:
RICHARDS, PRINTER, 100, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

Errata in the EARL OF SHREWSBURY'S *Third Letter to*
AMBROSE LISLE PHILLIPPS, ESQ.

- P. 2, *line 3 from the foot of the page, for his sentiment, read, this sentiment.*
- 9, *last line of note, for a considerable number, read, a very large proportion.*
- 16, *line 6, for they are the very weeds of the country: the garden is indeed run wild; read, they are the very weeds of the country, for the garden is indeed run wild.*
- 22, *last line, for in reasoning, read, in ethics.*
- 24, *three lines from the foot of the page, for are the revolutionary means, read, are revolutionary means.*
- 30, *line 11, for country voters, read, county voters.*
- 36, *line 2, for to extinguish slavery, read, to extinguish slavery in a land of freemen.*
- 42, *line 7 from the foot of the page, for a considerable portion of the world, read, nearly half the kingdom.*
- 44, *line 2, for generally, read, generously.*
- 45, *line 9, for rarely, read, never.*
- 56, *line 21, for state, read, stake.*
- *line 4 from the foot of the page, for notorious, read, notoriously.*
- 61, *line 10, for But, read, For.*
- 119, *line 5, for exposures, read, exposure.*
- 152, *line 10, for by prejudices, read, by the prejudices.*
- 154, *last line, for distant view, read, distant and illusive view.*
- 165, *line 6, for must, read, most.*
- 168, *line 6, for present Corn Bill, read, former Corn Bill.*
- 169, *line 14, for not all, read, not at all.*
- 170, *line 10, for greatest, read, greater.*
- 175, *line 19, for of ALL, read, to ALL.*
- 187, *line 21, for were not restored, read, were not recalled.*

- P. 225, *line 3 of note, for him, read, that sovereign.*
 238, *line 24, for and famine. Year after year, read, and famine ; while year after year.*
 249, *line 2 of note, for wonderfully, read, of late years.*
 251, *line 10 of note, and good fellowship, belongs to the line beneath.*
 262, *the following notice between the end of the second letter of Hierophilos, and the beginning of the extracts from the letter to Lord Clifford, has been omitted.*

“ The following extracts from a letter by the same writer, to Lord Clifford, dated December 1841, with my comments on them, will tend still further to elucidate the subjects under discussion.”

- 266 and 267, *the inverted commas should terminate at prosperity,” and be omitted after constitutional.*
 278, *line 26, for and to leave it, read, or to leave it.*
 280, *line 2, for and still have, read, and would still have.*
 — *line 28, for and which may, read, and which, when acquired, may.*
 284, *line 16, for in a week as, read, in a week to.*
 289, *line 15, for bruised, read, brayed.*
 290, *line 5 of note, for Italian Churches, read, Latin Church.*
 292, *line 1, for if rightly understood, read, if I rightly understand.*
 305, *line 16, for to pass, or to think, read, to pass on, to think.*
 311, *line 8, omit there after appreciating.*
 319, *line 26, for them as an Englishman, read, them ;—as an Englishman.*
 320, *line 17 of note, for does this, read, can achieve this.*

N.B. The continuation of Appendix No. V., should have been dated from *Rome*, to distinguish it from the communications from *Alton Towers*.



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