POLITICAL PAMPHLETS

RADICAL WISDOM.

BEING A SELECTION FROM THE

WISE, WITTY, AND PATRIOTIC SAYINGS

OF

NOTORIOUS RADICALS.

BY

C. ALGERNON WHITMORE.

"We are party men first and last on all questions."
Sir William Harcourt, M.P.

"At every word a reputation dies."
Rape of the Lock.

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INTRODUCTION.

SINCE their inexplicable defeat in 1874, the leaders of the Radical party have performed the oratorical duties of an Opposition with extraordinary diligence. So various have been the modes in which they have given expression to their views, so unceasing has been the flow of their eloquence, that some careless Englishmen may have failed to appreciate the full and perfect wisdom of their thoughts. In this pamphlet I have attempted to rescue from possible oblivion some of the more remarkable of the doctrines, sentiments, prophesies, and witticisms that are lying scattered amidst this wealth of words. It will be seen that I have by no means confined myself to extracts from speeches delivered in Parliament. Mr. Gladstone and his friends have by no means confined their eloquence within the walls of Parliament. It was by pamphlets and in the pages of the "Nineteenth

Century Review," that Mr. Gladstone explained his whole foreign policy. It was during a five minutes' wait at some wayside station, and from the window of an express train, that he expounded his most mature and profound political philosophy.

The second portion of this collection is devoted to Political Prophecies. None of these prophecies have been fulfilled; most of them have already been proved false. They are introduced here mainly to gratify Sir W. Harcourt, and also for this reason. The charity of the Liberal leaders in mundane matters seems so heavenly, and their acquaintance with the desires of Providence seems so unaccountable, that it may well be that some timid and devout Scotch souls regard them as hardly "canny," and are fearful that a Nemesis will follow on unselfishness and spirituality more than human. I trust that this series of political prophecies will reassure such souls. At all events, it proves conclusively that in the matter of prophecy the Liberal leaders have received no supernatural gifts.

There next succeed a few selected jests. Though the Radical party has its own two jesters, it does not itself like jokes very much. And it may seem frivolous to range specimens of humour by the side of specimens of political philosophy and prophecy. My object, let me explain, is not only to excite the laughter of the world—there is a loftier

object in view. Enthusiastic Conservatives are never weary of asserting that Liberals cannot agree on any one subject. Behold the refutation of the calumny! Selected is a jest by each of the two Radical jesters. Verily, they have this essential quality in common. The naughty drollery of each depends upon alliteration, and upon alliteration alone. On the vexed question, therefore, of what is humour, the Radical jesters have arrived at an identical conclusion, and their unanimity is truly ridiculous.

At the end of the pamphlet, lest malignant Tories should sneeringly exclaim, "Oh! of course, the Radicals can say clever things; but where are their deeds?" I have shown concisely how the Radicals have, in fact and by deeds, vigorously and not ineffectually hampered every effort of the selfish Tories to maintain the honour and interests of these small islands, and to preserve the peace of Europe. It would be a grievous mistake to imagine that the only weapon of the Radicals has been an isolated phrase.

In several instances the wisdom of modern Radicals has been illustrated by a comparison of it with what Liberals of an earlier period and less enlightened men of the present time have said on the same subject. How prodigious is the contrast! What immense strides have been made in the science of political philosophy in the last few years! Poor Burke! mistaken Chatham! how

false were your conceptions—how injurious your practice! It is but within the last few years that (thanks be to thee, beautiful Birmingham) we have begun to emancipate ourselves from the debasing influence of that vulgar passion—Patriotism.

Ancient Radicals may resent the introduction of some sayings of Lord Derby. In truth, I hesitated long before admitting him into the company of Liberal worthies. I could not but remember the virulent abuse that was showered upon him by the Radical Press and by Radical speakers in 1876 and 1877. But an article in the "Spectator" finally dispelled my doubts. In that article a speech of Lord Derby's is characterised as "clear-cut." What this term may mean I know not; but every reverential reader of the "Spectator" will agree that it is used as an epithet of supreme praise, and conferred only on the very best of good Radicals. Lord Derby, therefore, has been formally recognised by the highest authority as a good Radical.

It is disappointing that the titular chiefs of the Opposition should contribute so few examples of novel wisdom. A careful study of Lord Granville's speeches has persuaded me that he has really said nothing which any sensible Liberal of the first fifty years of this century might not have said; and this, alas! is true of Lord Hartington's observations on Foreign Policy; though it is but fair to point out that on domestic ques-

tions he has said some notable sayings, which no sensible Liberal would ever have said before the Gladstonian era.

It is also a subject for regret that so many of the best sayings of our Radicals should have been suggested by Foreign Affairs. Would that they could have devoted their thoughts to larger and more grateful topics, such as Local Option, Vivisection, Anti-Vaccination, and the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. Would that they could have set class against class, have reviled the tyranny of the Church, and sung of the wrongs of gentle Dissent. Alas! they could not; for, Lord Beaconsfield in 1876 decided to re-open the Eastern Question, and since then has gratuitously kept it open. Since then, as the "Daily News" has this month observed with equal beauty and truth, "our history has been written in blood"; and the beneficent work of confiscation and disestablishment at home has been stayed.

CHAPTER I.

The Competence of Radical Politicians to deal with Foreign Affairs.

"Pericles, the great Athenian statesman, said with regard to women, their greatest merit was to be never heard of. Now what Pericles untruly said of women, I am very much disposed to say of Foreign Affairs—their great merit would be to be never heard of."

In Mr. Gladstone's Speech at West Calder, 27th Nov. 1879.

It is interesting to compare with the above words the following:—

"Mr. Gladstone evidently forgets that Foreign Affairs are simply the affairs of this country in foreign parts."

Mr. Disraeli, during General Election of 1874.

And

"Nothing could be foreign to us."

Mr. Cowen, in his speech at Newcastle, 31st Jan. 1880.

"I do not believe the Emperor of Russia is a man of aggressive schemes of policy. I have no fear myself of the territorial extensions of Russia in Asia—no fear of them whatever. I think such fears are only old women's fears."

The true character of Russia.

Gladstone, 27th Nov. 1879.

"The chronic fear of Russia arises from a long-held suspicion based upon a profound ignorance of all the facts of the case."

"One of the two causes why war was avoided last year was the moderation of Russia immediately after her triumph over Turkey."

"If Russia and England were as friendly as Russia always wished to be."

Three extracts from Mr. Bright's speech at Birmingham in the "Times" of 18th March 1879.

"Russia is the refuge of the afflicted, the protector of the unprotected, and the father of the fatherless."

Mr. Lowe, at Croydon, in the "Times" of 14th Sept. 1876.

The Ameer of Afghanistan at this time had evidently formed an erroneous estimate of Russia's character, for one of his reasons in declining an English Mission was that a "pretext might thereby be afforded to the Russians for deputing a similar mission to Cabul; that the circumstance of their having given assurances to the contrary would not

stop them; that the Russians broke treaties at pleasure, were very pushing in their policy, and feared no one; that the recent history of Europe showed that the English were unable to compel the Russians to adhere to treaties, and were equally impotent to arrest Russian aggression."

Perhaps he had been scared by the bogey of Peter the Great's Will, which contains the following advice:—

"Approach as near as possible to Constantinople and towards the Indies. He who reigns at Constantinople will be the real sovereign of the world, and with that object in view, provoke continual wars with Turkey and with Persia; establish dockyards in the Black sea; get possession of the shores of that sea as well as those of the Baltic, these two things being necessary for the ultimate success of our project; hasten the decadency of Persia; penetrate as far as the Persian Gulf; re-establish the former trade of the Levant by appropriating Syria; and, if possible, extend the power of Russia to the Indies, which are the emporium of the world."

Nor does Mr. Cowen agree with Mr. Lowe, for he describes Russia as a—

"Crushing and devouring despotism, which annihilated full fifty nationalities."

Their knowledge.

"I know nothing of scientific military frontiers."

Mr. Childers, in the "Times" of 28th Nov. 1878.

"It has always been said by our opponents that if Russia held a strong position at Merv —and I do not affirm or deny the statement, *for I have no particular information on the point*—that it would mean a most formidable state of things for British India. But so long as the late Government was in office there was no talk about Russia in Merv."

Mr. Gladstone. Speech in Buckinghamshire, in the "Times" of 23rd April 1879.

It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Gladstone that there was no talk about Russia in Merv, because Russia was not there or near there.

The occupation of Constantinople by the Russians is a matter of indifference to us, for, in Mr. Chamberlain's words in the "Times" of 1st May 1878,—

"Was it wise for them to go into panic like old women, even if Constantinople was occupied by the Russians?"

So, Mr. Forster is of opinion

"That it is not especially our business by English troops or English money to keep Russia out of Constantinople."

"Times," 7th Jan. 1878.

Compare with this what Mr. Cowen says:—

"If Russia obtained political supremacy on the other side of the Bosphorus, she could

close the canal and intercept our way to India by the Euphrates Valley. North of the Danube she was comparatively harmless, but with the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmora, and the Straits, she would have a position unequalled in the world for commerce and for war. This position was the key to Europe, one of the life-arteries, and its occupation by a conquering ambitious power would be a danger to England, to Europe, and to liberty."

The Duke of Argyll is of opinion that the advance of Russia in Central Asia need not frighten us ; for, as he says, "the danger which is inducing the Government to commit all those crimes and follies is a danger which need not frighten the dearest old woman in this city of Leeds." See "Times" of 15th Nov. 1879.

National prestige.

In his pamphlet entitled "Bulgarian Horrors," at p. 39, Mr. Gladstone treats of the Rejection of the Berlin Memorandum by our Government, and of the despatch of the British fleet to Besika Bay in May 1876, and says:—

> "Partisans exulted in a diplomatic victory, and in the increase of what is called our *prestige*,—the bane, in my opinion, of all upright politics."

As prestige is only what may be termed the efficient reputation of a country, the originality of his condemnation of it is remarkable. But, in his

article, "Germany, France, and England," in the "Edinburgh Review" for October 1870, he had expounded this novel doctrine at some length, and explained, in accordance with it, what should be the attitude and duties of England towards Europe. And during his last Ministry he conscientiously observed this doctrine in his foreign policy.

It is a testimony to its novelty that Lord Russell, in his "Recollections," wrote:—

> "The late Government, by their foreign policy, have tarnished the national honour, injured the national interests, and lowered the national character."

He was a very old man, and could not see its moral beauty. But Prince Bismark thoroughly appreciated it. He has said that if England had spoken out plainly, the Franco-German war might have been prevented, and "England counts for nothing. England will prate a little, and say a few big words, but that is all, so long as the present Administration (*i.e.* that of Mr. Gladstone) is in power." And at that time he gave it as his opinion that England was a "finished" power.

The value of India and our military dependencies.

> "You have Gibraltar, Malta; the Suez Canal, Perim, and Aden. You have all these stepping-stones to India, and you have India. But, excepting the thirty young gentlemen, who find places there every year, and a profit of ten million pounds, there is not a single

result which is beneficial to the thirty-four millions of the population of the United Kingdom."

Mr. Bright, at Birmingham, in the "Times" of 17th April 1879.

So that Mr. Bright is fully as aware of the worthlessness of prestige, and refuses to admit that we derive any sentimental disadvantage of that kind from our possession of India. No mention is made of the benefits which our rule has conferred on the peoples of India. No doubt a lofty disinclination to praise his own country is the cause of this silence.

Our Colonial Resources.

In the Queen's Speech, at the close of the Session of 1878, an allusion is made to the soldiers whom Canada had been ready to send to our aid when a war with Russia was probable.

Mr. Gladstone, in "England's Mission," in the "Nineteenth Century Review" for September 1878, p. 572, with instinctive right feeling, says:—

> "The vain-glorious boast which Ministers, aware that there could be no reply, have inserted in the speech of Her Majesty on the prorogation, as to aid which the Colonies would have given us in a war that might have been, can only excite ridicule,"

and,—

> "Ostentatious proclamation to the world of the military aid they are to give us is much

more likely to check than to develope any disposition of that kind, and savours strongly of an age of imposture."

Mr. Bright himself could not have denounced the insolent vulgarity of this boast more vigorously.

Our own Resources.

Lord Beaconsfield, speaking at the Guildhall, on the 9th November 1876, said that:—

"England was not a country that, when she enters into a campaign, has to ask herself whether she can support a second or third campaign. She enters into a campaign, which she will not terminate till right is done."

This boast, if boast it be, roused the noble indignation of Mr. Lowe. He severely censured it, at a length which forbids us from reproducing his words here, in a speech in the "Times" of 15th November 1876. He said it ought to make every Englishman blush to hear such a statement. And, in truth, the occasion when it was made aggravated its enormity tenfold. Once before, Russia had been led into a war with England from a mistaken estimate of the strength and determination of England. At this time Russia was not unlikely to make a similar mistake. Determined words and preparations for action could alone prevent it. Lord Beaconsfield used such words. They ought to make us blush, said Mr. Lowe.

The Intrepidity of the Radicals.

Tories sometimes covertly hint that the Radical

party is inclined to acquiesce in Russian aggression. Can any insinuation be more groundless? Why, in December 1878 Mr. Gladstone censured the Government for not having gone to war with Russia. He said :—

> "If Russia sent a mission to Cabul, why have we not called Russia to account?"

Can it be, then, that Mr. Bright for a moment forgot that Mr. Gladstone was not in the Cabinet, when he said soon afterwards:—

> "You have a Government that would lead this Christian nation into a sanguinary, murderous contest over two great continents of the globe."

Mr. Freeman's exclamation at St. James' Hall on 9th Dec. 1876, "Perish our dominion in India, rather than that we should strike a blow in such a cause as that of the Porte," was sufficiently dashing; while for calm disregard of probable and terrible consequences the following sentence of Mr. Gladstone's cannot be surpassed :—

> "My purpose," he said, "has been for the last eighteen months, day and night, week by week, and month by month, to counterwork what I believe to be the purpose of Lord Beaconsfield."
>
> At Oxford, 31st Jan. 1878.

The victorious troops of Russia were at that time camping by the walls of Constantinople. But

for the fear that their entry into the city would lead to a war with England, they would at once have entered into it. It was the avowed and fixed policy of Lord Beaconsfield to keep the Russians out of Constantinople, and to treat their entry into it as a cause of war. The leader of the Radical party, who loudly boasted at that time that he spoke the voice of the majority of the nation, thus declared his persistent opposition to this policy of Lord Beaconsfield. Was it Mr. Gladstone's fault that war did not ensue ?

Their future Foreign Policy.

"I hope that if a Liberal Ministry comes by and by into office, it will have the courage to put an end to that stupid Convention which obliges us, under certain circumstances, to defend Turkey ; to give up Cyprus, or hand it over to Greece ; to withdraw from financial interference in Egypt in the interest of bondholders at the expense of the poor miserable population of that country; to abandon projects of aggression both in Asia and Africa ; and to concentrate the attention of the British people upon their own industrial progress and moral improvement."

Mr. Baxter, in "Times" of 26th Sept. 1879.

Their Caution.

In the Debate on the "Royal Titles" Bill, Mr. Lowe argued that it was inexpedient to take a

territorial title from India, as we might lose our Empire there, and added :—

"Most of us remember how very near we were losing India some twenty years ago."

Their Popularity in Russia.

"No doubt the Russians would gladly see a change in the position of parties in England."

"Russia and England," by O. K., p. 278.

"Mr. Gladstone, the only foreign statesman whom the Russians had regarded with confidence and esteem."

"Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, Mr. Freeman, the Duke of Argyll, whose names will ever be precious to us."

Ibid. p. 268.

O. K., the writer of these remarks, is a Russian lady, the sister of General Kireéff, an officer on the Staff of the Grand Duke Constantine.

The Tory Government has obstinately refused to carry out the views of foreign policy embodied in the preceding extracts. It has, on the contrary, clung with superstitious devotion to the traditional policy of Great Britain ; its selfish aim has been to maintain her honour and interests. Moreover, it has been successful, and has thus committed that which, in the case of Tories, is the one unpardonable offence. Were Radicals to assist the Govern-

ment in carrying out this policy, or even to look tranquilly on its execution? Good heavens! no. It is the bounden duty of all good Radicals at all times, and under all circumstances, to thwart a Tory policy and vilify Tory statesmen. The following gems will give a feeble idea of the gusto with which they have fulfilled this duty.

Their powers of Abuse.

"The honour of the British name, which in the deplorable events of the year has been more gravely compromised than I have known it to be at any former period."

Mr. Gladstone in "Bulgarian Horrors," pp. 49 and 50.

"The crimes, the follies, the cruelties of the Government."

Sir W. Lawson in the "Times" of 18th Oct. 1878.

"The Government can never open its lips without making statements full of the most gross inaccuracies. . . . The Afghan War was entirely due to the violence and the deceit of the British Government."

Duke of Argyll in the "Times" of 15th November 1879.

"The policy of the Government was a wicked one."

Mr. Chamberlain in the "Times" of 17th April 1879.

"The invasion of Zululand has been brought about by the most treacherous and the meanest devices on our part, and the brutality and injustice of it are perfectly appalling."

Sir W. Lawson, at Cockermouth, 16th April 1879.

"The Afghan War had begun in treachery of the basest kind, and no words were strong enough to describe the atrocities that were going on there."

Sir W. Lawson, at Deerham, 16th June 1879.

"The Afghan War was the most atrocious massacring of human beings that ever was heard of."

Sir W. Lawson, at Cockermouth, 16th April 1879.

On the 2nd of December 1878 Mr. Gladstone said:—

"Our opponents, whom I like also to call our friends, for political opposition ought not to interfere with personal respect."

It will therefore, perhaps, not be considered a waste of time to see how the Radicals display their personal respect for their "friends." Their first love seems to have been Lord Derby. Of him we find Mr. Chamberlain, on the 23rd of October 1876, speaking as follows:—

"The possibility of impending war was dis-

tinctly due to the obstinate adherence of Lord Derby to the antiquated traditions of diplomacy."

Mr. Shaw Lefevre, in a speech in the "Times" of 2nd November 1876, pleasantly described him as—

> "Without any generous sympathies for anything, always ready with his blanket to extinguish any enthusiasm, and always ready with objections to any course."

And Mr. E. A. Freeman, in the "Times" of 10th October 1876, averred that—

> "The Lord Derby of 1876 was the Lord Stanley of 1866 and 1867, who, by a stroke of his pen, handed over the Christians of Crete to their Turkish tyrants."

And Mr. Mundella, with his analytical power, characterised him, in a speech in the "Times" of 3rd September 1876—

> "As a man of rather a glacial temperament, cold, and phlegmatic; his blood was very sluggish, and his sympathies were not easily excited; he always saw one thousand reasons why nothing should be done, and why everything should remain as it was."

Is it the same Mr. Mundella who, on the 13th of March 1880, said that he believed "Lord Derby would play a distinguished part in the Liberal politics of the country"?

Strange to say, in the spring of 1878, their affection for Lord Derby cooled, and they became passionately enamoured of Lord Cranbrook. Thus, we find them speaking of his despatch of the 18th November 1878, in the following terms:—

> "I unhesitatingly say the narrative I have read to you is incomplete, incorrect, misleading, and disingenuous. If I were in the habit of using the Prime Minister's language, I should attach to it a still stronger epithet."
>
> "Was there ever, in diplomatic history, a mis-statement so flagrant as that which the Government has published in the newspapers?"
>
> Mr. Childers, "Times," 28th Nov. 1879.

Next, Lord Salisbury is described as—

> "A man who has prostrated his intellect in the hope of purchasing a succession which may never come."
>
> Mr. Bright, in the "Times" of 27th Oct. 1879.

And, again,—

> "But what did Lord Salisbury do? At the very first he directed the Indian Government to practice deceit towards the Ameer."
>
> Duke of Argyll, in the "Times" of 15th Nov. 1879.

While the "gay wisdom" of Sir W. Lawson thus described the Prime Minister:—

> "Lord Beaconsfield is ten times worse than Ahab ever was."
>
> 16th April 1879.

After this we are not surprised to find Mr. Chamberlain comparing the Cabinet to the "Long Firm"—a notorious gang of swindlers—or, finally, Mr. Bright with comprehensive charity exclaiming:—

> "And yet, Sir, there were criminals at head-quarters, and there were fools and imbeciles among the people, and there was baseness enough among the proprietors and writers of some newspapers—there was all this to give for a time a semblance of popularity to a madness and guilt such as I have described."
>
> In the "Times" of the 27th Oct. 1879.

Well may Mr. Gladstone ask:—

> "Why has the country been flooded with controversy of a more violent, and I am sorry to say, of a more gross character than is known to the annals of our political controversy?"
>
> In the "Times" of 31st Jan. 1878.

He forgets that,

"We are party men first and last on all questions."

Sir William Harcourt, 7th Oct. 1878.

CHAPTER II.

The Competence of Radical Politicians to deal with Domestic Affairs.

"The interests we have harassed I would harass still." Their Policy in the Future.

Mr. Lowe in the "Times" of 5th Nov. 1879.

This is pleasant intelligence for officers in the Army and Navy, Civil Servants, Dockyard Labourers, Licensed Victuallers, Clergy of Churches to be disestablished, owners of lands to be confiscated, beneficiaries of endowments,—in a word, for the community at large.

"When the time comes, as I have said it may come, that Scotch opinion shall be fully formed upon the subject" (*i.e.* Disestablishment of the Scotch Church) "the Liberal party in England will do its best to give effect to that Scotch opinion, without undue consideration Their Capacity to lead the Nation.

being given to any other circumstances connected with the question."

Lord Hartington, at Edinburgh, in the "Times" of 7th Nov. 1877.

The meaning of which is, that when it is clear that a majority of the Scotch electors are in favour of either retaining or disestablishing their State Church, the Liberal party will eagerly carry out their manifest desires. And this it will do, whether it is in favour of such a course or not, and with a thorough disregard of whether such a course will be favourable or unfavourable to the State Church of England. It is only provoking that the complaisance of the Liberal party should not more quickly lead to a decisive expression of opinion on the part of the Scotch Electors, so that Lord Hartington might be able to carry out at once what Lord Derby has called "the instructions of his employers."

"I, Gentlemen, have very little to say upon the question of the Disestablishment of the Church at this moment, because you are substantially in possession of my opinions. The opinion I have indicated is perfectly transparent. I do not think it is a question for me to determine, so much as it is for the people of Scotland."

Mr. Gladstone at Dalkeith, 26th Nov. 1879.

A truly marvellous instance of self-restraint. For Mr. Gladstone must have had a great deal to say on this question. His book on the connection between Church and State was his first contribution to political knowledge ; his Disestablishment of the Irish Church is his most destructive piece of legislation. He is not unfamiliar with the religious controversies of Scotland. He must, then, have made up his mind and come to the conclusion that the Disestablishment of the Scotch Church would be either beneficial or injurious to Scotland. Yet, without a word of impertinent advice, such as statesmen have heretofore given on such grave matters, he leaves the question to the unaided judgments of the "people of Scotland."

Practical Hints to Agitators.

In 1865 Mr. Gladstone said that the Disestablishment of the Irish Church was not a question of practical politics. In 1868 he proposed Resolutions to the House of Commons in favour of its Disestablishment. What brought the question into the range of practical politics? He has very candidly told us this himself:—

> "When it came to this—that a great jail in the heart of the Metropolis was broken open under circumstances which drew the attention of the English people to the state of Ireland, and when in Manchester policemen were murdered in the execution of their duty, at once the whole country became alive to Irish questions; and the question

of the Irish Church revived. It came within the range of practical politics. I myself took it up, and proposed Resolutions to the House of Commons declaring that the Irish Church ought no longer to exist as an Establishment."

In Mr. Gladstone's speech at Dalkeith, 26th Nov. 1879.

Encouragement to Confiscators.

Proposals have been made to cut up the land of the United Kingdom into a multitude of small properties. Far be it from Mr. Gladstone to discourage their authors, for,

"To a proposal of that kind, I for one am not going to object upon the ground that it would be inconsistent with the privileges of landed proprietors. . . . The State is perfectly entitled, if it please, to buy out the landed proprietors as it may think fit for the purpose of dividing the property into small lots."

In Mr. Gladstone's speech at Dalkelth, 26th Nov. 1879.

"There is no democrat, there is no agitator, there is no propounder of anti-rent doctrines, whatever mischief he may do, who can compare in mischief with Her Majesty's Government."

In Mr. Gladstone's speech at Glasgow, 5th Dec. 1879.

Writing in the "Nineteenth Century" for August 1879, p. 206, he declares:— Mr. Gladstone and Obstruction.

> "It is too true, indeed, that the House of Commons is fast becoming incapable of the due and sufficient discharge of its functions. If those who have had the main share in bringing about this state of things are mainly to bear the brand of obstruction, then, I apprehend, there is no doubt that at this hour the chief obstructionists are the Government."

A new Principle of Representation.

> "It is thus recognised that nearness (to the seat of government) is a reason for having a more limited number of members, and consequently that distance from the seat of government constitutes a claim for a larger number of members than the population warrants."
>
> In Mr. Gladstone's speech at Dalkeith, 26th Nov. 1879.

We cannot helf suspecting that the statement that this principle was a "recognised" one, is a fine example of Mr. Gladstone's modesty. Surely, this principle is not recognised, and never had been dreamed of until it entered into his receptive brain. But when once stated it has the simple cogency of all great truths. Of course, populations furthest from the seat of government ought to have the most members, for in all probability they know less about the course of events than those

nearer to London. They are, too, further renoved from the corrupting influence of the educated classes and the clever metropolitan press. How well, moreover, the principle would work. It would enable Scotland to return so many more safe and silent Radicals. How eagerly will the dwellers in Paris and Rome accept this novel dogma!

Their Love of Country.

"But while we have been advancing with this portentous rapidity, America is passing us by in a canter."

Mr. Gladstone's "Kin Beyond Sea," in the "North American Review."

"With us America is always understood to mean North America, and rather especially the United States, than the portion of it which is still dependent upon the British Crown"

Mr. Bright, at Rochdale.

"The United States would make fifteen times France, it would made twelve times Germany, and it would make twenty-five imes Great Britain and Ireland. That is an astonding fact . . . We have colonies, vast possessions in Canada, in Australia, in India, and in South Africa, where nobody yet knows how much. But you must remember that all these territories in Canada, in Australia, in India, and in South Africa are neither in men nor in money in the way of revenue any

strength to the people in the United Kingdom. On the contrary they are continually drawing from our resources."

"There is no doubt there is a great difference between the United States and these in Europe, with the exception of one great country, and that is France. I believe what he (Mr. Potter) says that he only saw four drunken people in America. Well, but he saw no Emperor. He did not see an Emperor or an Empress, or Kings or Queens, or Imperial or Royal Princes or Princesses. Those great dignitaries to whom we pay so great, and often so deserved, respect are not to be found in that country."

At Rochdale, in the "Times" of 19th Sept. 1879.

What could Lord Palmerston have meant when he said that he would never offer office to Mr. Bright because "he had not the slightest feeling of an Englishman about him?"

Domestic Policy of the Present Government.

"We have, in point of fact, not one single measure to point to which has been the result of the deliberations of the present Administration."

Mr. Bright, at Birmingham, in the "Times" of 17th April 1879.

"There is no domestic policy in this country now. Under the auspices of the

present Administration domestic legislation and the care of our own people have well-nigh ceased to exist."

Sir W. Harcourt, at Oxford, in the "Times" of 15th Jan. 1879.

Yet the present Administration has introduced social reforms into every part of English society, by the following Acts :—

The Factory and Workshop,
Public Health,
Pollution of Rivers,
Artisans and Labourers' Dwellings,
Friendly Societies,
Employers and Workmen,
Agricultural Holdings,
Contagious Diseases (Animals),
Intermediate Education } in Ireland,
University Education }
Unseaworthy Ships,
Army Discipline,
English Universities,
Prisons, and
Relief of Distress in Ireland Acts,
&c. &c. &c.

And has now in hand—
Criminal Code,
Bankruptcy,
Reform of the Land Laws Bills,
and other useful measures.

Superficial readers may find it difficult at first to reconcile the Radical statements with this list of actual Tory measures. But the explanation of this merely apparent inconsistency is obvious. These measures have provoked no bitter opposition, and excited no class or sectarian jealousies. They have injured no profession—no trade. They have merely done good in a quiet way. They have inflicted no wrongs in a violent way. Therefore, of course, they do not represent a domestic policy. A domestic policy, to be worthy of its name, must necessarily involve the destruction of some institution, the confiscation of some property, or a diminution of the rights, and an interference with the interests, of some church, class, or trade. It must be drastic ; it must be opposed to the desires of a large portion of the electors ; its merit rises in proportion to its violence and to its unpopularity; and if only a casual combination of Welsh, Scotch, and Irish voters can swamp the votes of an enthusiastic majority of the people of England, and force a measure, which affects England alone, upon an indignant England,—that, indeed, is heroic legislation, and its author, in truth, an inspired statesmen.

CHAPTER III.

The Political Foresight of Radicals.



"All politics consist in a foresight of what is likely to occur, and he who foresees most truly is the best politician."

Sir W. Harcourt, in the "Times" of 3rd Oct. 1879.

"Trade is most nearly affected by foreign politics; and the Government have so disturbed foreign politics that trade has but little chance of revival."

Sir W. Harcourt, in 1879.

Sir W. Harcourt notwithstanding, the Board of Trade Returns for the months of January and February 1880 conclusively show that trade has revived. The following is the value of the exports

and imports of those two months, as compared with a similar period in the years 1878 and 1879.

	1880.	1879.	1878.
Exports .	33,417,000 ;	26,909,000 ;	30,320,000
Imports .	65,618,000 ;	55,028,000 ;	62,785,000

Moreover, the London Clearing House returns show that the bills and cheques cleared during the week ending the 12th of March last, amounted to £94,232,000, being an increase upon the corresponding period of last year of £16,672,000.

The same seer has also spoken as follows :

> "It cannot be, indeed, it is not disputed, that the Indian revenue is inadequate to its expenditure. The delusion that India is a wealthy country of boundless resources is for ever dispelled. Triumphing over the infirmities of nature by his almost unexampled efforts, Mr. Fawcett has exposed the delusiveness of Indian budgets."

On the 22nd of February 1880, Sir J. Strachey announced that the Indian Government, after paying £3,200,000 towards the expenses of the Afghan War, and £1,670,000 for frontier railways, had a surplus of £119,000.

> "I will only say that it is she (America) alone who, at a coming time, can, and probably will, wrest from us that commercial

supremacy. We have no title ; I have no inclination to murmur at this prospect. If she acquires it, she will make the acquisition by the right of the strongest ; but in this instance the strongest means the best. She will, probably, become what we are now, the head-servant in the great household of the world, the employer of all employed ; because her service will be the most and ablest. We have no more title against her than Venice, or Genoa, or Holland, has had against us."

From "Kin beyond Sea," an article by Mr. Gladstone, appropriately published in the "North American Review."

Mr. Mundella, in a speech in the "Times" of 31st August 1876, said:—

Mr. Disraeli had effaced himself by taking another name. . . ."

And, in a speech at Sheffield, in the "Times" of 5th September 1876:—

"He believed the end was drawing nigh, and that Mr. Disraeli's elevation to the Peerage was but the prelude to the decline and fall of that invertebrate Toryism which had been so injurious to the best interests of the country."

But Lord Beaconsfield and Toryism, "invertebrate," or otherwise, still, alas! survive.

Sir W. Harcourt, in his speech at Oxford, in the "Times" of 13th January 1879, said:—

> "Suppose the Roumelians have an unconquerable aversion to the form of government which Lord Beaconsfield has so kindly provided for them, what will happen then? They may resist, and then you will have another Servian or Bulgarian war, with all the amenities which belong to the hostilities of those climes."

Unfulfilled.

> "The Eastern Roumelia of Berlin is just one of those ingenious pieces of political clockwork, which have every merit except that they will not go."

Proved to be false: the "clock-work" has gone and is going.

> "I do not believe the Treaty of Berlin to be a settlement of peace . . . . . They have given to this people a peace which is no peace."

As yet, shown to be false.

> "We frame a constitution to satisfy the population, and then we find we must send an army to cram it down their throats."

Sir W. Harcourt was here alluding to the joint military occupation of Eastern Roumelia, which he then thought would be necessary.

This has been proved to be false.

> "I do not wonder that the Government should shrink from the name of a dissolution with which they were once so fond of menacing us. No, sir, they will not dissolve, but they will be dissolved."

Proved to be false.

Sir W. Harcourt, in his speech at Sheffield, in the "Times" of 17th April 1879:—

> "Everyone knows that the Treaty of Berlin is unworkable, and that something else must be devised to take its place . . . the Treaty of Berlin has failed, and will fail.

Not fulfilled as yet.

> "And so, I suppose, the conflict of races (in Roumelia) is to begin in about a fortnight hence."

It did not, and has not yet begun.

Two Jests.

As Sir William Harcourt's predictions and jests are of the same quality, it is not really incongruous to quote here the following sentence, which is reported to be his most refined effort of humour:—

> "The system of the present Government which has brought us nothing but danger,

debt, disaster, distrust, disquiet, and distress." (Loud laughter and cheers.)

In Sir W. Harcourt's speech at Sheffield, in the "Times" of 17th April 1879.

In the next jest it will be observed that Sir W. Lawson has not quite an equal command of alliterative words; but it is a praiseworthy attempt:—

"The policy of the Government is a policy of blood and bluster, brag and bounce." (Much laughter and cheers.)

Sir W. Lawson.

Poor Mr. Disraeli, who has no sense of humour, actually said, in a debate on the Reform Bill of 1860:—

"Alliteration tickles the ear, and is a very popular form of language among savages."

CONCLUSION.

THE foregoing extracts, to some extent, show the zeal and ability with which the most conspicuous Radicals have, by words, laboured to accomplish that which is the highest aim of modern Radicalism —the discomfiture of their English opponents. But in order to appreciate fully their efforts to achieve this end, it is necessary to allude to the general course of their arguments and to their acts.

When the invasion of Turkey by Russia took place, an overwhelming majority of Englishmen of all parties, were resolved to support the Government in defending certain clearly defined English and European interests against the aggression of Russia. It was plain that Russia would in all probability attack these interests, if she thought that she could do so with impunity. It was plain that she would not attack them, if she was persuaded that England was, as a nation, willing and prepared

to fight in their defence. The Radical politicians must have been aware of both these facts. Our Government proposed successive measures of military preparation, which were clearly necessary to secure these interests against attack, and so to preserve the peace of Europe. Yet these Radicals deliberately and bitterly opposed the adoption of each one of these measures, loudly boasting on each occasion that now they had the nation at their back. They opposed the vote for the £6,000,000, and were beaten by 328 votes to 120; they opposed the calling out of the Reserves, and were beaten by 310 votes to 64. In a minority of 126, they protested against the despatch of the Indian troops to Malta, as against a majority of 226; and they sought to censure the Anglo-Turkish Convention, and were defeated by 338 votes to 195. All, therefore, that they could do, by open opposition in Parliament, they did, to embarrass the Government, and to make the enemies of European peace think that the Government was not supported by the nation. Nay, they did more. With the same lofty ambition to embarrass the Tories, they have studiously, from time to time, consciously or unconsciously, misrepresented the question at issue, and, in effect, deceived a portion of the English people. Thus, from the outbreak of the insurrection in the Herzegovina to the Treaty of Berlin, they persistently maintained that the Eastern Question was the question simply of the condi-

tion of the Christian subjects of the Porte. During that time they maintained that Russia was an unselfish and beneficent Power, and ignored or denied the interests of Great Britain in the distribution of power in the south-east of Europe and Asia Minor. By these contentions they unquestionably encouraged, if they did not enable, Russia to fight the War with Turkey. At the conclusion of the War these Radicals, in their anxiety that harsh terms should be imposed upon Turkey, were content that the Treaty should be dictated by Russia to Turkey, and discouraged the interference of Europe in the settlement of its terms. Incidentally, they thereby did what they could to weaken the binding force of existing treaties, and to discredit the concert of the Great Powers.

In reference to the Central Asian policy of our Government, they have hardly ever mentioned the encroachments of Russia in those regions. To have done so might have helped rather than have injured the Government of their country. And this reflection helps us to realise how completely these Radicals have given themselves up to the one task of discrediting the Tory Government. What it did might be right and patriotic: what matter? The Government that did it was Tory. In their execution of this task they have risen superior to obsolete notions of patriotism, and cast off all narrow prejudices in favour of their country

and their fellow-countrymen. There is no savage tribe, no nationality, which is being forced into an artificial life, of whose supposed interests they have not been more careful than of the historic fame of Great Britain. To the members of her Government they have persistently attributed motiveless greed, purposeless cruelty, gratuitous mendacity. On no occasion have they made allowance for its manifold difficulties; on no occasion, until after the elections at Liverpool and Southwark, have they cordially helped to remove them. They have evinced a malicious zeal in attacking servants of the Crown in all parts of the world, who have been simply executing, amidst aggravated difficulties, the policy of the Queen. And not a few of them have displayed an astonishing alacrity to impugn the humanity of English officers in the field, and have been more eager to accuse English soldiers, while engaged in war, of some crime or weakness, than to recognise their bravery and their discipline.

By these courses of conduct the Radicals have, without doubt, from time to time weakened the influence of England throughout the world, and impaired the vigour of her policy. Shall we now reward this conduct by surrendering into their hands the government of the British Empire?

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COERCIVE MEASURES

IN

IRELAND,

1830-1880.

BY

I. S. LEADAM, M.A.,

LATE FELLOW OF BRASENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD; BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

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1830—1880.

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PREFACE.

The following is a brief relation of measures passed for the prevention and coercion of crime and disturbance in Ireland during the last fifty years. It is not written to maintain a thesis nor to establish foregone conclusions. It aims at being an impartial inquiry, by means of statistics, into the effects of the more rigorous of the repressive measures which have been enforced during the period investigated. The writer is fully conscious of the large margin of uncertainty which any results arrived at will leave. There are, of course, besides Coercion Acts, many concurrent conditions affecting crime in its increase or diminution; such, for example, as the expansions and contractions of commerce, the returns of agriculture and the extension of education. But it was necessary, both for fear of overburdening the reader with detail, and because time and space were under imperative limitations, to adopt some narrower restrictions. The statistics to which it has, therefore, been judged advisable to confine research are those of pauperism; of its offspring, crime; of the population, and of the repressive forces in the shape of the constabulary. Under the statistics of crime have been comprised the number of committals as distinct from the number of convictions, a very instructive gauge of the popular temper; and the proportion of those convictions to the population. In order to assist the reader in estimating the character of the statutes for the pacification of Ireland, an appendix is attached with an abstract of their material contents. The list of statutes is an index by which the condition of the country may be estimated at a glance. The statutes now in force are also collected and classified.

December 14*th*, 1880.

COERCIVE MEASURES IN IRELAND.

1830—1880.

An enquiry into the effect of coercive measures in Ireland must, if it is to serve any useful purpose, embrace the experience of a considerable number of years. But, since normal legality and coercive legislation are as light to shade, the latter cannot be appreciated where it is found for a length of time exclusively dominant. During the thirty-five years which preceded Catholic emancipation the ordinary laws of a peaceful country were almost uninterruptedly superseded by a course of exceptional measures. Whether such legislation was, or was not, justified by circumstances is no object of this enquiry. Yet the fact remains that, putting aside such preventive Acts as those prohibiting the importation of arms and gunpowder, between 1796 and 1825 Ireland was administered upon a coercive system. The following schedule will sufficiently exhibit the character of the statutes passed during those years:—

Year.	Coercive Legislation.
1796—1802	Insurrection Act.
1797—1802	Habeas Corpus suspended.
1803—1805	Martial Law.
1803—1806	Habeas Corpus suspended.
1807—1810	Insurrection Act.
1814—1818	Insurrection Act.
1822—1823	Insurrection Act.
1822—1823	Habeas Corpus suspended.
1823—1825	Insurrection Act.

Sir Robert Peel had, therefore, just ground for his statement in the course of the debate on Catholic Emancipation (1829) that "for scarcely a year during the period that has elapsed since the Union has Ireland been governed by the ordinary course of law."

The morrow of Catholic Emancipation is accordingly a fitting date for the beginning of this enquiry. That measure marks a new departure in the method of Irish Government. Tranquillity was, it had been supposed, at length ensured to the country. The priests, it was remarked in 1830, were now for the first time energetic in exhorting their flocks to loyalty and

1830 contentment. Unhappily, unfavourable crops had already produced distress. On the 9th of July, 1830, Earl Stanhope presented a petition in the House of Lords which was in these words: "Your petitioners, being most anxious that the horrors and calamities of actual famine with which Ireland appears to be menaced, may be averted, earnestly entreat your Lordships to take the subject into your most serious consideration."[1] Distress was accompanied by riot, and on July 16 was passed an Arms Act which, though objected to in the House of Lords as vexatious and oppressive, was really rather in the nature of prevention than of coercion, and was defended by the Duke of Wellington as a mere continuance Act of that of 1797. It was intended to be in force for one year only. But the condition of affairs continued to increase in gravity, especially in the West. It was stated in February in the House of Commons that "many thousand persons on the western coast of Ireland were in a state of starvation which they expected would overwhelm them before the end of the month."

Nor was famine alone at work. "The southern counties had become equally unsafe for property and for life. The peasantry set up their own uncontrolled law of force. In the counties of Clare, Roscommon, Galway, and Tipperary, the law seemed no longer to exist. Murder, robbery, searchings for arms—these things, too, done by bodies of men who could be met only by military force—were the ordinary occurrences."[1] The county of Kilkenny was disgraced by some atrocious assassinations of police. The Government had done something towards stemming the distress. Lord Althorp had proposed a vote of £50,000 to be expended in public works. It was hoped that disorder would not attain such dimensions as to necessitate exceptional
1831. legislation. The King's Speech on June 21st, 1831, after an observation upon the distress in the West, and the measures which had been taken for its relief, proceeds:—"In the county of Clare, and in the adjoining parts of Roscommon and Galway, a system of violence and outrage had for some time been carried to an alarming extent, for the repression of which the constitutional authority of the law has been vigorously and successfully exerted. By these means the necessity of enacting new laws to strengthen the Executive Government with further powers will, I trust, be prevented."[2] The hopes of the

[1] Hansard, July 9, 1830. [2] See Append. B. (1) p. 36, and C. (1) p. 38.
[3] "Annual Register," 1831, p.p. [300], [324]. [4] Hansard, June 21, 1831.

Government were, however, not destined to be fulfilled. Ireland in addition to distress, was convulsed by religious animosities, excited by the exaction of the tithes for the support of the Established Church. A petition read in the House of Lords[1] complained "that there existed in Ireland a systematic opposition to the payment of tithes, and that it was impossible for the incumbents to collect them without having resource to the aid of the constabulary or military power." This "systematic opposition" took the form of organised intimidation, and, disorder growing daily, the Government found it necessary to introduce a Bill "to prevent and punish these tumultuary risings," commonly called "The Whiteboy Act."[2] The Act, though it repealed the punishment of death in certain cases, was nevertheless a penal statute. It enacted transportation or imprisonment as the punishment for the offence of inducing persons by menaces to quit their holdings or employments, for injuring property, carrying away horses, sending threatening letters or notices, breaking gaols, rescuing prisoners, or abetting any such offences. It further gave the court power to remove convicted prisoners from the country. The statute, it will be seen, aimed at the suppression of roving bands of lawbreakers, and is not oppressive to innocent individuals. But it was not thought sufficient. On the 2nd July, 1831, Mr. Stanley introduced an Arms Bill, generally called "Stanley's Arms Act."[3] This Bill embodied some very stringent penalties, one of which was that of transportation for seven years upon being found in the possession of unregistered arms. Its severity was in this and other particulars subsequently modified, and it received the Royal assent on the same day as the Whiteboy Act. 1831.

In spite of these measures, the agitation against tithes increased in violence and extent. Lord Melbourne in the debate on the Address (December 15, 1831), adverting to the condition of Ireland, declared that "in the Queen's County, as well as in parts adjacent, it is in vain that any attempt is made on the part of the clergy to recover tithes—it is in vain that they distrain, for no goods seized under a distress can be sold." The established clergy were in consequence reduced to severe want. "If any resident, pressed by his pastor, or by conscience, or fear of the law, paid the smallest amount of tithe in the most secret manner, his cattle were houghed in the night, or his house was

[1] Hansard, July 13, 1831. [2] See Append B (2) p. 36, and C (2) p. 39.
[3] See Append. B (3) p. 36, and C (3) p. 40.

1831. burnt over his head, or his flock of sheep was hunted over a precipice and lay a crushed heap in the morning. Captures, special commissions, and trials were useless. Witnesses dared not give evidence; jurors dared not attend."[1] The Queen's County enjoyed an evil pre-eminence in outrage. The member for that county (Sir Henry Parnell) stated that "a confederacy prevailed among the lower orders which enabled them to set at defiance the laws which were passed for the general protection of the community. He was informed that houses were frequently attacked by armed parties in the open day. He was also informed that the reign of terror made it impossible to obtain a conviction against these marauders when brought to trial. He trusted that something would be done to restore peace and security. The magistrates were of opinion that the Insurrection Act should be renewed." Mr. Stanley, on the part of the Government, "regretted that under all the circumstances, he could not comply with the prayer of the magistracy of the Queen's County for the renewal of the Insurrection Act. At the same time he felt it necessary to assure them that every possible assistance by means of the police or otherwise, would be afforded them by His Majesty's Government."[1] On the 23rd of May, Sir Henry Parnell, supported, as he had been on the last occasion, by his colleague for the county, Sir Charles Coote, again called attention to the Queen's County, which he spoke of as being in a state of "frightful disturbance," and moved for a "Select Committee to inquire into the general efficiency of the law in repressing disturbances" of the nature he had described. The report of
1832. this Committee, dated August 2, 1832, after observing upon the improvement in the state of Ireland which had recently taken place, suggested certain measures which, "without being in any degree a departure from the principles of the Constitution would enable the Executive Government to put into force the administration of justice more speedily and at a less expense than can be done at present." They then "beg to remark that although it is quite true, as has been stated by the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in his charge to the grand jury of the Queen's County, that the ordinary and regular laws have been found sufficient to put down the various Whiteboy associations which have from time to time existed, it is equally true that in every instance every association has made itself complete master of the county where

[1] Martineau's "History of the Peace," II., 111.
[2] Hansard, March 31, 1832.

it has been formed, and committed all kinds of crimes and 1832.
enormities with impunity for a considerable period before the enforcement of the powers of the law has produced a remedy."[1] Special commissions were, in the judgment of the Committee, too dilatory and cumbrous. They recommended, instead, that the Lord Lieutenant should be empowered, on occasion, to issue his warrant for the special assembling of the Court of Quarter Sessions, which should try Whiteboy and similar offences and continue sitting by adjournments until tranquillity should be established. The Committee also recommended the suppression of nocturnal meetings and the visitation of houses at night for the purpose of detecting those absent on illicit purposes. The Coercion Act of the year 1833 was founded upon these recom- 1833.
mendations. The King's Speech on February 5, 1833, acknowledged the inefficiency of the measures which had been taken for the pacification of Ireland. "The disturbances in Ireland," it ran, "have greatly increased. A spirit of insubordination and violence has risen to the most fearful height, rendering life and property insecure, defying the authority of the law, and threatening the most fatal consequences if not promptly and effectually suppressed."[2] The necessity for some amendment in the condition of Irish affairs was unquestionable. In the debate upon the Address, Mr. Stanley said that "the record of the crimes perpetrated in Ireland would almost surpass belief. He would enumerate a few of the principal crimes which had been committed in Kilkenny and Queen's County during the last twelve months. In Kilkenny alone during that period there had been 32 murders and attempts at murder; 34 burnings of houses; 519 burglaries; 36 houghings of cattle; and 178 assaults of such a ture as to be attended with danger of loss of life. In Queen's County during the same period the number of murders was still greater—viz., 60; of burglaries and nightly attacks on houses there had been 626; of malicious injuries to property, 115; and of serious assaults on individuals, 209." This list, formidable as it was, contained "only the crimes of which notice had been given to the police; which, in fact, constituted but a small portion of the offences really committed."[3] Accordingly, on the 15th February, 1833,

[1] Report of the Special Committee of the House of Commons on the State of Ireland, August 2, 1832.

[2] Hansard, February 5, 1833. [3] Ibid., February 5, 1833.

1833. the Prime Minister, Earl Grey, introduced into the House of Lords a bill "for the more effectual suppression of local disturbances and dangerous associations in Ireland," commonly called "the Coercion Bill." In introducing the Bill Lord Grey gave a description of the state of Ireland. "The disturbers," he said,[1] "prescribed the terms on which land should be let, and any who disobeyed their orders were subject to have their property destroyed or be put to death. They dictated what persons should employ and be employed, forbidding labourers to work for obnoxious masters, and preventing a master from employing such as were not obedient to their orders. . . . The catalogue of Irish crime during last year contained 172 homicides, 465 robberies, 568 burglaries, 455 acts of houghing of cattle, 2,095 illegal notices, 425 illegal meetings, 796 malicious injuries to property, 753 attacks on houses, 280 arsons, 3,156 serious assaults. The aggregate of crimes of every description during the year connected with the disturbed state of the country amounted to upwards of 9,000, and it was on the increase. In the province of Leinster the number of crimes during the months of July, August, and September, had been 1,279; in the three following months it had risen to 1,646. There was a system of general demoralisation such as never before existed in a country calling itself civilised."

Lord Althorp, upon the introduction of the Bill into the House of Commons, entered into further details.[2] "During the last year the number of murders, or of attempts to murder, within the single province of Leinster has been 163 of robberies, 387; of burglaries, 1,823; of burnings, 194; of houghing cattle, 70; of serious assaults, 744; of illegal notices, 913; and of wilful and malicious injuries to property, 407. If we compare that statement with the account of preceding years, the matter will stand thus:—In the three last months of 1829 the number of murders was 10; in the corresponding months of 1830 it was 15; in those of 1831 it was 47; and in those of 1832 it was 44; . . . I shall take the three last months of these several years for the statement of other offences. In 1829 the number of robberies amounted to 69; in 1830 to 154; in 1831 to 152; and in 1832, to 173. Again, in 1829 the number of burglaries was 39, in 1830 it was 94, in 1831 it was 251, and in 1832 it was 532. In 1829 the number of

[1] Hansard, February 15, 1833. [2] Ibid., February 27, 1833.

burnings was 31, in 1830 it was 34, in 1831 it was 29, and in 1832 it had reached 77. In the year 1829 the number of cases of houghing cattle was 13, in 1830 it was 54, in 1831 it was 89, and in 1832 it was 235. In 1829 the number of illegal notices was 49, in 1830 it was 79, in 1831 it was 172, and in 1832 it was 197. In 1829 the number of malicious injuries to property was 44, in 1830 it was 59, in 1831 it was 67, and in 1832 it was 134. Taking the whole of these offences, which partook of an insurrectionary character together, the total amount was:—In 1829, 300; in 1830, 499; in 1831, 814; and in 1832 it had reached so high as 1,513; and all these in the province of Leinster." Later in the debate Mr. Stanley, speaking also of the province of Leinster, remarked that "the month of January (1833), as compared with the preceding month of December, shewed a frightful increase of offence. But first he must observe that in the last three months of 1832, crime was five-fold the amount of the like period in 1829. Of the last three months of 1832, December was the heaviest in point of offences, the number being 597, but in the month of January just elapsed the crimes amounted to 1,094; from which it appeared that in the single month of January alone the offences were more than three times as numerous as were the crimes committed in a space of three months three years ago, or nine times as many as were committed in one month at that period." 1833.

The Bill which proposed to deal with these disorders consisted of many stringent provisions.[1] It proposed to empower the Lord-Lieutenant to prohibit or suppress meetings, and enacted that all persons attending a meeting so prohibited should be guilty of misdemeanour. The Lord-Lieutenant might "proclaim" a district in a disturbed state. In proclaimed districts the tenants of houses were bound, under penalties of misdemeanour, to affix to their houses lists of all male occupants, distinguishing their ages, which should be countersigned by the constable. Special licence was requisite from the Lord-Lieutenant for any meeting, even for petitioning Parliament. The Lord-Lieutenant was to be empowered to constitute courts-martial for the trial of offences, their sentences to be restricted to transportation. Persons found out of their houses under suspicious circumstances in a proclaimed district after sunset were to be guilty of a misdemeanour. The unauthorised possession of arms was similarly penal; as also the assisting by signals in the

[1] See Append. B (5) p. 36, and C (5) p. 40.

1833. warning of unlawful assemblies. The Habeas Corpus was in effect suspended in proclaimed districts under the 29th and 30th section of the statute ; but it was provided that all persons apprehended should be brought to trial within three months or discharged from confinement. The Act was to remain in force until August 1, 1834.

This Act, which Lord Brougham, who assisted in its preparation, afterwards described as "one of the most stringent Coercion Bills that ever existed in this country towards Ireland," was not the sole measure of its kind. There was passed a Venue Bill, permitting trials "upon indictments to be removed into an adjoining county or to Dublin." This measure, which was in effect a re-enactment of several previous statutes, was to expire with the Coercion Bill in a year's time. It was, however, subsequently continued until 1840.

The King's speech for 1834 (February 4) once more refers
1834. to Ireland, and speaks of the results of coercion. "The Acts passed in the last session for carrying into effect various salutary and remedial measures in Ireland are now in operation. . . . The state of all the provinces of Ireland presents, upon the whole, a much more favourable appearance than at any period during the last year."[1] In the debate on the address, the Duke of Wellington said:—"There was another subject with regard to which the intention of his Majesty's Government had not been stated in the speech from the throne—the Irish Coercion Bill. The greatest benefit had been derived to Ireland from that necessary and most salutary measure." It was upon the re-enactment of this statute that Lord Grey's Government fell. On the 18th July Lord Althorp (then Chancellor of the Exchequer) moved for leave to bring in a Bill to continue and amend the Coercion Act. The diminution of agrarian and other outrages had been ascribed by all parties to the operation of the Act. The court-martial clauses had never been put into exercise, and it was therefore agreed not to re-enact them. But the Cabinet was divided as to the advisability of continuing to the Lord-Lieutenant the power of suppressing and prohibiting public meetings, which Lord Wellesley, who was then Viceroy, deemed dispensable. The majority of the Cabinet being with Lord Wellesley, Lord Grey retired, and the Coercion Bill in its mitigated form became law for another year.

[1] Hansard, February 4, 1834.

1839.

The following evidence was given before a Committee of the House of Lords in 1839, which sat to inquire into the state of Ireland since 1835. The witness was J. Greene, Esq., a police magistrate of Kilkenny.

Q. 11,641. What was the state of the county in 1833?

A. In 1833 it was very bad. That was previously to the passing of the Local Disturbance Act.

Q. 11,642. "Commonly called the Coercion Act?"

A. Yes.

Q. 11,643. Was it proclaimed in that year?

A. The county was proclaimed in April of that year.

Q. 11,644. What effect had the Proclamation on the peace of the county?

A. It had an immediate effect. It is probably necessary to mention to your Lordships that previously to the passing of this Act it was almost impossible to get any respectable person to become a member of a petit jury.

Q. 11,646. What has been the state of the county since the year 1833 to the present time?

A. I have resided in the county from 1833 to the present time; its present state is perfectly tranquil.

Q. 11,647. How has it been since 1833?

A. In a month after the passing of the Coercion Act there was a change for the better; which has continued to the present time, when it is perfectly quiet.

TABLE I.

STATE OF IRELAND, 1831-32.

OFFENCES COMMITTED IN IRELAND IN 1831-32.

Reduced from the Parliamentary Returns.

	Ulster.	Munster.	Leinster.	Connaught.	Year
1.—Offences against the person	180	189	381	3776	1831
	315	266	1092	3110	1832
2.—Offences against property	891	348	1805	3587	1831
	835	376	3575	1006	1832
3.—Political offences	230	145	975	3731	1831
	588	381	1585	871	1832

(Riot, Rescue, Illegal Notices, Illegal Meetings, Administration of Oaths, Demanding Arms, Appearing in Arms.)

	1831	1832	Inc and dec. per cent.
Total offences against the person	4446	4783	Inc. 7·58
,, ,, ,, property	6631	5792	Dec. 12·65
,, political offences	5081	3425	Dec. 32·59
Total offences committed	16,158	14,000	Dec. 13·36
Total number of convictions obtained	9605	9759	

TABLE II.

STATE OF IRELAND, 1833-34.

STATEMENT OF THE CRIMES OF WHICH PERSONS WERE CONVICTED IN IRELAND IN 1833-34.

	1833.	1834.	Inc. per cent.
1.—Offences against the person	4180	5547	32·7
2.—Offences against property	2177	2752	26·41
3.—Political offences	1125	1157	2·84
4.—Miscellaneous (*e.g.*, Frauds, Bigamy, &c., &c.)	3962	4797	21·59
Total	11,444	14,253	Total average inc. 24·55

NOTE ON THE STATISTICS FOR 1831-34.

The statistics were returned separately for each year and on no uniform plan. The divisions of crime were re-arranged in each return and I have thought it better to reduce them under more general headings, the sub-divisions in the Parliamentary returns being, for the present purpose, needlessly minute. How divergent the bases of the returns from the several provinces are, may be conjectured from the fact that in 1831, Connaught is credited with 2,981 common assaults, of which the rest of the provinces exhibit a complete absence. It is to be observed that the returns for 1831-32 are of offences committed in Ireland; the returns for 1833-34 are of offences upon which convictions were obtained. There are no returns of details of either of the above for 1835-36; only the gross total of convictions. These irregularities, the writer is aware, seriously detract from the utility of the statistics. A few other statistics have appeared in the text, which it is not thought needful to reproduce.

See further General Criminal Statistics Append A. p. 34.

The session of 1835 was marked by the great debates on the Bill for the commutation of Irish Tithes, introduced by Sir Robert Peel; in the discussion of which the Whig Opposition were for applying future Irish Church surpluses to secular purposes. On Sir Robert Peel's resignation (April 10, 1835) Lord Melbourne became Prime Minister. The year was rendered an anxious one by great distress in Mayo, on the south-west coast of Ireland,[1] but the tranquillity of the country was so much improved that the Government thought it unnecessary to renew the Coercion Act. In lieu of that Act, which expired in August, Lord Melbourne brought forward the Public Peace Bill,[2] which was enacted for five years, and which, as the Minister explained, was rather in the nature of a statute empowering the Government to act in cases of disturbance than to deal with any actually existing state of things. Even Mr. O'Connell supported the Bill and "thought that it would be of advantage to Ireland."[3] 1835.

With the viceroyalty of Lord Mulgrave in 1835 we enter upon a prolonged interval of Irish tranquillity. In the year 1843 Lord Clements remarked in the House of Commons that "there had been in the period between 1835 and 1843 no necessity for any coercive measure, there had been no period of such length since 1792, when Ireland was totally without coercive enactments."[4] The attempt was seriously made to administer the country on the principles of ordinary law. While crimes decreased yearly, the proportion of convictions to committals, and of committals to offences, was constantly increasing; a proof that offenders no longer to the same degree attracted the sympathies of the population. An instructive debate took place in the House of Lords on the 27th November, 1837, on the state of Ireland. Lord Mulgrave, in reply to Lord Roden, "undertook to shew, by calculations founded on official returns, that crime was proceeding in a decreasing ratio in Ireland. He selected two periods for comparison—from October, 1832, to March, 1833, and from October, 1836 to March, 1837; the former being the six months previous to the Coercion Bill. The sum total of outrages committed during this period was 6,355, while the amount of similar offences during the latter six months was only 2,385. He then put the case in another point of view. He had a return of crimes reported to have been committed for the first nine months of 1832-3-4-5-6 and 7. The number of outrages in the first nine months of 1832 was 7,460; in 1833 they diminished to 6,547; in 1834, to 6,016; in 1835 they rose to 6,645; in 1836 they were reduced to 5,384 and in the first nine months of the year (1837) they fell as low as 3,784." In the

[1] Lord Morpeth, Hansard, June 12, 1835. [2] See Append. B (9) p. 36, and C (9) p. 43. [3] Hansard, August 13, 1835. [4] Hansard, May 29, 1843.

1837. House of Commons Lord J. Russell cited similar results, taking different periods:—"It appeared that from October, 1832, to March, 1833, the crimes of an insurrectionary character in Ireland were 6,894; while from July to December, 1836, they were only 3,008. In Kilkenny county alone in the former period there were 364 burglaries and attacks on houses; while in the latter period in the whole of Ireland there were only 212. In 1835 the number of persons indicted for riots was 795; in 1836, 344." The amelioration of the political condition of the people may be supposed to have produced the result that crime had lost its political character. Lord Mulgrave asserted that all enquiries led to the conclusion that the murders and manslaughters committed in Ireland were in the great majority purely agrarian and wholly destitute of political features. The Tithe Act had removed many provocations to breaches of the peace. The constabulary was reorganised, and the substitution of Government for private prosecution in the case of many offenders deprived crime of many of its former chances of immunity. In addition to the improvement of the means for the prevention and punishment of crime, the affection of the people was conciliated by large extensions of
1839. mercy, a policy which in 1839 was condemned by a hostile vote of the House of Lords. The House of Commons, on the other hand, in that year, upon the resignation of Lord Mulgrave (then become Marquis of Normanby), supported by a majority of twenty-two a resolution of Lord John Russell, that it was "expedient to adhere to the principles of government, which had been of great recent benefit to Ireland."

1840. In the year 1840 was passed another measure for the mitigation of religious discord—the Irish Corporation Reform Bill. Its opponents complained that it virtually transferred power in the towns from the Protestants to the Catholics. It was certainly intended to remove a sense of wrong harboured by the latter. The years which followed were marked not by religious dissensions but by political agitation. It is to the honour of O'Connell that, in language which at the present hour is proverbial, he earnestly endeavoured to preserve the Repeal
1843. movement free from association with crime. In 1843 a Consolidation Arms Bill was passed despite the vehement opposition of the Irish members. This Bill was in some respects a modification of the existing law. All firearms in the possession of individuals were to be registered and their owners licensed, under certain regulations, with penalties for non-compliance. With regard to the possession of unlawful arms, as pikes and daggers, the existing law imposed a punishment of twelve months' imprisonment for the first offence, and transportation for the second, without discretion to the judge. By the Bill a discretion was given to the judge; and if the accused

person could prove that the arms were deposited in his house without his knowledge or sanction he would be altogether exempt. While the existing law forbade the purchase of more than 2lb. of gunpowder at a time, of any one dealer, without preventing the purchase of that quantity from each of any number of dealers, the Bill abolished that restriction ; but imposed a penalty on the selling of gunpowder to any person not licensed to purchase it. The term of imprisonment on non-payment of fine was reduced. This Bill became law on the 22nd August, 1843.[1] 1843.

Towards the close of 1845 the blight was beginning to threaten the potato crop. As distress increased crime spread. In 1844 the number of crimes of violence had been 1,495 : in 1845 it was already 3,642. In the counties of Leitrim, Limerick, Roscommon, Tipperary, and Clare, so frequent were murders and manslaughters that personal security could scarcely be said to exist. The Government accordingly brought in a Bill arming the Executive with additional power of repression. The Lord-Lieutenant was to have power to proclaim any district notorious for crimes of violence; and the police were to be authorised to search taverns, and to apprehend persons out of their homes between sunset and sunrise. This Bill, having passed the Lords, was thrown out in the Commons ; which led to the resignation of Sir Robert Peel's Government. 1845

Distress and crime, however, continued to increase alarmingly. In 1845 the potato blight had been partial ; some few parts of the country having entirely escaped. But in 1846 the blight had fallen earlier, and had spread universally. The Lord Lieutenant proclaimed 58 districts to be in a state of distress. "In the district of Skibbereen alone, out of 62,000 inhabitants, 5,000 died in three months, and 15,000 could not tell in the morning where to look for the food required for the day. At Bantry there were 40 verdicts of 'died from starvation,' given at inquests held at the same time."[2] Lord John Russell's Government, by suspending the duties on foreign corn, and by the distribution of food did its best to alleviate the calamity. "The whole sum expended in relief to Ireland up to August, 1846, was £733,372, of which £368,000 was in loans, and £365,372 in grants. The sum raised by voluntary subscriptions through the Relief Committee was £98,000."[3]

It is necessary to make allowance for this frightful state of circumstances in considering the increase of crime. In 1845 offences against the person with violence were 4,827 ; in 1846, 5,110, or an increase of 5·86 per cent. In 1845, offences against property with violence had been 1,112 ; in 1846 they were 1846.

[1] See Append. B (16) p. 36, and C (16) pp. 45-7. [2] Molesworth's "History of England," II., 263. [3] Trevelyan's "Irish Crisis," p. 37.

1846 1,297, or an increase of 16·63 per cent. The Government hoped to combat the twin evils of famine and crime by numerous relief works, which were set on foot with such reckless facility as to further assist the demoralisation of the people. A preference was exhibited for employment upon these works, where supervision was extremely lax, to the more exacting calls of industry and
1847. tillage. In January, 1847, the number of persons so employed was 570,000 ; in February, 708,000, in March 734,000, these last representing a population of upwards of 3,000,000 ![1]

The calendar for 1847 shewed a steadily-progressing increase of crime. Offences against the person with violence were, it is true, fewer in number, being 5,549, as against 5,110 in the last year, or a decrease of 11 per cent. On the other hand the committals for murder shewed an increase of 19·38 per cent. The offences against property with violence had risen to 2,229, being an increase of 71 per cent. The total catalogue of crime averaged an increase of 68 per cent.

Under these circumstances the Government felt it necessary to introduce a Bill for the re-establishment of law and order. Sir George Grey, in bringing it before the House of Commons, declared that "there was a system of terror kept up in Ireland, by which individuals were exposed to assassination and outrage, that must defeat all attempts to benefit Ireland, and ultimately lead to the entire disorganisation of society within it."[2] The Bill, which eventually passed by a very large majority, became known as the "Crime and Outrage Act." It empowered the Lord-Lieutenant to proclaim districts disturbed ; and to increase the constabulary therein at the expense of the district. It imposed special restrictions and penalties upon the carrying of arms. The right to search for arms in houses was to be given by a warrant of the Lord-Lieutenant, and arms so found were to be confiscated.[3] This Act, which was limited to a year, was continued by successive Acts until the passing of the Peace Preservation Act, 1856.

1848. In 1848 there was a notable increase of political disaffection in Ireland, and on the 22nd of July, Lord John Russell moved "for leave to bring in a Bill to empower the Lord-Lieutenant to apprehend and detain until the first day of March, 1849, such persons as he shall suspect of conspiring against her Majesty's person and Government." This was the first suspension of the Habeas Corpus in Ireland since 1824. The occasion for it was the new Repeal agitation under Smith O'Brien, which disclaiming the methods of nominal constitutionalism, advocated a resort to physical force. In the debate in the House of Lords, Lord Brougham expressed his cordial approbation of the measure, affirming that it would have enjoyed

[1] Trevelyan's "Irish Crisis," p. 41. [2] Hansard, November 20, 1847
[3] See Append. B (21) p. 36 and C (21) pp. 48-9.

the support of the then recently deceased Daniel O'Connell. 1848.
He said that "a declaraion made by him, then leader of the Irish people, had been furnished to him (Lord Brougham) by a highly respectable individual. The writer said: "Three weeks before Sir Robert Peel's Coercion Bill was introduced in 1846, the late Mr. O'Connell deliberately stated to me and Dr. —— and Mr. ——, now M.P. for an important place, and lately, and at that time in a situation under Government, "that, in his opinion, the true remedy which would be a safe and constitutional one in the then state of certain districts in Ireland, as Limerick, Tipperary, and so forth, was the power commonly called, though not very accurately, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, as it would cure and not irritate; and he said that if Sir Robert Peel made out a case to entitle his Government to possess such a power, he would support his application for it to Parliament, provided Sir Robert Peel at the same time introduced to the country the measures of relief and justice which he (Sir R. Peel) had so often promised to bring forward.[1] The Bill was passed July 25, 1848.

On the 26th of January, 1849, Lord Clarendon, then Lord 1849.
Lieutenant, wrote the following letter, asking for a renewal of the suspension: "While availing myself of the extraordinary power confided to me by the Act, it has been my earnest endeavour to limit its operation as far as possible, and to confine the deprivation of personal liberty to the cases of those individuals who were actually engaged in treasonable designs, or who, by encouraging the disaffected, endangered the peace and tranquillity of the country. No instance occurred of any arrest taking place except on sworn informations; no person was retained in custody longer than the public safety appeared to require; and although the number of individuals whom it was my painful duty to place in temporary confinement, was considerable, having amounted in all at different times to about 120, yet considering the extent to which treasonable organisation has been carried, not only in the metropolis, but in several counties of Ireland, the number can hardly be said to exceed what might have been anticipated.

"The security afforded by the enforcement of the law, and the conviction that its provisions would only be applied against those whose conduct had rendered their detention absolutely necessary, has been felt by the community at large; and the restoration of order in place of that which for a time was a reign of terror, has been hailed with universal satisfaction."

On this authority the Act was further continued until August 1st, 1849, and was thus altogether in operation during thirteen months.

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[1] Hansard, July 21, 1848.

1848-9. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus being a measure which may fairly be called coercive, and marking the height of the period of disturbance, it will be well, with the assistance of the improved statistics of this date, to consider its working. It must be at the same time remembered that there was still upon the Statute roll the Crime and Outrage Act, which had already been in force since the beginning of 1848, and which was stated in July of that year to have already restored comparative tranquillity to the City of Limerick.[1] With this allowance the effect of the measure may be approximately gauged by a comparison of the statistics of two years prior to its becoming law with two years subsequent to its expiration.

[1] Lord Lansdowne, Hansard, July 21, 1848.

SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS, [1] [2]

JULY 25TH, 1848, TO SEPT. 1ST, 1849.

Statistics of Committals for Crime for the period 1846-51, *that is, embracing the two years before and after.*

TABLE I.

Class.	1846	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.
1.—Offences against the Person with violence...	5,110	4,549	5,966	5,275	4,202	2,930
2.—Offences against Property with violence.....	1,297	2,229	2,561	2,682	2,224	2,215
3.—Offences against Property without violence	6,603	17,484	19,547	23,173	16,737	14,029
4.—Malicious Offences against Property	191	321	926	707	462	361
5.—Forgery and Offences against the Currency	99	183	202	271	250	244
6.—Miscellaneous Offences	5,192	6,443	9,320	9,881	7,451	4,905
Total.....	18,492	31,209	38,522	41,989	31,326	24,684

TABLE II.

Increase or Decrease of Committals for Crime per cent.—1846-

Class.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849	1850.	1851.
	(Compared with 1845)					
1.—Offences against the Person with violence...	Inc. 5·86	Dec. 11·14	Inc. 31·12	Dec. 11·8	Dec. 20·36	Dec. 30·27
2.—Offences against Property with violence ...	Inc. 16·63	Inc. 71·86	Inc. 14·89	Inc. 4·7	Dec. 17·08	Dec. 0·40
3.—Offences against Property without violence	Inc. 16·12	Inc. 134·5	Inc. 11·08	Inc. 18·5	Dec. 27·77	Dec. 16·17
4.—Malicious Offences against Property.....	Dec. 11·57	Inc. 68·06	Inc. 188·47	Dec. 23·73	Dec. 34·65	Dec. 21·86
5.—Forgery and Offences against the Currency	Inc. 15·11	Inc. 84·85	Inc. 10·38	Inc. 34·05	Dec. 7·75	Dec. 2·40
6.—Miscellaneous Offences.	Inc. 8·87	Inc. 24·03	Inc. 44·65	Inc. 6·01	Dec. 24·59	Dec. 34·16
Total average.....		Inc. 68 77	Inc. 23·43	Inc. 9	Dec. 25·39	Dec. 21·2

[1] NOTE.—See also General Criminal Statistics—Append. A.

[2] For further statistics of this period see Append. D.

1856. The state of Ireland for some years after the collapse of Smith O'Brien's agitation was comparatively tranquil. Districts were here and there disturbed and proclaimed, but nothing in the way of a general application of force was considered necessary. The Peace Preservation Act of 1856, which superseded the Crime and Outrage Act, was justly described by the member of the Government who introduced it as "a precautionary Bill." It in effect continued, subject to a few amendments, the Crime and Outrage Act. It was itself similarly continued year by
1860-3. year. In 1863 Ireland had suffered from three bad years, yet Lord Palmerston did not consider the distress to be sufficiently pressing to call for a grant of money for public works. In 1865 Ireland was prosperous, but apprehensions of Fenian conspiracies were already beginning to be entertained. These, however, it is just to say, had no effect on crime. The returns for 1866
1865. remark that the year 1865 presents a smaller number of persons for trial at assizes, Dublin Commission Court, and quarter sessions than any year during the last ten, and shews a reduction of 2,442 from 7,099 in 1856 to 4,657 in 1865, being upwards of 34 per cent. Allowing 12 per cent. for reduction of population, the diminution of serious crime in Ireland had amounted to at least 22 per cent., or nearly one-fourth. But the statistics of 1865 as compared with those of 1864 discovered one unfavourable feature. There was an increase in the cases of treason-felony from 11 in 1864 to 41 cases in 1865, being an increase of 273 per cent. This was the more remarkable, in that in 1863 there had been no cases of treason-felony whatever. These figures are especially
1866. significant in view of what was to come. In February, 1866, Earl Russell moved in the House of Lords the suspension of the Habeas Corpus on the ground that "an extensive and formidable conspiracy exists in Ireland, against which all the regular forces of the law have been put in force,"[1] but without success. In the House of Commons, Mr. Bright expressed the shame and humiliation which he felt at being called upon for a second time in a Parliamentary career of twenty-two years to suspend the Habeas Corpus in Ireland. The Bill was passed, and was to be in force for six months. At the end of that time, another Government was in office, and it fell to Lord Naas, in the House of Commons, to propose the continuance of the Act. Lord Naas said:[2] "I believe that the power entrusted by Parliament to the late Government was used by them with the greatest prudence. . . . Numerous arrests were made, and persons who were known to be leaders of the movement were consigned to prison. But a better effect even than that caused by the consignment of these persons to prison was produced immediately

[1] Hansard, Feb. 17, 1866 [2] Hansard, August 2, 1866.

after the passing of that measure; for a number of persons who were known to be engaged in treasonable practices instantly left Ireland from the fear of coming under its operation. It is impossible to describe the very great sense of security which those Acts gave to all the loyal and well-disposed inhabitants of Ireland. I believe the immediate effect of the action of the Government was to restore confidence, and to induce many persons who, under a feeling of apprehension, had made arrangements for leaving Ireland, to remain in that country. We find that from the time when the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act came into operation as many persons altogether as 756 have been arrested. Of that number there remained in custody on the 23rd of July last, 339 persons. A few have been released since then; and I believe the number now in custody is something like 320. So that from the first passing of the Act until the 23rd of July 417 of these prisoners have been discharged from custody." Of these prisoners many had left the country, but of those in custody "a great number of them are persons who have not made any offer to leave Ireland, or have not been in a position to offer substantial bail for their good conduct should the Government see fit to discharge them." On May 21, 1867, Lord Naas, in moving a further suspension, remarked that the total number of arrests since February, 1865, had been 961, of which 778 had been released. Not more than 26 of those 778 had been re-arrested, which proved "that the course taken by the Government in releasing that large number of people was not attended with any special disadvantage, and has exercised a cautionary influence over them." The same question of the advisability of renewing the Act confronted Parliament again in the early part of 1868. This was the third year in which this measure had been deemed needful. Twelve months after the first Act had been passed the Queen's Speech had expressed the hope of dispensing with exceptional legislation. This announcement, it was said, had the effect of inviting the return to Ireland of foreign agents of conspiracy. In 1868 it was proposed to renew the Act for a whole year—until March, 1869. Lord Mayo, in explaining the mode in which the Act had been worked, stated that there were at that time (February, 1868) 96 persons in custody under the Lord-Lieutenant's warrant. The number of persons arrested from January, 1867, to January 31st, 1868, was 265, and of these 111 were arrested in March, 1867, when the short-lived outbreak occurred. In July eight were arrested; during August, September and October there were only two arrests; during November and December, 1867, and January, 1868, 33 arrests.

1866.

1867.

1868-9.

This was the final, and to this day the last renewal of the Suspension Act. In April, 1870, the Peace Preservation Act was passed, to be in force for sixteen months. Before proceeding to consider the provisions of this Act it will be well to glance at

1870.

1866-9. the criminal statistics of the years during which the suspension of the Habeas Corpus was continued.[1] [2]

Return of the number of Agrarian Murders and Outrages in Ireland reported to the Inspector-General of Constabulary during the two years and six months, beginning December 1, 1866, and ending May 10, 1869.

Period.	Murders.		Other Outrages.	
	Number reported.	Number of cases in which authors have been made amenable.	Number reported.	Number of cases in which authors have been made amenable.
Six months ending Dec. 1, 1866	...	...	25	2
,, ,, June 1, 1867	1	1	31	6
,, ,, Dec. 1, 1867	...	...	44	7
,, ,, June 1, 1868	2	...	53	7
,, ,, Dec. 1, 1868	2	2	25	4
Dec. 1, 1868, to May 10, 1869 ...	3	3	51	7
Totals	8	6	229	33

Agrarian Threatening Letters.

Period.	Number reported.	Number of cases in which the authors have been made amenable.
Six months ending December 1, 1866 ...	11	2
,, ,, June 1, 1867	18	—
,, ,, December 1, 1867 ...	27	1
,, ,, June 1, 1868	30	3
,, ,, December 1, 1868 ...	38	4
December, 1868, to May 10, 1869	78	3
Totals	202	13

[1] See also General Criminal Statistics—Appendix A. pp. 34-5.
[2] For fuller statistics of this period see Append. D.

It will be seen that the number of agrarian outrages, taken together, reached its height in the year 1868, that is, about the middle of the suspension period. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that, as a whole, 1868 is the most favourable of all the years, with one exception, in its criminal statistics. It is questionable, therefore, whether any positive conclusion can be arrived at. The only point which the figures appear to establish is that no connection can be inferred between Fenianism and agrarian crime, since in 1869, when the former was extinguished, we have a recrudescence of the latter. The operation of the Habeas Corpus Suspension appears to have been confined to Fenianism, and for that reason not to have affected the agrarian statistics. 1868-9.

The comparatively tranquil state of Ireland in 1869 induced the Government to allow the Act for the suspension of Habeas Corpus to expire. But later in the year tranquillity was once more disturbed. Agrarian crime had portentously increased. The despatch of additional troops to Ireland at the close of the year had been followed by a temporary lull, but universal apprehension had been excited. In the debate on the Address Lord Cairns headed the Opposition. He called attention to the official statistics of crime in Ireland. From these he gathered that in 1869 the number of agrarian outrages in the first six months had doubled the number of these in the same half of 1868. The figures stand thus— 1869.

AGRARIAN OUTRAGES SPECIALLY REPORTED.

1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870
178	87	123	160	767	1,329

In 1869 the more ferocious crimes had become painfully numerous. As Lord Cairns said, on the same occasion, "Important as the statistics on the subject are, the statistics by no means represent the whole extent and gravity of the position. I have looked at what I may call the *delicta majora* for the year 1869. I have not seen the catalogue for the beginning of the present year (1870), but they have not been infrequent. I have put aside all minor offences, threatening letters, and threatening visits, disturbances without loss of life; and I find that, taking greater offences alone, such as murder, mutilation, burglarious entry into houses and abstraction of arms, riots attended with loss of life, the number of offences in the reports for 1869 amounted to 59, and out of these no less than 18 assassination."

Such was the state of things which the Government determined to check by the Peace Preservation Bill. Crime was not sporadic but organised. In the county Mayo an old form of outrage was revived. Bands of armed men visited farmers, exacting from them by threats an oath to break up their

1870. pasture lands. It was felt discreditable to the nation that such a state of things should continue. The country was threatening to relapse into the criminality of former years. On this point Mr. Chichester Fortescue, who, as Secretary for Ireland, introduced the Bill, had some instructive observations. "Comparing 1847 and 1869,"[1] he said, "I find that agrarian crimes stand as follows:—In 1847 there were 620 agrarian crimes, and in 1869 there were 767; but in 1847 the crimes of great violence and atrocity were far more numerous, for there were 16 homicides, against 8 in 1869, and 35 cases of firing at the person in 1847, as against 16 in 1869. On the other hand the cases of intimidation were more numerous in 1869 than in 1847. I may be asked why, under these circumstances, the Government think it their duty to propose special legislation for the repression of agrarian crimes in Ireland beyond what it proposed in 1847, and that is a question which I desire to answer. I have no doubt that those who live in the disturbed districts of Ireland, and who suffer from this state of things, would answer it in a very summary manner; for they call upon the Government to put an end to the intolerable system of intimidation which exists in those districts. But the case stands thus: In the first place, in respect to agrarian crimes the comparison is not favourable to the year 1869. Again, it is evident that our standard has risen since 1847, and that we are not prepared to endure or submit to a state of crime in 1870 which was considered inevitable in 1847. Again, a Crime and Outrage Act was passed in 1847, and although there is no doubt that Act must have had, and actually had, a good effect in checking crime in Ireland, yet it must be remembered that it was not so effectual as to prevent the continuance, and even the increase, of crime in that country during the next two or three years."[1]

The provisions of the Bill which, undeterred by the impotence of the Crime and Outrage Bill of 1847, Mr. Chichester Fortescue introduced, were simple but stringent. It was proposed to suppress the use of fire-arms in proclaimed districts. The right of constables to search for arms was enlarged. Threatening letters were to be met by domiciliary searches for evidence of handwriting and motive. Patrols were empowered to seize persons wandering about at night under circumstances of sus-

[1] Hansard, March 17, 1870.

[2] The figures are:

AGRARIAN OUTRAGES SPECIALLY REPORTED—1845-1852.

1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852
1920	1303	620	795	957	1362	1013	907

From which it appears either that the Act which was passed at the end of the least criminal year between 1845 and 1852 was worse than nugatory, or that other causes were at work to countervail its effects.

picion. An increased summary jurisdiction was conferred on magistrates. Change of venue was legalised where it was thought needful. It was further proposed to authorise the grand jury, with the consent of the judge, to levy damages on districts for compensation to the family of any person murdered from agrarian motives. The Government was to be empowered to seize newspapers, though the owners were allowed to bring an action against the Crown: thus the change was limited to its sole object, the repression of journalistic terrorism. [1] 1870-1.

The prevision of the Government as to the efficacy of this measure appeared to be amply justified. On the other hand it must not be forgotten that this year a large remedial measure was also passed—the Irish Land Act. At any rate, as will be seen from the annexed statistics, the number of agrarian crimes fell more quickly than it had risen, and the improvement continued to shew itself until 1876. Meanwhile political disaffection was also diminishing. The Act was employed firmly, but not tyrannically. The following tables best convey an appreciation of its operation and effect:—

Number of offences in the different Counties or parts of Counties specially proclaimed under Second Part of Peace Preservation Act, in 1872-73-and-74. [2]

	1872.	1873.	1874.
Antrim (part of one barony)... ...	109	18	...
Cavan (two baronies and part of third)	36	31	11
Clare (three baronies)	...	32	...
Down (one barony)	...	13	...
King's County (parts of five baronies)	25	32	11
Limerick (parts of six baronies) ...	...	41	122
Longford (parts of two baronies) ...	21	...	...
Mayo (whole county)...	89	92	2
Meath (whole county)	189	81	57
Roscommon (parts of three baronies)	5	6	5
Sligo (two baronies)	5	...	...
Tipperary (parts of two baronies) ...	8	10	7
Westmeath (whole county)	129	58	59
Total	616	414	274

In case of murder this Act permits claims to be made by the relatives of the murdered person to the Grand Jury of the County for pecuniary compensation. One claim was made in 1870, and the amount presented was £400. In 1871, the sum of £6,685 was presented under this Act for murder or maiming.

Table shewing the several districts which were under the

[1] See Append B (45) p. 37 and C (45) pp. 55-57. [2] See also General Criminal Statistics, Appendix A.

1866-78. operation of proclamations under the Peace Preservation Acts on the 31st December, 1878 :—

County.	Proclaimed District.	Date When Proclaimed.
Antrim	Belfast and suburbs	Feb. 22, 1866
Cavan	The County	Feb. 10, 1866
Clare	The County	Dec. 7, 1866
Cork	The County	Sept. 16, 1865
Cork City ...	The County of the City ...	Sept. 16, 1865
Donegal	Barony of Kilmacrenan ...	April 8, 1878
Down	Bally accarrett and suburbs of Belfast	Feb. 22, 1866
Drogheda ...	The County of the Town ...	Feb. 1, 1866
Dublin	The County of Dublin, within the Metrop. Police district	Jan. 13, 1866
Dublin City ...	The County of the City ...	Jan. 13, 1866
Galway	The County	Feb. 22, 1866
Galway Town ...	The County of the Town ...	Feb. 22, 1866
Kerry	The County	Feb. 15, 1867
Kilkenny City ...	The County of the City ...	Feb. 1, 1866
King's County ...	The County	Feb. 22, 1866
Leitrim	The County	Feb. 10, 1866
Limerick	The County	Nov. 28, 1866
Limerick City ...	The County of the City ...	Feb. 28, 1866
Londonderry ...	The City of Londonderry ...	Dec. 9, 1869
Longford ...	The County	Feb. 22, 1866
Louth	Borough of Dundalk	Mar. 11, 1867
Mayo	The County	Dec. 7, 1866
Meath	The County	Mar. 11, 1867
Roscommon ...	The County	Feb. 10, 1866
Sligo	The County	Jan. 25, 1866
Tipperary ...	The County	Jan. 13, 1866
Waterford City ...	The County of the City ...	Jan. 13, 1866
Westmeath ...	The County	Feb. 22, 1866

In 1876, as has been observed, the progressive decrease of crime was checked. Demoralisation continued throughout 1877, and in April, 1878, attention was called to it in the House of Lords, and a resolution moved by Lord Oranmore and Browne "That it is the duty of her Majesty's Government to ask for such measures as may enable them more effectually to suppress outrage and enforce security of life in Ireland."[1] Lord Cairns, on behalf of the Government, said: "Speaking of the greater part of Ireland, I am happy to say there is no foundation for the statement that undetected and unpunished crime has increased or is increasing. I am afraid that it is the case in one particular district of Ireland, the district or part of Galway, Mayo, and Roscommon. There is much reason to believe that the occurrences in that district are not merely isolated acts having their origin in purely local circumstances, but that they are more or

[1] Hansard, April 12, 1878.

less connected with a larger organisation—an organisation having the double effect of leading to the commission 1880.
of these crimes, and bringing to bear in the district where they are committed a system of terrorism and alarm which prevents any evidence being given against the authors of these crimes." The motion was withdrawn; but the statistics of the following years shew that Lord Cairns's view of the seriousness of the situation was by no means exaggerated. On the 1st of June, 1880, the Peace Preservation Act expired. Notwithstanding the increase of agrarian outrages, neither the Conservative nor the Liberal Administration had thought its continuance necessary. On the 12th, July, 1880, Lord Oranmore and Browne, in the House of Lords called "attention to the increase of crime in parts of Ireland and to the increase of atrocity, audacity and impunity with which it is committed."[1] Earl Spencer, as the representative of the Government, allowed that "the condition of certain parts of Ireland was exceedingly bad, and that her Majesty's Government did not for a moment wish to hide from view the gravity with which they looked upon the condition of that country. He desired that their Lordships should have the real facts of the matter before them. With regard to serious crime, by which he meant murder and manslaughter, he had to state that serious crime in Ireland had not increased during last year. In 1876 there were three cases of murder and seven of manslaughter, making a total of 10. (He was now speaking of Connaught.) In 1877 there were 4 cases of murder and 9 of manslaughter, making a total of 13. In 1878 there were 3 cases of murder and 10 of manslaughter, making a total of 13. In 1879 there were 2 cases of murder and 9 of manslaughter, making a total of 11. Therefore, in 1879, there were 2 less of these graver crimes in Connaught than in 1877 and 1878. . . . . As to other crimes he must admit at once that they had considerably increased in Connaught during the last year. In Connaught alone the threatening letters had increased from 35 in 1878 to 253 in 1879; and he was afraid there was no great diminution in their number for the first half of this year. The first half of this year did not shew any marked increase over last year; but he admitted that the return was not satisfactory. . . . He did not think it was the fact that since the present Government come into office crime in Ireland had increased, and he was not aware that any facts could be produced to prove it."

Such was the last Parliamentary discussion illustrating this subject. Since this numerous extra Parliamentary speeches have been made; the Conservative party agreeing in a demand for coercion. Mr. Bright's reply that force should not be employed

[1] Hansard, July 12, 1880

1880. except where remedies have been applied, is the latest contribution to the controversy. Mr. Justice Fitzgerald, in charging the Munster grand jury on the 7th December, 1880, said that in nine-tenths of the cases of crime which had been reported in that part of the country the offenders had not been made amenable to the law. Since the summer assizes they had found all things changed. As far as he could judge from the official reports, in certain districts in the province, every farmer's boy and farmer's son and persons of that class seemed to be armed with a rifle or revolver, which appeared to have been freely used in the committing of outrages. His lordship gave a list of the offences reported, which, put into a tabulated form, was as follows:—

STATE OF MUNSTER, AUGUST 7 TO DECEMBER 7, 1880.

Counties.	Threatening Letters.	Shooting into Houses and Malicious Injuries.	Maiming Cattle.	Arson.	Taking Forcible Possessi'n	Total.
Clare.....	43	3	2	8	3	59
Limerick...	57	9	9	16	7	98
Kerry.....	101	6	4	23	...	134
Cork, W...	35	...	15	...	5	55
,, E...	51	...	3	22	7	83
Totals....	287	18	33	69	22	429

Mr. Justice Fitzgerald said he did not wish to be guilty of exaggeration or to create excitement or alarm, but he should fall short of his duty if he did not point out that in several districts embracing a large portion of Munster, true liberty has ceased to exist, and intolerable tyranny prevails. It was said in excuse or palliation that this flood of anarchy and crime had been produced by bad laws. "It is not for us here (he added) to consider whether our laws require amendment, or whether our institutions are open to improvement; these are matters for the Legislature; but no candid mind can doubt the disposition of the Imperial Parliament or its anxiety to consider and redress all real grievances; and I add for myself, and for you, and for all well-thinking people, that we are prepared to make all sacrifices if in doing so we can procure the restoration of peace and prosperity to this distracted country. I expect from you firm and courageous assistance."

The following tables shew the most recent general returns as to the condition of Ireland; and from them and previous statistics the reader is left to deduce his own conclusions :— [1]

PEACE PRESERVATION ACT, 1870.

The following table gives the number of Agrarian Outrages specially reported to the police from 1870 to 1880 :—

Agrarian Crime, specially reported, 1870 to 1878.				Treasonable Offences in Ireland, 1867 to 1875.		
Year.	Number of Outrages.	Increase.	Decrease.	Year.	Number of Offences.	Decrease.
1870	1,329	562		1867	530	5
1871	368	.....	961	1868	111	419
1872	256	.....	112	1869	47	64
1873	253	.....	3	1870	37	10
1874	212	.....	41	1871	7	30
1875	136	.....	76	1872	.....	7
1876	201	65	.....	1873	.....	.....
1877	236	35	.....	1874	.....	.....
1878	280	44	.....	1875	.....	.....
1879 / 1880 *	977	697	.....			

* To Jan. 31, 1880.

The following is the "Summary of Agrarian Offences" (by months) committed from January 1st, 1879, to January 31st, 1880, both inclusive :—

Provinces.	Jan. 1879.	Feb. 1879.	Mar. 1879.	Aprl 1879.	May 1879.	Jun 1879.	July 1879.	Aug. 1879.	Sept 1879.	Oct. 1879.	Nov. 1879.	Dec. 1879.	Jan. 1880.	Totals.
Leinster	10	6	8	8	13	6	9	9	4	26	32	16	11	158
Munster	12	8	9	8	3	13	12	8	15	12	25	11	12	148
Ulster	5	2	5	9	16	16	4	2	1	12	23	23	16	127
Connght.	12	13	18	31	49	49	21	25	51	66	87	76	68	544
Gnd total	39	29	40	56	81	81	46	44	71	116	167	126	107	977

[1] See also General Criminal Statistics, Append. A.

Appendix A.

	Year	Population.	Pauperism.		Crime.				Constabulary.	Year.
			Expenditure. £	Numbers Relieved.	Committals.	Convictions.	Proportion of Convictions to Committals	Proportion of Convictions to Population.		
	1831	7,767,401	.....	.....	16,192	9,605	59·32	1 to 809	5,971	1831
	1832	7,809,578	.....	.....	16,056	9,759	60·78	1 to 796	6,372	1832
Lord Grey's Coercion Act	1833	7,851,988	.....	.....	17,819	11,444	64·22	1 to 680	7,071	1833
	1834	7,894,634	.....	.....	21,381	14,253	66·66	1 to 555	7,319	1834
	1835	7,937,616	.....	.....	21,205	15,216	72·22	1 to 516	7,319	1835
	1836	7,980,637	.....	.....	23,891	18,110	71·75	1 to 436	7,540	1836
	1837	8,023,995	.....	.....	14,804	9,536	64·61	1 to 828	7,633	1837
	1838	8,067,596	.....	.....	15,723	9,609	61·11	1 to 822	9,187	1838
	1839	8,111,438	.....	.....	26,392	12,049	45·65	1 to 640	8,390	1839
	1840	8,155 521	37,057	10,910	23,833	11,194	46·96	1 to 723	8,581	1840
	1841	8,175,124	110,278	31,108	20,796	9,287	44·66	1 to 880	8,623	1841
	1842	8,220,926	281,233	87,604	21,186	9,874	46·61	1 to 828	9,273	1842
	1843	8,239,832	244,374	87,898	20,126	8,620	42·83	1 to 948	9,043	1843
	1844	8,276,627	271,334	105,358	19,448	8,042	41·39	1 to 1,016	9,159	1844
	1845	8,295,061	316,025	114,205	16,696	7,101	42·53	1 to 1,127	10,550	1845
	1846	8,287,848	435,001	243,933	18,492	8,639	46·72	1 to 946	11,269	1846
	1847	8,025,274	803,686	417,139	31,209	15,233	48·81	1 to 536	11,011	1847
Suspension of Habeas Corpus	1848	7,639,800	1,835,634	2,043,505	38,522	18,206	47·26	1 to 449	12,065	1848
	1849	7,256,314	2,177,651	2,142,766	41,989	21,202	50·49	1 to 386	12,212	1849
	1850	6,877,549	1,430,108	1,174,267	31,326	17,708	54·61	1 to 477	12,212	1850
	1851	6,551,970	1,141,647	755,347	24,684	14,377	58·17	1 to 453	12,385	1851
	1852	6,336,889	833,267	519,775	17,678	10,454	59·14	1 to 626	12,381	1852
	1853	6 198,984	785,718	409,618	15,144	8,714	57·54	1 to 758	12,346	1853

	1854	6,083,183	760,152	319,616	11,788	7,051	59·81	1 to 920	12,166	1854
	1855	6,014,665	685,259	205,226	9,012	5,220	57·92	1 to 1,150	12,107	1855
	1856	5,972,851	576,390	2,170,136	7,099	4 024	56·68	1 to 1,628	11,789	1856
	1857	5,919,454	498,889	190,823	7,210	3,925	54·44	1 to 1,516	12,039	1857
	1858	5,890,814	457,337	183,056	6,308	3,350	53·11	1 to 1,799	12,058	1858
	1859	5,861,711	413,712	159,131	5,865	3,109	53·01	1 to 1,930	12,184	1859
	1860	5,820,960	454,531	179,514	5,386	2,579	55·31	1 to 2,014	12,394	1860
	1861	5,798,564	516,769	217,430	5,586	3,271	58·56	1 to 1,762	12,451	1861
	1862	5,775,588	578,789	291,149	6,666	3,796	56·95	1 to 1,528	12,450	1862
	1863	5,718,235	605,981	317,624	6,078	3,285	54·04	1 to 1,765	12,332	1863
	1864	5,640,527	596,465	295,835	5,086	3,000	58·99	1 to 1,932	12,141	1864
	1865	5,594,589	600,549	288,996	4,657	2,661	57·14	1 to 2,140	11,815	1865
	1866	5,522,942	611,891	270,173	4,326	2,418	55·90	1 to 2,398	11,781	1866
Suspension of Habeas Corpus	1867	5,486,509	676,776	317,346	4,561	2,732	59·90	1 to 2,034	12,070	1867
	1868	5,465,914	707,556	339,728	4,127	2,394	58·01	1 to 2,422	13,251	1868
	1869	5,449,094	675,884	285,378	4,151	2,452	59·07	1 to 2,258	12,848	1869
	1870	5,418,512	668,202	284,856	4,936	3,048	61·75	1 to 1,772	12,848	1870
	1871	5,402,759	685,668	282,492	4,485	2,557	57·00	1 to 2,152	12,274	1871
	1872	5,372,199	729,331	296,256	4,476	2,565	57·30	1 to 2,094	11,558	1872
	1873	5,337,261	790,560	319,242	4,544	2,541	55·90	1 to 2,100	11,265	1873
	1874	5,314,844	817,281	320,160	4,130	2,367	57·67	1 to 2,231	11,164	1874
	1875	5,309,494	771,553	281,356	4,248	2,484	58·85	1 to 2,123	11,159	1875
	1876	5,321,618	763,155	250,095	4,146	2,343	57·01	1 to 2,257	11,448	1876
	1877	5,338,906	780,326	267,031	3,870	2,330	59·07	1 to 2,310	11,095	1877
	1878	5,351,060	845,608	324,100	4,182	2,192	52·42	1 to 2,442	10,932	1878
	1879	5,363,324	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

NOTE.—The Peace Preservation Police was in existence in the County and City of Limerick in the year 1828. In 1832 it was established in the Counties of Clare, Roscommon, Galway, and Kilkenny. In the year following it was extended to Kilkenny (city), and to the Counties of Tipperary and Wicklow. In October, 1836, it was incorporated with the Constabulary under 6 Will. IV. c. xiii.

Appendix B.

A LIST OF COERCIVE AND PREVENTIVE MEASURES APPLIED TO IRELAND, 1830-1880.

(1) 1830. July 16. Importation of Arms Act. One year.
(2) 1831. Oct. 15. Act to Prevent Tumultuous Risings. Whiteboy Act.
(3) 1831. Oct. 15. Arms Act. Stanley's Arms Act.
(4) 1832. Aug. 1. Importation of Arms and Gunpowder. One.
(5) 1833. April 2. Suppression of Disturbances. Lord Grey's Coercion Act.
(6) 1833. Aug. 28. Change of Venue.
(7) 1834. July 30. Suppression of Disturbances Amendment and Continuance. Coercion Act Continuance. One Year.
(8) 1834. Aug. 13. Importation of Arms and Gunpowder Continuance.
(9) 1835. Aug. 31. Public Peace. Five years.
(10) 1836. July 28. Importation of Arms and Gunpowder Continuance.
(11) 1838. Aug. 4. Importation of Arms and Gunpowder Amendment and Continuance.
(12) 1839. Aug. 24. Unlawful Oaths.
(13) 1840. July 23. Importation of Arms and Gunpowder Continuance.
(14) 1841. April 6. Houghing of Cattle, &c.
(15) 1841. June 21. Importation of Arms and Gunpowder Continuance.
(16) 1843. Aug. 22. Importation of Arms and Gunpowder Amendment and Continuance. A Consolidation Act.
(17) 1844. Aug. 6. Unlawful Oaths Continuance.
(18) 1845. July 21. Additional Constables near Public Works.
(19) 1845. July 31. Unlawful Oaths Amendment and Continuance. Two years.
(20) 1846. Aug. 28. Constabulary Force Enlargement, &c.
(21) 1847. Dec. 20. Crime and Outrage. One year.
(22) 1848. April 22. Treason Amendment.
(23) 1848. June 9. Removal of Aliens. One year.
(24) 1848. July 25. Habeas Corpus Suspension. Six months.
(25) 1848. Aug. 31. Unlawful Oaths Amendment and Continuance. Two years.
(26) 1849. Feb. 27. Habeas Corpus Suspension. Six months.

(27) 1850. Aug. 14. Crime and Outrage Continuance. Eighteen months.
(28) 1851. Aug. 1. Unlawful Oaths Continuance. Five years.
(29) 1852. June. 30. Crime and Outrage Continuance. Fourteen months.
(30) 1853. Aug. 15. Crime and Outrage Continuance. One year.
(31) 1854. Aug. 10. Crime and Outrage Continuance. One year.
(32) 1855. Aug. 14. Crime and Outrage Continuance. One year.
(33) 1856. June 30. Peace Preservation. One year.
(34) 1856. July 29. Unlawful Oaths Amendment and Continuance. Five years.
(35) 1858. June 28. Peace Preservation (1856) Continuance Act. Two years.
(36) 1860. Aug. 28. Peace Preservation (1856) Amendment and Continuance Act. Two years.
(37) 1862. June 30. Peace Preservation Continuance Act. One year.
(38) 1862. July 7. Unlawful Oaths Continuance Act. Five years.
(39) 1865. July 5. Peace Preservation Amendment and Continuance. One year.
(40) 1866. Feb. 17. Habeas Corpus Suspension. Six months.
(41) 1866. Aug. 10. Habeas Corpus Suspension. Six months.
(42) 1867. Feb. 26. Habeas Corpus Suspension. Six months.
(43) 1867. May 31. Habeas Corpus Suspension. Ten months.
(44) 1868. Feb. 28. Habeas Corpus Suspension. Thirteen months.
(45) 1870. April 4. Peace Preservation (1870). Sixteen months.
(46) 1871. June 16. Protection of Life and Property, and Peace Preservation (1870) Continuance. One Year.
(47) 1873. May 26. Peace Preservation (1870), and Protection of Life and Property (1871) continuance. Two years.
(48) 1875. May 28. { Peace Preservation (1875). Two years and as to part to June 1, 1880. Unlawful Oaths Continuance. Five years.

NOTE.—Some of the above statutes may be called purely coercive; that is they are intended to check insurrectionary disturbances; others are purely criminal, as the Act against the houghing of cattle in 1841; a third class, such as the Constabulary Force Enlargement Act, 1846, is preventive. I have thought it best not to adopt a logical classification, which could not fail to exhibit cross divisions, but to bring them together in their chronological order. They were all enacted with special application to Ireland; indeed, with one or two exceptions, that application is exclusive.

Appendix C.

AN ABSTRACT OF COERCIVE AND PREVENTIVE STATUTES APPLIED TO IRELAND, 1830–1880.

(1) 1830. 11 Geo. IV. and 1 Will. IV., c. xliv. (16th July, 1830.)

An Act to regulate, for one year, the importation of arms, gunpowder, and ammunition into Ireland, and the making, removing, selling, and keeping of arms, gunpowder, and ammunition in Ireland.

§ 1. No ordnance, arms, gunpowder, &c., shall be imported into Ireland without licence from the Lord-Lieutenant.

§ 2. Persons may land arms for personal defence on registering the same.

§ 3. Arms, &c., imported without licence to be forfeited, as also the importing vessels. Penalty on importer, £100; and on master of vessel, £50. Offenders may be arrested and bound before Justice of the Peace with sureties.

§ 4. No person shall manufacture gunpowder, or keep gunpowder, cannon, or ordnance, without a license. Penalty £50 and forfeiture of the gunpowder, &c.

§ 5. No person not licensed as a manufacturer shall sell gunpowder without a licence. Penalty £50 and forfeiture of gunpowder, &c.

§ 6. Licences shall not be granted to any person not licensed under 3 Geo. IV., c. iv., without a certificate of justices at quarter sessions. License may be refused although such certificate be granted.

§ 7. Licences may be suspended on notice from Chief Secretary. Selling gunpowder during suspension of licence: penalty £500 and forfeiture of gunpowder, &c.

§ 8. Quantity of gunpowder sold to be endorsed on buyer's licence.

§ 9. Penalty on selling more than 2lb. to unlicensed person, £20.

§ 10. Selling more than 2lb. within two months to an unlicensed person.

§ 11. Arms, &c., removed without licence may be seized.

§ 12. Proviso for arms for personal defence, sporting, &c.

§ 13. No gunpowder to be kept by persons not authorised to carry arms.

§ 14. Arms in Dublin and Cork may be sent out without licence.

§ 15. Dealers shall give notice of receiving gunpowder to magistrate.

§ 16. Penalty on procuring gunpowder for an unlicensed person £200.

§ 17. Gunpowder makers shall return account of their stock,

&c., to Chief Secretary ; and keep accounts of sales, &c., to be inspected, and stock examined under orders.

§ 18. Penalty for not making returns, &c., £20.

§ 19. In what cases gunpowder may be sent with a manifest only.

§ 20. Penalty on fraud by manifest, £500.

§ 21. Gunpowder exceeding 5lb. shall be removed in casks, &c. Penalty £500.

§ 22. Yearly licence to be had for making or repairing arms. Penalty : forfeiture of arms and £100.

§ 23. Monthly account of arms sold, &c., shall be kept and returned to the Chief Secretary. Books may be examined. Penalty on default, £20.

§ 24. Justice of Peace may search for arms, &c.

§ 25. Revoking licences.

§ 26. Recovery of forfeitures, &c., for use of the Crown.

§ 27. Remitting penalties.

§ 28. Commissioners, &c., may restore ships, &c., and remit penalties, &c., under certain circumstances.

§ 29. Limitation of actions.

(Repealed : 6 and 7 Vic., c. 74 § 61.)

(2) 1831. 1 and 2 Will. IV., c. xliv. (15th Oct., 1831.)

An Act to amend an Act, passed in the Parliament of Ireland in the fifteenth and sixteenth years of the reign of his Majesty King George the Third, intituled "An Act to prevent and punish tumultuous risings of persons within this kingdom, and for other purposes herein mentioned."

§ 1. Repeals part of recited Act as to infliction of punishment of death in certain cases, &c., and substitutes fine, imprisonment, pillory, or whipping.

§ 2. Any person who shall compel or menace anyone to quit his farm or employment, or shall assault or break into any habitation, or injure property, or carry away horses, &c., shall be liable to transportation or imprisonment.

§ 3. Sending threatening notices or letters, &c.: transportation or imprisonment.

§ 4. Breaking gaol : transportation or imprisonment.

§ 5. Rescuing prisoners : transportation or imprisonment.

§ 6. Persons abetting or encouraging others to commit any offence punishable by transportation, to be transported or imprisoned.

§ 7. Court may order persons convicted to be removed out of the county.

§ 8. Court may fine witnesses who do not attend.

(Repealed as to § 1 by statute Law Revision Act, 1874 ; as to rest in force.)

(3) 1831. 1 and 2 Will. IV., c. xlvii. (15th Oct., 1831).

An Act to revive for one year three Acts made in the forty-seventh and fiftieth years of the reign of his Majesty King George the Third, and in the tenth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Fourth, for the preventing improper persons from having arms in Ireland, and to indemnify such persons as may have acted in the execution of and pursuant to the provisions of the said Acts since the expiration thereof.

§ 1. Recited Acts 47 Geo. III., session 2, c. liv.; 50 Geo. III., c. c x , and 10. Geo. IV., c. xlvii., revived and continued for one year.

§ 2. Indemnity for matters done since the expiration of recited Acts.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1874.)

(4) 1832. 2 and 3 Will. IV., c. lxx. (1st August, 1832).

An Act to continue for one year, and from thence to the end of the then next session of Parliament, several Acts relating to the importation and keeping of arms and gunpowder in Ireland.

§ 1. Recited Act of 47 Geo. III., as amended by the Acts of 50 Geo. III. and 10 Geo. IV., and revived by the Act of 1 and 2 Will. IV., c. xlvii., further continued.

§ 2. The Act 1 Will. IV., c. xliv., further continued.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1874).

5) 1833. 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. iv. (2nd April 1833). Lord Grey's Coercion Act.

An Act for the more effectual suppression of local disturbances and dangerous associations in Ireland.

§ 1. Lord-Lieutenant may by order prohibit or suppress any meeting deemed by him to be dangerous to the public safety. Meetings so prohibited shall be unlawful and, after notice given, every person present guilty of misdemeanour.

§ 2. Two justices may enter by force any place where a prohibited assembly is held, and read a notice to the persons to disperse. Persons not dispersing within a quarter of an hour deemed guilty of a misdemeanour and may be apprehended then or afterwards.

§ 3. Persons prosecuted by indictment to plead forthwith. l

§ 4. The Lord-Lieutenant may issue his proclamation declaring any county to be so disturbed as to require the application of this law; and such county shall be deemed a proclaimed district.

§ 5. Proclamation shall warn inhabitants to abstain from unlawful assemblies.

§ 6. County so proclaimed to be a district within the Act from the publishing of the proclamation therein.

§ 7. All justices, constables, &c., and all commissioned officers required to suppress disturbances and to bring to trial offender.

§ 9. Tenants of houses in proclaimed districts to deliver to chief constable, &c., correct lists of all males, distinguishing those of the age of fourteen from those under. One of such lists, countersigned by the constable, to be posted on the door or kept by the tenant; the other to be kept by the constable. False statement deemed a misdemeanour.

§ 10. Forms for facilitating such lists to be provided. Expenses thereof to be defrayed by presentment.

§ 11. No meeting allowed in a proclaimed district for petitioning Parliament, &c., without notice given to the Lord-Lieutenant and his consent obtained.

§ 12. Not to extend to meetings convened by high sheriff, &c. In proclaimed districts any person not being resident or a registered freeholder of £20 taking part at meetings guilty of a misdemeanour.

§ 13. Lord-Lieutenant and any officer commanding the district authorised by him may commission officers to hold courts-martial for trial of offences.

§ 15. Number of members necessary to concur in decisions in such courts.

§ 16. A serjeant-at-law or barrister of five years standing to act as judge or advocate at such courts.

§ 17. Oath to be taken by members of the court.

§ 18. Lord-Lieutenant, &c., may order persons charged with offences by this Act made cognisable by courts-martial to be tried before them.

§ 19. Lord-Lieutenant may issue orders for carrying sentences into effect.

§ 20. Courts-martial may compel the attendance of witnesses and commit in case of refusal to give evidence.

§ 21. Any person liable to be prosecuted within any proclaimed district for any offence against 27 Geo. III., c. xv. (1); 50 Geo. III., c. cii; 1 and 2 Will. IV., c. xliv.; or 2 and 3 Will. IV., c. cxviii., or with any offence against this Act may be tried by such courts-martial. Courts-martial may try capital offences, and sentence to transportation, but not inflict whipping.

§ 22. Persons found out of their houses under suspicious circumstances in a proclaimed district after sunset may be committed, and if convicted, deemed guilty of a misdemeanour.

§ 23. Justices, &c., may, after sunset, require the male inhabitants of any house in a proclaimed district to shew themselves. Persons absent deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, unless they prove some lawful occasion.

§ 24. If arms are found in the possession of any person not

authorised to keep the same, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour.

§ 25. Persons wilfully injuring anyone who has appeared as juror, witness, &c., or deterring anyone from appearing, shall be liable to transportation.

§ 26. But offences punishable with death under any law now in force to remain so, the person being convicted thereof by any competent court other than a court-martial.

§ 27. Making any signal or giving intimation to persons engaged in any assembly against the provisions hereof, or notice to assemble to the endangering of the public peace, a misdemeanour. Such offences within a proclaimed district cognisable by a court-martial.

§ 28. Nothing done in pursuance of this Act in any proclaimed district to be questionable in any court. Officers, &c., acting in pursuance of such power or authority shall be responsible only to courts-martial.

§ 29. Persons arrested may be detained.

§ 30. Persons swearing falsely to be liable to the penalties of perjury.

§ 31. If a person in custody under this Act for any offence committed in a proclaimed district shall sue forth a writ of Habeas Corpus within three calendar months from the time of his first arrest it is to be a sufficient return that the party suing forth the same is detained under this Act.

§ 32. Offences made under this Act not bailable. Persons arrested to be brought to trial within three months.

§ 33. Hard labour may be added to imprisonment for certain offences.

§ 41. This Act to continue in force till 1st August, 1834.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1874).

(6) 1833. 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. lxxix. (28th August, 1833). Change of Venue.

An Act to provide for the more impartial trial of offences in certain cases in Ireland.

§ 1. On indictments for offences committed in any county in Ireland the Court of Queen's Bench, upon application of the Attorney-General or petition of the prosecutor, may order the trial thereof to take place in any adjoining county or in Dublin.

§ 2. Expense of transmission of prisoners, &c., to be reimbursed by the Lord-Lieutenant. To continue in force till 1st August, 1834.

(Continued in force till 1840.)

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1874.)

(7) 1834. 4 and 5 Will. IV., c. xxxviii. (30th July, 1834). Coercion Act Continuance.

An Act to continue, under certain modifications, to the first day

of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five, an Act of the third year of his present Majesty for the more effectual suppression of local disturbances and dangerous associations in Ireland.

§ 1. Recited Act (3 and 4 Will. IV., c. iv.) further continued except as repealed by this Act.

§ 2. Certain clauses in recited Act relative to the suppression of meetings and to the holding of courts-martial repealed.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1874.)

(8) 1834. 4 and 5 Will. IV., c. liii. (13th August, 1834).

An Act to continue for one year, or from thence to the end of the then next session of Parliament, several Acts relating to the importation and keeping of arms and gunpowder in Ireland.

§ 1. Recited Act 47 Geo. III., as amended by the Acts of 50 Geo. III. and 10 Geo. IV., and revised by the Act of 1 and 2 Will. IV., further continued.

§ 2. The Act. 2 Geo. IV., and 1 Will. IV., c. 44, further continued.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1874.)

(9) 1835. 5 and 6 Will. IV., c. xlviii. (31st August, 1835.)

An Act for the better prevention and more speedy punishment of offences endangering the public peace in Ireland.

§ 1. Lord-Lieutenant in Council may order an extraordinary court of general sessions to be holden for any county in Ireland.

§ 2. Such court to have powers of any court of Oyer and Terminer, &c.

§ 3. Prosecutors, offenders, witnesses, &c., shall be bound to attend thereat on receiving a written notice to that effect.

§ 6. Offenders to be tried forthwith unless court shall otherwise order.

§ 7. Proceedings not to be removed by certiorari, &c.

§ 8. Carrying or concealing firearms in certain cases to be deemed a misdemeanour.

§ 9. Lord-Lieutenant, on presentment of grand jury, may direct such court to issue a notice enjoining the inhabitants of places therein specified to remain within their habitations at night.

§ 10. Any persons found abroad in the night after such notice, in any place specified therein, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour.

§ 11. After the day named in such notice court may authorise by warrant domiciliary visits in the places therein specified, &c.

§ 13. Court may summon and examine on oath persons certified to have been absent from their dwellings, and may imprison and fine any person convicted thereof who cannot satisfactorily account for the same.

§ 14. Giving false information a misdemeanour.
§ 17. Act to be in force for five years.
(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1874.)

(10) 1836. 6 and 7 Will. IV, c. xxxix. (28th July, 1836).
An Act to continue for one year, and from thence to the end of the then next session of Parliament, the several Acts relating to the importation and keeping of arms and gunpowder in Ireland.

§ 1. The Acts 47 Geo. III, session 2. c. liv.; 50 Geo. III., c. cix.; 10 Geo. IV., c. xlvii.; 1 and 2 Will. IV., c. xlvii., continued for one year.
§ 2. The Act 1 Will. IV., c. xliv., continued for one year.
(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1874.)

(11) 1838. 1 and 2 Vic. c. lxxi. (4th August, 1838).
An Act to amend and continue for one year, and from thence to the end of the then next session of Parliament, the several Acts relating to the importation and keeping of arms and gunpowder in Ireland.

§ 1. The Acts 47 Geo. III., session 2. c. liv.; 50 Geo. III., c. cix.; 10 Geo. IV., c. xlvii.; 1 and 2 Will. IV., c. xlvii., continued for one year.
§ 2. Arms to be registered within forty-eight hours.
§ 3. Registered arms may be used for killing game, carried for protection, and removed for repairs, &c.
§ 4. The Act 1 Will. IV., c. xliv. continued for one year.
(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1874.)

(12) 1839. 2 and 3 Vic. c. lxxiv. (24th August, 1839).
An Act to extend and render more effectual for five years, an Act passed in the fourth year of his late Majesty George IV. to amend an Act passed in the fifth year of his Majesty George III. for preventing the administering and taking unlawful oaths in Ireland.

§ 1. All societies of the nature herein described declared to be unlawful; and all persons becoming members thereof, or corresponding therewith, deemed guilty of unlawful combination.
§ 2. Not to extend to Freemasons' societies, &c.
§ 5. Act to continue for five years from September 1st, 1839.
(Repealed as to § 5: Statute Law Revision Act, 1874).

(13) 1840. 3 and 4 Vic., c. xxxii. (23rd July, 1840).
An Act to continue for one year and from thence until the end of the then next session of Parliament, the several Acts relating to the importation and keeping of arms and gunpowder in Ireland.

§ 1 The Acts 47 Geo. III., session 2, c. liv.; 50 Geo. III., c.

cix ; 10 Geo. IV., c. xlvii ; 1 & 2 Will. IV., c. xlvii., continued for one year.

§ 2. 11 Geo. IV. and 1 Will. IV., c. xliv., continued for one year.

(Repealed : Statute Law Revision Act, 1874)

(14) 1841. 4 and 5 Vic., c. x. (6th April, 1841).

An Act for extending to the County of the City of Dublin the provisions of an Act passed in the nineteenth and twentieth years of his late Majesty King George the Third in Ireland, intituled "An Act to prevent the detestable practices of houghing cattle, burning houses, barns, haggards, and corn, and for other purposes," so far as relates to burning of houses.

§ 1. Certain provisions of 19 and 20 Geo. III. (I), extended to Dublin, as regards indemnification of persons injured.

§ 3. Sufferers of loss by malicious burning in Dublin entitled to satisfaction by petition to Court of Queen's Bench.

(In force.)

(15) 1841. 4 and 5 Vic., c. xxv. (21st June, 1841).

An Act to amend and continue for one year and to the end of the then next session of Parliament the several Acts relating to the importation and keeping of arms and gunpowder in Ireland.

§ 1. The Acts 47 Geo. III., session 2, c. liv. ; 50 Geo. III. c. cix. ; 10 Geo. IV., c. xlvii. ; 1 and 2 Will. IV., c. xlvii., as amended to be continued for one year.

(Repealed : 6 and 7 Vic., c. lxxiv., § 61.)

(16) 1843. 6 and 7 Vic., c. lxxiv. (22nd August, 1843.)

An Act to amend and continue for two years, and to the end of the then next session of Parliament, the laws in Ireland relative to the registering of arms, and the importation, manufacture, and sale of arms, gunpowder, and ammunition.

§1. Licences to keep arms how to be applied for.

§ 2. Applications for licences to be considered at the sessions for the division where the applicant resides.

§ 4. Persons already licensed applying within 21 days of commencement of Act, to be licensed without inquiry, unless notice of inquiry shall have been served upon them.

§ 7. List of persons licensed at each sessions to be made.

§ 8. Appeal against refusal of licence.

§ 9. Arms to be marked.

§ 12. Licensed persons changing abode shall give notice.

§ 13. Penalty for keeping arms without licence, £10 first offence, £20 after and forfeiture of arms.

§ 15. Justice, &c., may examine arms carried by any person, and require his name and abode ; and persons refusing to allow arms to be examined or to tell his name, &c., may be apprehended. Such persons to be brought before a justice within twelve hours.

§ 16. Penalty for refusing to allow examination of arms, or to tell name and abode, £5.

§ 18. In case of death of licensed person licence may be temporarily assigned to some member of the family by justices at petty sessions.

§ 19. Persons licensed to keep arms, disposing of the same, shall give notice of such sale. Penalty, £5.

§ 20. Licensed persons shall produce arms when required by justices at petty sessions.

§ 21. Justices may withdraw licences and cause names to be erased and give notice to such persons.

§ 22. Persons served with such notices who do not deliver up their licences and arms shall be liable to forfeiture.

§ 23. Justices may enter houses on suspicion of having arms unregistered, &c.

§ 24. Two justices having suspicion that arms are unlawfully kept in any county, may report to the Lord-Lieutenant, who by warrant may order general search to be made for them.

§ 25. Penalty on persons having pikes, &c., in their possession. Misdemeanour. Twelve months' imprisonment first offence; second and other offences, three years.

§ 26. No arms, gunpowder, &c., shall be imported into Ireland without licence from the Lord-Lieutenant.

§ 27. Persons may import arms for personal defence or sporting, on registering the same with officer of the port.

§ 28. Arms, &c., imported without licence to be forfeited, and penalty of £10 on importer.

§ 29. No person shall manufacture gunpowder in Ireland without licence of Lord-Lieutenant. Penalty, £50, and forfeiture of gunpowder, &c.

§ 30. No person, not licensed as a manufacturer, shall sell gunpowder without a licence for that purpose. Penalty, £50, and forfeiture of gunpowder, &c.

§ 31. No dealer shall sell gunpowder but to a licensed dealer, or to a person licensed to keep arms.

§ 33. No gunpowder or ammunition to be kept by unlicensed persons.

§ 34. Notice shall be given of sending out arms, and they shall be marked.

§ 35. Notice shall be given of sending out gunpowder. Penalty £20.

§ 36. Gunpowder exceeding 25lb. in weight shall be removed in casks, &c. Penalty £20.

§ 37. Penalty on licensed persons lending licences to unlicensed persons, £20.

§ 38. Gunpowder makers and dealers shall monthly return account of their stock to inspectors, &c., of constabulary, and keep books with accounts of sales, &c., to be inspected, and stock examined.

§ 39. Licences to be had for making or repairing arms. Penalty £50.

§ 40. Penalty on persons making or assisting in making pikes, &c., without licence—misdemeanour. Three years imprisonment.

§ 41. Monthly account of arms sold, &c., shall be kept and returned to inspector, &c. Books may be examined. Penalty on default, &c., £20.

§ 42. Licences under this Act may be suspended on notice from Chief or Under Secretary to party licensed.

§ 43. Justice of peace may search or authorise the searching for arms and gunpowder.

§ 51. Members of Yeomanry Corps to register their arms.

§ 60. Appeal to Quarter Sessions, of which the determination is to be final.

§ 61. Repeal of 11 Geo. IV. and Will. IV., c. xliv.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1874.)

(17) 1844. 7 and 8 Vic., c. lxxviii. (6th August, 1844).

An Act to continue for one year an Act of the second and third years of her present Majesty, intituled, "An Act to extend and render more effectual for five years an Act passed in the fourth year of his late Majesty King George the Fourth, to amend an Act passed in the fiftieth year of his Majesty George the Third, for preventing the administering and taking unlawful oaths in Ireland."

2 and 3 Vict, c. lxxiv, continued to the 1st day of September, 1845.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1874).

(18) 1845. 8 and 9 Vic., c. xlvi. (21st July, 1845).

An Act for the appointment of additional constables for keeping the peace near public works in Ireland.

§ 1. Additional head and other constables may be appointed by the Lord-Lieutenant to keep the peace near the works of railways, &c., in Ireland.

§ 2. Expense of additional head and other constables to be paid by the company or parties carrying on such works.

(In Force).

(19) 1845, 8 and 9 Vic., c. lv. (31st July, 1845).

An Act to continue for two years and to the end of the then next session of Parliament, and to amend, an Act of the

second and third years of her present Majesty, intituled "An Act to extend and render more effectual for five years an Act passed in the fourth year of his late Majesty George the Fourth, to amend an Act passed in the fiftieth year of his Majesty George the Third, for preventing the administering and taking unlawful oaths in Ireland."

1. 2 and 3 Vic., c. lxxiv., continued for two years, as hereby amended.

§ 2. So much of last recited Act as enacts that persons having in possession copies of passwords, &c., shall be deemed guilty of unlawful combination, &c., repealed.

(Expired.)

(20) 1846. 9 and 10 Vic., c. xcvii. (28th August, 1846).

An Act to provide for removing the charge of the constabulary force in Ireland from the counties, and for enlarging the reserve forces; and to make further provision for the regulation and disposition of the said constabulary force.

§ 3. Power to Lord-Lieutenant to appoint any number of additional constables (not exceeding four head constables and one hundred constables for a barony, &c.) for any part of Ireland declared by proclamation, &c., to be in a disturbed state. When barony, &c., is declared by proclamation to cease to be in a disturbed state the additional constabulary force shall be discontinued.

§ 5. Nothing herein to relieve counties from the moiety of the cost of a further constabulary force applied for by magistrates, or of the reserve force, when employed therein, or of an increased constabulary force stationed there by the Lord-Lieutenant.

(The above sections still in force.)

(21) 1848. 11 and 12 Vic., c. ii. (20th December, 1847). Crime and Outrage. Ireland.

An Act for the better prevention of crime and outrage in certain parts of Ireland until the First day of December, One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, and to the end of the then next session of Parliament.

§ 1. Provisions of this Act to apply to any part of Ireland specified in proclamation issued by Lord-Lieutenant, &c., and published in the *Dublin Gazette*. Power to Lord-Lieutenant, &c., to revoke any proclamation as to the whole or part of the district named.

§ 2. Proclamations and abstracts of this Act to be posted in proclaimed districts.

§ 3. Power to Lord Lieutenant to increase the constabulary force in proclaimed districts, and to withdraw them from time to time.

§ 5. Power to Lord-Lieutenant, &c., further to increase the reserve constabulary force.

§ 6. Expenses of constables absent on duty from their residences under the authority of this Act to be advanced out of the Consolidated Fund.

§ 7. Such advances to be repaid by the district in such proportions as the Lord-Lieutenant shall direct.

§ 9. Penalty for carrying arms unlawfully within proclaimed districts—misdemeanour; two years with or without hard labour.

§ 10. Power to apprehend persons unlawfully carrying arms. Power to justices, constables, &c., to search persons suspected of carrying arms and take away the same.

§ 11. Power to Lord-Lieutenant, by notice published in the *Dublin Gazette*, to require persons having arms in proclaimed districts to deposit them in a place named in such notice.

§ 12. Punishment of persons knowingly having arms within proclaimed districts.

§ 13. Power to Lord Lieutenant to issue warrant to search for and seize arms in proclaimed district.

§ 14. Powers of persons under such warrant.

§ 15. Power to Lord-Lieutenant to appoint persons to grant licences to carry or have arms within proclaimed district.

§ 16 Power to justices and constables to call upon persons within proclaimed districts to join in pursuit after offenders. Penalty on refusing—misdemeanour; two years' imprisonment.

§ 17. Provisions of 15 and 16 Geo. III., c. xxi. (I.), and 1 and 2 Will. IV., c. xliv, to apply to districts proclaimed under this Act. At trial not necessary to prove the district to be in an insurrectionary state.

§ 18. Accessories after the fact to any murder committed may be tried and punished, although the principals may not have been convicted or taken.

(Repealed:

As to §§ 9 and 12 by the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1856.

As to § 14 by the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1870 (33 Vic., c. ix.).

As to §§ 16-18 by the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1856, and by the Statute Law Revision Act, 1875. As to the rest, in force.)

(22) 1848. 11 and 12 Vic., c. xii. (22nd April, 1848).

An Act for the better security of the Crown and Government of the United Kingdom.

§ 1. After passing of this Act provisions of 36 Geo. III., c. vii. and 57 Geo. III., c. vi., repealed, except as to offences against the person of the Sovereign.

§ 2. Certain provisions of 36 Geo. III., c. vii., extended to Ireland.

§ 3. Offences declared felonies by this Act to be punishable by transportation or imprisonment.

§ 7. Indictments for felony under this Act valid, though the facts may amount to treason.

§ 8. Accessories before the fact punishable as principals; accessories after the fact with two years' imprisonment.

(Repealed as to § 1 by Statute Law Revision Act, 1875. The rest of the above sections in force.)

(23) 1848. 11 and 12 Vic., c. xx. (9th June, 1848).

An Act to authorise for one year, and to the end of the then next Session of Parliament the removal of aliens from the realm.

§ 1. Power to Secretary of State or Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to order aliens to depart this realm. If aliens wilfully refuse to obey such order they may be committed to gaol until taken in charge for the purpose of being sent out of the realm.

§ 2. Penalty on aliens disobeying such order, one month's imprisonment for the first, twelve months' for the second and subsequent offences.

§ 3. Aliens on neglecting to obey order may be given in charge by warrant of Secretary of State or Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to be conveyed out of the kingdom. Where any alien shall allege any excuse for not complying with order, Privy Council to judge of the sufficiency of the same.

§ 4. Judges may admit aliens to bail in all cases if they see sufficient cause.

§ 5. Where alien not sent out of the realm within one month after commitment, judges, &c., empowered where application has been made to continue in, or discharge such alien out of, custody.

§ 7. Act to continue in force for one year, and to the end of the then next session of Parliament.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(24) 1848. 11 and 12 Vic., c. xxxv. (25th July, 1843). Habeas Corpus Suspension. Ireland.

An Act to empower the Lord-Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland to apprehend and detain until the First day of March, One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, such persons as he or they shall suspect of conspiring against her Majesty's person and Government.

§ 1. Persons imprisoned in Ireland for high treason, &c.,

may be detained till the 1st of March, 1849, and shall not be bailed or tried without an order from the Privy Council.

§ 2. Persons to whom warrants of commitment are directed shall detain the persons so committed in safe custody. Persons charged with custody, as also place of detention, may be changed by warrant as herein mentioned.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(25) 1848. 11 and 12 Vic., c. lxxxix. (31st August, 1848).

An Act to continue for two years and to the end of the then next session of Parliament, and to amend an Act of the second and third years of her present Majesty, intituled, "An Act to extend and render more effectual for five years an Act passed in the fiftieth year of his Majesty George III. for preventing the administering and taking unlawful oaths in Ireland."

§ 1. Recited Act of 2 and 3 Vic., c. 74, to continue in force for a further period of two years.

§ 2. Constables with warrant may enter and search house and seize papers and arms, &c.

(Repealed as to § 1: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(26) 1849. 12 and 13 Vic., c. ii. (27th February, 1849). Habeas Corpus Suspension. Ireland.

An Act to continue, until the First day of September, One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, an Act of the last session (11 and 12 Vic., c. xxxv.) for empowering the Lord-Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland to apprehend and detain such persons as he or they shall suspect of conspiring against her Majesty's person or Government.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(27) 1850. 13 and 14 Vic., c. cvi. (14th August, 1850). Crime and Outrage. Ireland.

An Act to continue, for a time to be limited, an Act of the eleventh year of her present Majesty for the better prevention of crime and outrage in certain parts of Ireland.

11 and 12 Vic., c. ii., continued to 31st December, 1851, and to the end of the then next session.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(28) 1851. 14 and 15 Vict., c. xlviii. (1st August, 1851).

An Act to continue an Act of the second and third years of her present Majesty, "to extend and render more effectual for five years an Act passed in the fourth year of his late Majesty George the Fourth, to amend an Act passed in the fiftieth year of his Majesty George the Third for preventing the administering and taking unlawful oaths in Ireland,"

as the same is amended by an Act of the eleventh and twelfth years of her Majesty's reign.

2 and 3 Vic., c. lxxiv., as amended by 8 and 9 Vic., c. lv., and 11 and 12 Vic., c. lxxxix., to continue in force from the passing of this Act for the further period of five years, and until the end of the then next session.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(29) 1852. 15 and 16 Vic., c lxvi. (30th June, 1852.) Crime and outrage. Ireland.

An Act to continue an Act of the eleventh year of her Majesty for the better prevention of crime and outrage in certain parts of Ireland.

11 and 12 Vic., c. ii., and 13 and 14 Vic., c. cvi. recited, and the former continued until 31st August, 1853.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(30) 1853. 16 and 17 Vic., c. lxxii. (15th August, 1853). Crime and outrage. Ireland.

An Act to continue an Act of the eleventh year of her present Majesty for the better prevention of crime and outrage in certain parts of Ireland.

11 and 12 Vic., c. ii. continued until the 31st of August, 1854.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(31) 1854. 17 and 18 Vic., c. xcii. (10th August, 1854). Crime and Outrage. Ireland.

An Act to continue an Act of the eleventh year of her present Majesty for the better prevention of crime and outrage in certain parts of Ireland.

11 and 12 Vic., c. 2 continued until the 31st August, 1855.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(32) 1855. 18 and 19 Vic., c. cxii. (14th August, 1855). Crime and Outrage. Ireland.

An Act to continue an Act of the eleventh year of her present Majesty for the better prevention of crime and outrage in certain parts of Ireland.

11 and 12 Vic. c. 2 continued until 1st July, 1856.

(Repealed: Statue Law Revision Act, 1875)

(33) 1856. 19 and 20 Vic., c. xxxvi. (30th June, 1856). Peace Preservation. Ireland.

§ 1. Repeals §§ 16—18 (and other sections) of 11 and 12 Vic., c. 2, and reduces punishment under §§ 9 and 12.

§ 2. Act to continue in force until 1st July, 1858.

(Repealed in part 33 and 34 Vic., c. 9, §§ 7, 16 (Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1870). The rest in force.)

(34) 1856. 19 and 20 Vic., c. lxxviii. (29th July, 1856).

An Act to continue the Act of the second and third years of her Majesty, chapter seventy-four, for preventing the administering and taking of unlawful oaths in Ireland, as amended by an Act of the eleventh and twelfth years of her Majesty's reign.

2 and 3 Vic., c lxxiv., as amended by 11 and 12 Vic., c. lxxxix., further continued for five years from passing of Act.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

35) 1858. 21 and 22 Vic., c. xxviii. (28th June, 1858.) Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1858.

An Act to continue the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1856.

Act continued till 1st July, 1860, and from thence till end of the then next session.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(36) 1860. 23 and 24 Vic., c. cxxxviii. (28th August, 1860.) Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1860.

An Act to continue and amend the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1856.

§ 1. Printed copies of proclamations, &c., to be posted within the district.

§ 2. 19 and 20 Vic., c. 36 (Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1856, further continued as amended by this Act until 1st July, 1862.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(37) 1862. 25 and 26 Vict., c. xxiv. (30th June, 1862) Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1862.

An Act to continue the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1856, as amended by the Act of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of Victoria, chapter one hundred and thirty-eight.

19 and 20 Vic., c. 36 (Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1856), as amended by 23 and 24 Vic., c. cxxxviii., further continued till 1st July, 1864.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875).

38) 1862. 25 and 26 Vic., c. xxxii. (7th July, 1862).

An Act to continue the Act of the second and third years of Victoria, chapter seventy-four, for preventing the administering of unlawful oaths in Ireland as amended by an Act of the eleventh and twelfth years of Victoria.

2 and 3 Vic., c., 74, as amended by 11 and 12 Vic., c. 89, continued for five years and to the end of the then next session of Parliament.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875).

(39) 1865. 28 and 29 Vic., c. cxviii. (5th July, 1865). Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1865.

An Act to continue and amend the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1856.

§ 4. Copy of Proclamation to be laid before Parliament.

§ 5. 19 and 20 Vic., c. 36, Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1856, as amended by this Act, continued till 1st July, 1866, and until the end of the then next session of Parliament.

(Repealed in part, 33 and 34 Vic., c. ix., and Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(40) 1866. 29 and 30 Vic, c. i. (7th February, 1866). Habeas Corpus Suspension, Ireland.

An Act to empower the Lord-Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland to apprehend and detain for a limited time such persons as he or they shall suspect of conspiracy against her Majesty's person and Government.

§ 1. Persons imprisoned in Ireland for high treason or treason felony, &c., may be detained till 1st September, 1866, and shall not be bailed or tried without an order from Privy Council.

§ 2. Persons to whom warrants of commitments are directed shall detain the persons so committed in safe custody. Persons charged with custody, as also place of detention, may be charged by warrant as herein mentioned.

(Repealed : Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(41) 1866. 29 and 30 Vic., c. cxix. (10th August, 1866.) Habeas Corpus Suspension, Ireland.

An Act to continue the Act of the twenty-ninth year of her present Majesty, chapter one, intituled, "An Act to empower the Lord-Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland to apprehend, and detain for a limited time, such person or persons as he or they shall suspect of conspiring against her Majesty's person and Government."

§ 1. 29 & 30 Vic., c. i., continued until the expiration of twenty-one days after the commencement of the then next session of Parliament.

(Repealed : Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(42) 1867. 30 and 31 Vic., c. i. (26th February, 1867.) Habeas Corpus Suspension. Ireland.

An Act to further continue the Act of the twenty-ninth year of the reign of her present Majesty, chapter one, intituled, "An Act to empower the Lord-Lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors in Ireland to apprehend, and detain for a limited time, such persons as he or they shall

suspect of conspiring against her Majesty's person and Government."

§ 1. 29 and 30 Vic., c. 1, further continued until 1st June, 1867.

§ 2. All prisoners under this Act to be treated as untried prisoners.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(43) 1867. 30 and 31 Vic., c. xxv. (31st May, 1867). Habeas Corpus Suspension, Ireland.

An Act to further continue the Act of the twenty-ninth year of the reign of her present Majesty, chapter one, intituled, "An Act to empower the Lord-Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland to apprehend, and detain for a limited time, such persons as he or they shall suspect of conspiring against her Majesty's person and Government."

§ 1. Continuation of 29 and 30 Vict., c. 1, till 1st March, 1868.

§ 2. All prisoners under this Act to be treated as untried prisoners.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(44) 1868. 31 and 32 Vic., c. vii. (28th February, 1868). Habeas Corpus Suspension, Ireland.

An Act to further continue the Act of the twenty-ninth year of the reign of her present Majesty, chapter one, intituled "An Act to empower the Lord-Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland to apprehend, and detain for a limited time, such persons as he or they shall suspect of conspiring against her Majesty's person and Government."

§ 1. Powers, &c., of 29 and 30 Vic., c. i, further continued until 25th March, 1869.

§ 2. All prisoners under this Act to be treated as untried prisoners.

(Repealed: Statute Law Revision Act, 1875.)

(45) 1870. 33 and 34 Vic., c. ix. (4th April, 1870). Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1870.

An Act to amend "The Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1856," and for other purposes, relating to the preservation of peace in Ireland.

§ 2. Act to continue in force till August 1, 1871.

PART I. AMENDMENT OF PEACE PRESERVATION ACT.

§ 6. Persons having game licences also to have licences to have and carry arms. Special licence to carry revolvers.

§ 7. Punishment for carrying or having arms in proclaimed district, increased from one to two years' imprisonment with or without hard labour.

§ 8. All the powers in force under 15 and 16 Geo. III, c. xxi., and 1 and 2 Will IV., c. xliv., to apply to proclaimed districts.

§ 10. Powers of persons acting under search warrants to enter houses by force, if necessary, to execute warrant.

§ 11. In proclaimed districts no dealer shall sell gunpowder ut to a licensed dealer, or to a person licensed to keep arms.

§ 12. In proclaimed districts arms to be sold, &c., only to persons licensed to have arms.

§ 13. In proclaimed districts, when felony committed, justices may summon persons suspected of being capable of giving evidence in relation to such offence, and punish persons refusing to give evidence.

§ 14. Persons charged with carrying or having arms may in certain cases be admitted to bail.

§ 15. Power to issue warrant to search in proclaimed districts for documents in handwriting of persons suspected of writing threatening letters.

§ 17. Printed copies of every proclamation, &c., issued under Peace Preservation Act to be posted on or near the door of one place of public worship in every parish, &c., in district.

PART II. SPECIAL PROCLAMATIONS.

§ 18. Provisions of this part of this Act to apply to proclaimed districts, when special proclamation is issued by the Lord-Lieutenant.

§ 19. The Lord-Lieutenant may by notice revoke licences to have or carry arms in a specially proclaimed district.

§ 20. Printed copies of every special proclamation to be posted, &c.

§ 22. Copies of special proclamations to be laid before Parliament.

§ 23. Power to arrest persons in districts specially proclaimed found out at night under suspicious circumstances.

§ 24. Power to Lord-Lieutenant by order to close public-houses in districts specially proclaimed.

§ 25. Power to arrest strangers in districts specially proclaimed.

§ 26. Power to justices to punish persons charged with certain offences.

§ 29. Venue may be changed on suggestion of Attorney-General.

PART III. GENERAL PROVISIONS.

§ 30. Newspapers containing treasonable or seditious matter, &c., to be forfeited to her Majesty.

§ 31. Power to Lord-Lieutenant to issue warrant to search for and seize newspaper, printing presses, types, &c.

§ 32. Power to enter premises to execute warrant.

§ 33. Power to maintain action in case of illegal search or seizure.

§ 35. No person not licensed as a manufacturer shall sell gunpowder without a licence for that purpose.

§ 36. Gunpowder makers and dealers within thirty days after commencement of Act, and afterwards monthly, shall return account of their stock to chief officer of police, and keep books with accounts of sales, &c., to be inspected and stock examined.

§ 37. Monthly account of arms sold, &c., shall be kept.

§ 38. Power of apprehending absconding witnesses.

§ 39. Power to grand jury to present compensation in certain cases of murder or maiming.

(Repealed in part 38 and 39 Vic., c. xiv., § 2. The rest in force.)

(46) 1871. 34 and 35 Vic., c. xxv. (16 June, 1871). Protection of Life and Property in Certain Parts of Ireland Act, 1871.

An Act to empower the Lord-Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland to apprehend, or detain for a limited time, persons suspected of being members of the Ribbon Society, or of being concerned in the commission of any crime or outrage under the direction or influence of the said Ribbon Society, in the county of Westmeath, or in certain adjoining portions of the county of Meath and the King's County; and to continue "The Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1870."

PART I.

§ 4. Lord-Lieutenant may issue an order by which the provisions of Part I. of this Act shall be applicable within "prescribed district."

§ 6. Copies of orders to be laid before Parliament.

§ 7. Power to Lord-Lieutenant by warrant to commit without trial certain persons.

§ 8. Persons to whom warrants of commitment are directed shall detain the persons so committed in safe custody. Persons charged with custody as also place of detention, may be changed by warrant as herein mentioned.

§ 9. All persons in custody under this part of this Act to be treated as untried prisoners.

§ 10. Part I. to continue in force till 1st June, 1873.

PART II.

§ 11. Continuance of Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1870.

§ 13. Moneys presented under § 39 of the Peace Preservation Act, 1870 may be raised and levied by yearly or half-yearly instalments.

(In force as to Part I.)

(47) 1873. 36 and 37 Vic., c. xxiv. (26th May, 1873). The Peace Preservation (Ireland) Acts Continuance Act, 1873.

An Act to Continue the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1870, and the Protection of Life and Property in Certain Parts of Ireland Act, 1871.

§ 2. Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1870, and Protection of Life and Property in Certain Parts of Ireland Act, 1871, continued till 1st June, 1875.

(48) 38 and 39 Vic., c. xiv. (28th May, 1875). Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1875.

An Act to amend and continue certain Acts for the preservation of the peace in Ireland, and to grant an indemnity in certain cases.

§ 3. Continuance of Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1870, to June 1, 1880, subject to amendments and modifications herein stated. Extension of licence to have arms. Powers of persons acting under warrant to seize arms. Punishment for having and carrying arms contrary to law reduced to one year's imprisonment. Summary proceedings in certain cases. Grand jury presentments for compensation under § 39 of Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1870, to be limited to cases where evidence as to murder, &c., is withheld.

§ 4. Continuance for five years of 2 and 3 Vic., c. lxxiv., as amended by 11 and 12 Vic., c. lxxxix., against unlawful oaths.

§ 5. No restriction to be placed on issue of writs of Habeas Corpus.

§ 6. Sections 1—9 of Protection of Life and Property in Certain Parts of Ireland Act, 1871, as continued by the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Acts Continuance Act, 1873, to remain in force till June 1, 1877.

NOTES.

(1) In the foregoing abridgment I have omitted such sections as were immaterial to the purpose in hand—e.g., such as prescribed modes of procedure and similar details.

(2) The first enactment dealing with the importation of arms into Ireland was 33 Geo. III., c ii. That was renewed by 35 Geo. III., c. xxiv.; by 36 Geo. III., c. xlii.; by 39 Geo. III., c. xxxvii. and by 40 Geo. III., c. xcvi.—all of which were passed by the Parliament of Ireland. The Act 40 Geo. III., c. xcvi., was a Seven Years' Renewal Act, expiring in 1807. This was renewed by 54 Geo. III., c. iii., which was amended by 1 and 2 Geo. IV., c. , and 1 Will. IV., c. xliv. The registration of arms in Ireland has been regulated by 36 Geo. III., c. xxvi.; 38 Geo. III., c. lxxxii.; 40 Geo. III., c. xcvi. ; a renewal Act, expiring in 1807; and 47 Geo. III., c. liv. The Act 6 and 7 Vic., c lxxiv., was in the nature of a Consolidation Act.

(3) The powers of the Irish magistracy are illustrated by the following memorandum addressed by the Chief Secretary to the magistrates:—

"Memorandum as to powers and duties of magistrates under the Acts 15 and 16 Geo. III., chap. 21, and 1 and 2 William IV., chap. 34.

1. All persons armed with firearms or any other weapons, or appearing in any disguise or wearing any unusual uniform or badge, or assuming any name or denomination not usually assumed by ordinary persons in their lawful occasions, who shall assemble or shall appear alone or with others by day or night to the terror of Her Majesty's subjects, are guilty of a high misdemeanour, subjecting them to imprisonment and other penalties.

2. All persons who assemble and unlawfully compel, or by force or threats attempt to compel, any one to quit his dwelling-house, farm, service, or employment, or maliciously break into any house or out-house, or cause any door to be opened by threats, or shall carry off any horse or mule, or any gun or other weapon, money or other property, or shall by threats cause the same to be given up to them, or shall maliciously dig up, turn up, cut down, level, demolish, or injure the lands or crops growing or severed, or the walls, paling, hedges, or other fences, or the cattle, goods, or chattels of any other person or persons, are guilty of a misdemeanour, subjecting them to imprisonment and other penalties.

3. Any person who shall write, publish, or give any notice, letter or message exciting or tending to excite any riot or unlawful assembly or combination, or threatening any violence to person or property, or demanding arms, ammunition, money or other property, or requiring any person to quit any employment, is liable to the same punishment as last above mentioned.

4. All persons aiding and abetting others in the commission of any of the above offences are equally guilty and liable to the punishment above mentioned.

5. All persons who by drum, horn, firing, shouting, or any signal excite or promote, or attempt to excite or promote, such unlawful meetings are also guilty of a high misdemeanour punishable by fine and imprisonment.

6. Any persons, who, by force or threats, unlawfully impose on or tender to any person any oath or solemn engagement are guilty of a grave misdemeanour punishable by fine and imprisonment.

7. All magistrates and constables are empowered and bound to apprehend, disperse, and oppose all persons so engaged, and may call upon and command all persons who are not disabled by age or infirmity to assist them in so doing.

8. Any two magistrates having reasonable cause to suspect any person to be guilty of any such unlawful firing, assembling, or appearing as above-mentioned, or of having been at any such unlawful assembly or of intending so to be, may and are required to summon before them any such person, and bind him over in his own recognizance to appear at the next assizes and to be of good behaviour in the meantime; and in case of refusal such magistrates have power to commit such person to gaol.

9. Every magistrate has authority to summon any person within his jurisdiction whom he thinks capable of giving material evidence as to any of the offences specified in the first, fifth, and sixth paragraphs, and examine him or her on oath and bind such person in recognizance to appear and give evidence, and on refusal to answer or to enter into recognizance, to commit such person to gaol.—By his Excellency's command, W. E. FORSTER.—Dublin Castle, December 1, 1880."

This circular is based upon the Statute 15 and 16, George III., c. xxi., as amended by 1 and 2 William IV., c. xliv. (see above 2.) The preamble of

the Statute of George III. recites that, &c.—"It has frequently happened of late years in different parts of this kingdom that several persons, calling themselves Whiteboys and others, as well by night as in the day-time, have, in a riotous, disorderly, and tumultuous manner, assembled together, and have abused and injured the persons, habitations and properties of many of His Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects, and have taken and carried away their horses and arms, and have compelled them to surrender up, quit, and leave their habitations, farms, and places of abode, and have with threats and violence imposed sundry oaths and solemn declarations contrary to law, and solicited several of His Majesty's subjects by threats and promises to join with them in such their mischievous and iniquitous proceedings, and have also sent threatening and incendiary letters to several persons, to the great terror of His Majesty's peaceable subjects." The Act (among many other provisions) makes it a misdemeanour for persons to assemble by night armed with firearms or any offensive weapon, or disguised in any manner, or with any particular badge, dress, or uniform not usually worn, or assuming "any particular name or denomination not usually assumed by His Majesty's subjects upon their lawful occasions." Another section makes it a felony to rise or assemble in the manner before mentioned, and to wilfully or maliciously shoot at, maim, or disfigure any person or persons; or to send a letter (with or without fictitious names) threatening to injure any person or property; or to unlawfully compel (or attempt by force, threats, or menaces to compel) any of His Majesty's subjects to quit their habitation, farm, place of abode, or lawful employment.

SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS.

JULY 25TH, 1848, TO SEPT. 1ST, 1849.

Return of Agrarian Outrages specially reported throughout Ireland for the period 1846-51, *that is, embracing the two years before and after.*

TABLE I.

Class	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.
1.—Offences against the Person	145	78	89	133	172	164
2.—Offences against Property	149	176	269	311	389	254
3.—Offences affecting the Public Peace	1009	366	437	513	801	595
Total	1303	620	795	957	1362	1013

Increase or decrease of Agrarian Outrages per cent., 1846-51.

TABLE II.

Class.	1847. (Compared with 1846)	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.
1.—Offences against the Person	Dec. 46·28	Inc. 14·1	Inc. 49·44	Inc. 29·32	Dec. 4·65
2.—Offences against Property	Inc. 18·12	Inc. 52·84	Inc. 15·61	Inc. 25·08	Dec. 34·7
3.—Offences affecting the Public Peace	Dec. 62·74	Inc. 19·4	Inc. 17·39	Inc. 56·14	Dec. 25·72
Total average	Dec. 52·77	Inc. 28·23	Inc. 20·38	Inc. 42·32	Dec. 25·62

SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS,

DEC. 1ST, 1866, to MAY 10TH, 1869.

Return of Agrarian Outrages specially reported throughout Ireland for the period 1864-71, *that is, embracing the two years before and after.*

TABLE I.

Class.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.
1.—Offences against the Person	23	24	11	8	22	52	48	
2.—Offences against Property	80	59	36	44	39	31	257	
3.—Offences affecting the Public Peace	203	95	40	71	99	684	1024	
Total.....	306	178	87	123	160	767	1329	368

NOTE—There is no return of agrarian outrages for 1871 tabulated according to specific offences.

Increase or decrease of Agrarian Outrages per cent., 1864-71.

TABLE II.

Class.	1865. (Compared with 1864.)	1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.
1.—Offences against the Person	Inc. 4·35	Dec. 54·17	Dec. 27·27	Inc. 175·00	Inc. 136·36	Dec. 7·69	
2.—Offences against Property ...	Dec. 26·25	Dec. 38·98	Inc. 22·22	Dec. 11·36	Dec. 20·51	Inc. 729·03	
3.—Offences affectfng the Public Peace	Dec. 53·2	Dec. 57·89	Inc. 77·5	Inc. 39·44	Inc. 591·00	Inc. 49·71	
Total average.....	Dec. 41·5	Dec. 41·12	Inc. 41·38	Inc. 30·08	Inc. 379·37	Inc. 73·27	Dec. 72·31

SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS,

DEC. 1ST, 1866, to MAY 10TH, 1869.

Return of the number of Indictable Offences specially reported throughout Ireland for the period 1864-70, *that is, embracing the two years before and one after.*

TABLE III.

Class.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.
1.—Offences against the Person	927	883	704	713	785	857	1029
2.—Offences against Property	1208	1008	797	773	891	815	1183
3.—Offences affecting the Public Peace	779	659	418	492	803	1430	2079
4.—Miscellaneous Offences	54	54	45	43	69	51	60
Total.....	2968	2604	1964	2021	2548	3153	4351

There are no returns of specially reported offences for 1871.

TABLE IV.

Increase and Decrease of Indictable Offences specially reported per cent—1864-70.

Class.	1865. Compared with 1864	1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.
1.—Offences againat the Person	Dec. 4·75	Dec. 20·27	Inc. 1·28	Inc. 10·1	Inc. 9·17	Inc. 20·07
2.—Offences against Property.....	Dec.16·56	Dec. 28·87	Inc. 7·81	Inc.15·27	Dec. 8.53	Inc. 45·15
3.—Offences against the Public Peace ...	Dec. 15·4	Dec. 36·57	Inc. 17.7	Inc.63·21	Inc.78·08	Inc. 45·38
4.—Miscellaneous Offences.....	nil	Dec. 16·67	Dec. 4·44	Inc.6C·47	Dec.26·09	Inc. 17·65
Total average.....	Dec.12·26	Dec. 24·58	Inc. 2·9	Inc. 26·08	Inc. 23·74	Inc.38.00

SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS.

DECEMBER 1, 1866, to MAY 10, 1869.

Statistics of all Indictable Offences not disposed of summarily for the period 1864 *to* 1871, *that is, embracing two years before and after.*

TABLE V.

Year.	Number of Offences.	Actual Increase.	Actual Decrease.
1864	10,865		
1865	9766		1099
1866	9082		684
1867	9260	178	
1868	9090		170
1869	9178	88	
1870	9517	339	
1871	8155		1362

WHAT

SCIENCE IS SAYING

ABOUT

IRELAND.

Science—(1) Knowledge; (2) Certainty grounded on Demonstration.

JOHNSON'S DICTIONARY.

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1881.

WHAT SCIENCE IS SAYING ABOUT IRELAND.

ABOUT Ireland and the Irish, science is asking the following thirty-nine questions :—

(1) "What is an Irishman?" Not "what is the Irishman of the north-west?" for he is not a pure Irishman; and not "what is the well-to-do Irishman"? who, though called one (as, for instance, the great Duke of Wellington), has often not a drop of aboriginal Celtic blood in him; but what is the creature of the lowest type that is sometimes called "the wild Irishman," and sometimes "the barbarous Celt?" What is the real aboriginal Irishman of the west and of the south? What place does he hold in the scale of human development, and what kind of government does he require in accordance with that place?

Irish savages. Sir G. Campbell.

Ireland, says Sir George Campbell, in the west-north-west and south-west is inhabited by people, so far as their material condition is concerned, as savage as any savages in the world. Whole families, he says, live in the same room as cows, pigs, and hens.

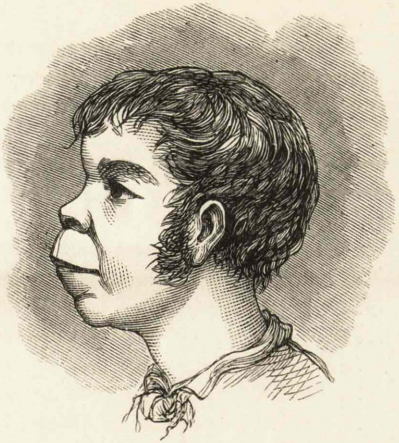
They are clothed in tatters, and subsist in the poorest way, untidily cultivating very small patches of half-reclaimed land with no implement higher than the spade, &c., &c.

Perhaps there is no savage lower than the inhabitant of Terra del Fuego, who, although living in a cold country, has never learned to build even a hovel. Most people will agree that the aboriginal Irish Celt is higher than the inhabitant of Terra del Fuego. Higher, too, than the Terra del Fuegan is the Digger Indian. The Digger Indian is called the Digger Indian because he subsists upon roots that he digs out of the ground. He wants energy to work steadily or provide for the future. He lives in the rudest of huts, and looks up with superstitious reverence to his ignorant priests or medicine men. The aboriginal Celt also lives (with his pigs) in the rudest of huts, subsists on roots that he digs out of the ground, and looks up with superstitious reverence to his ignorant priests or medicine men. Like the Digger Indian, too, he wants energy for steady industry. He will not even catch the fish in the seas that surround him, though they swarm with them. Now, although the aboriginal Irish Celt is certainly higher than the Digger Indian, still science is asking—

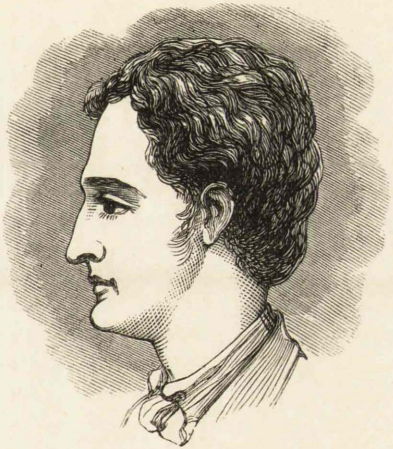
(2) How much higher is he?

Matthew Arnold describes the aboriginal Irish Celt as being "out at elbows, poor, slovenly, and half-barbarous." Probably some of the agricultural negroes in Africa are less barbarous than the aboriginal Irish Celt.

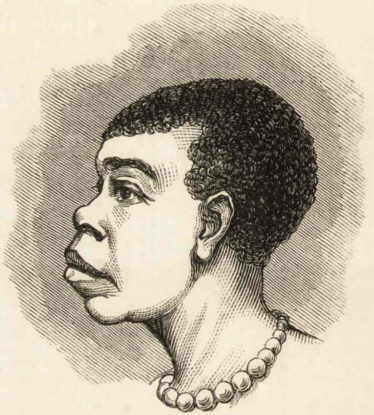
Twenty years ago, in the United States, all waiters at hotels were negroes or Irish. They never were employed together in the same hotel, because they



ABORIGINAL IRISH CELT.



SIR ISAAC NEWTON.



NEGRO.

fought so much. Of the two the negroes were preferred.

In 1847 Lord Palmerston wrote to Lord Minto as follows:—"I really believe there never has been out of the central regions of Africa such a state of crime as now exists in Ireland."

Some men of science consider some of the agricultural negroes of Africa to be higher than the aboriginal Irish Celt. They look on these negroes as representing humanity in a state of childhood, developed only a short way, but still so far *rightly* developed by ages of comparatively easy life in a sunny climate, and with plenty of good food; whilst they look on the aboriginal Irish Celt as being *wrongly* developed by ages of hard life in a gloomy climate and with bad food.

Why the aboriginal Celt lives where he does.

It is easy to account for the aboriginal Irish Celt living in the west where he does. At one time he inhabited the whole of Ireland. But Ireland for centuries was subject to inroads and invasions by all sorts of superior races, such as Danes, Norsemen, Saxons, Scotch mixed breeds, &c., &c. These invasions all came from the east, for no country to the west had yet been discovered. Coming from the east, the aboriginal savages were naturally driven to the west, where they settled. They were not driven further west, because the Atlantic prevented it. And the country they settled in was not taken from them, because it was not worth taking from them.

Kohl.

Comparing the western Irish with the Tartars, Kohl, the German traveller, says, "the Tartars of the Crimea are poor and barbarous, but they at least look like human beings."

The following is an extract from a recent newspaper :—

"A landlord, who owns a block of houses nearly all let to Irish people, and not very far from the Crystal Palace, complains that the tenants are always troublesome, dirty, and destructive."

"I have been not a little surprised," says a writer from California, "at the authority assumed by the Land League in Ireland. We have been a good deal troubled by Irish turbulence in San Francisco, but we know how to keep them in their proper place."

It may safely be said that never a week passes but some such paragraph as these two may be found in some English, American, or Colonial newspaper. Supposing in the towns of these countries there was, instead of an Irish quarter, a Malay quarter or a Carib Indian quarter, the accounts could hardly be worse. And yet Irishmen who emigrate are the pick of the race. They are the best and most energetic specimens. That they should be so is what one would naturally expect; that it actually is so Miss Charlotte O'Brien, in the last number of the 'Nineteenth Century,' states to be a fact. So if these are the pick, what must those be who are left behind? It can perhaps hardly be too strong an expression to say that the Irish population is the curse of all those countries which possess such populations, and that this is the cause more than any other *one* cause why progress towards civilisation in such countries is so slow as it is.

The Chinese are far more peaceable and well-behaved than the Irish, and yet the Americans are passing laws to keep them out of the country.

Perhaps the only reason they do not pass corresponding laws about the Irish is that the Chinese having yellow skins are more recognisable.

One sure indication of low type in a race is the disposition to sympathise with crime, and shield the criminal in opposition to the law. A superior race, even at its roughest, always insists on law of some sort —even Lynch law, where no better is to be had. It will not be necessary to remind the reader where the sympathies of the aboriginal Irish Celt lie.

Another sign of a low type is incapacity for *continuous* labour. "The constitutional energy," says Herbert Spencer, "necessary for *continuous* labour, without which there cannot be civilised life, is an energy that can only be acquired by inherited modifications *slowly accumulated*." Again he says, "in the lower types of men there is a physical incapacity for *continuous* labour." Incapacity for continuous energy.

Taking all these things into consideration, science is asking—

(3) Can the nature, the skin, and the prognathous* features of negroes be altered?

(4) Can the nature and the prognathous features of the aboriginal Celt be altered?

(5) If these changes are possible, can they be made under hundreds or even thousands of years?

(6) Is it wise to legislate in such a manner as to ensure for all time an endlessly and an infinitely

* As this word is to a certain degree a scientific one, some of the political gentlemen engaged in trade in provincial districts will not perhaps understand the meaning of it; so it may not be amiss to explain that prognathous means forwardness of position or large size of jaws and of the lower part of the face, as compared with smallness of brain and backward position of the head above.

increasing population, close to our shores, of these degraded and (according to anthropology and the scientific doctrine of heredity) almost if not quite hopelessly irreclaimable people?

Herbert Spencer's opinion about savages.

Mr. Herbert Spencer says that the more barbarous men are the less fit they are for free institutions, and the more they require, in order to repress vice and crime, a despotic form of government, and to

Sir Samuel Baker.

be ruled with a strong hand. Sir Samuel Baker describes passing in Africa from tribes which were ungoverned, and were in consequence in the lowest state of degradation, to the Unyoro country which was governed by an unflinching despot, who inflicted death or torture for the most trivial offences, but where they had in consequence of this despotism developed administration, sub-governors, taxes, good clothing, arts, agriculture, and architecture.

Social life, says H. Spencer, means co-operative life. And the commencement of co-operative life or civilisation amongst low types "can at first only be effective where there is obedience to peremptory command."

Amongst savages who are impulsive in conduct and with feeble powers of co-operation, says H. Spencer again, only small societies, at first under some local chief, can become integrated.

History shows that the aboriginal Irish Celt gives in at once when coerced with a strong hand. Men of a low type of organisation will excite themselves, like a Malay running a muck, for a time, but they are cowardly, and have no backbone. They have no steady, persevering energy either for good or ill. If ruled with a strong hand, and crime at once put down wherever it appears, they will remain fairly

peaceable, and sometimes even prosperous so long as the firm hand is on them.

At Harlington, near Accrington, four Irishmen were committed for trial, in the beginning of January, for suddenly attacking some people in a public-house, without any provocation, and stabbing them right and left. Now, this is the Malay running a muck over again. But try either the Malay savage or any one of such Irish savages in his unexcited moments, and he is found to be an abject coward.

Wearing some rags and being able to read and write cannot alter the nature of a prognathous wild man in the smallest degree.

Savages require a despot.

In one respect some negro tribes are superior to the Irish, inasmuch as they know that it is good for them to be coerced. "The Damara negroes," says Mr. Dalton, "court slavery, and follow a master as spaniels would." One negro said to his master, "You're a pretty fellow to be a master. I've been with you three years, and you've never beaten me yet."

"Happy is he," says T. Carlyle, "who has a good servant; but happier still is he who has a good master." The lower the type the truer this is. The only chance for a savage to behave well and improve is by his being ruled well and strongly. As society and human character develop, men can be ruled by other masters, such as law, public opinion, conscience, noble passions and desires, &c.

Taking these things into consideration, science is asking—

(7) If we possessed an island off the coast of England inhabited by negroes, would those well-meaning political gentlemen engaged in trade in pro-

vincial towns, who are supposed to form an influential part of the present Government, consider that these negroes ought to have the same political institutions as England, and be governed in the same way?

(8) If the Home Rulers were to get their way and separate Ireland from England, would not the more civilised part of the community have, sooner or later, to rule the aborigines of the West and South with a strong hand?

(9) How is it that when Ireland wanted a soldier to manage her, we only sent her a Quaker?

Mr. Forster.

Mr. Forster is an excellent and able man. Still he is a Quaker by parentage.

Quakerism is dying out because railroads and intercommunication destroy that isolation which renders Quaker narrow-mindedness (Philistinism Matthew Arnold calls it) and Quaker quietism possible. Still, men of science who study the doctrine of heredity, tell us that such characteristics as these, ingrained by centuries of petty and mere local surroundings, cannot be got rid of in one, two, or three generations, and that till they are got rid of the mind remains too contracted for the successful conduct of matters in the great world of national politics. Philistinism is rather an affected though expressive word Mr. Arnold has imported from Germany, and means the narrow-mindedness of half-educated people who are enemies "to the chosen people," that is to say to "the children of light"—in other words, to broad-minded, wise men who are without bias, prejudices, or bigotry, and whose tone of mind is the tone of the great world instead of the tone of only provincial and insular industrialism. This Philistinism, or narrowness of mind and of

Philistinism.

sympathies, comes from various causes, such as ignorance of history, ignorance of science, and ignorance of human nature, from class prejudices, one-sided pursuits, provincial isolation, sectarian hatreds, &c., &c. Still Mr. Forster, being a liberal, open-minded man, is learning. Stern facts about the turbulence that is in human nature are educating him.

The isolated lives of smug, well-to-do tradespeople in country towns (whether large towns or small ones), quietly and regularly, for generation after generation, getting their morning newspaper and buttered toast at 9 A.M., who know little or nothing of the great world, and who have no experience of the turbulence that is in human nature, beyond the occasional impertinence of a clerk or an apprentice, who soon becomes amenable to discipline again with little or no coercion,—these lives must end in establishing a variety of mankind like what Mr. Arnold calls "the British Philistine," full of hereditary narrowness, though amongst them will sometimes be found men of great natural talents of certain kinds.

With regard to Ireland, the ignorances of half-educated people have been lately very strikingly displayed. For instance, surprise has been expressed by many at the Irishmen mutilating and torturing sheep, cattle, and horses. But a very little knowledge of history would have taught them that these practices have always been more or less common in Ireland, even in peaceable times, and that mention is made of them in histories hundreds of years ago. Again, a very little knowledge of science and of human nature would have taught them that half-barbarous people of the very low Celtic type are certain to do such things at times.

Mutilation of cattle.

Our present Government, when accused of not at once putting down the Irish savagery of the autumn with a strong hand, helplessly tells us that they wanted to see whether ordinary law would not do. But the whole history of Ireland for hundreds of years shows (what to scientific knowledge of low types of mankind does not want showing) that ordinary law is and must be powerless and juries useless, and that for such people despotism (of course as benevolent as possible) is the only effectual government.

This stupid ignorance led to the positive encouragement of crime. "Those magistrates" (was a celebrated saying of Cato the elder) "who can but do not prevent crime encourage it."

J. Stuart Mill.

John Stuart Mill has much to answer for in the matter of our ignorant modes of governing savage and barbarous races of men. For he was the fashionable political philosopher of his day, and yet he never could understand the doctrine of heredity, which teaches, amongst other things, the almost impossibility of altering the nature and character of savage and barbarous people, and that animal character is always observed to accompany an animal and strongly prognathous cast of features.

J. S. Mill thought that the mind of every human being, savage or civilised, was alike at birth—that is to say, that it was a blank sheet of paper ready to be written on by education and circumstances, so that if these were the same the resulting characters would be the same. It need hardly be said that modern science has wiped all such ideas of the old-fashioned utilitarian school completely out of the minds of educated people of the younger generation.

It seems impossible to make the political gentlemen engaged in trade in provincial localities understand the truth that there is infinitely more difference between a savage and an Isaac Newton, a Heine or a St. Paul, than there is between a jelly-fish and the said savage; an ounce of spiritual difference outweighing a hundredweight of mere organic difference; and thus it comes to pass that they believe that all that is necessary to turn the savage into a fully developed and well-behaved Christian man is to give him a vote and rescue him from any ruler he may happen to have over him.

Oliver Cromwell has always been the great hero of the democratic school of politicians. Cromwell's measures, when the aboriginal Celt was in the lawless condition that seems natural to him when not restrained by a strong hand, were coercive to a very great degree, even for those days when barbarous people of a low type were looked on as little better than noxious animals. In an old journal that has lately been published, written by a Mr. Blundell, who lived some hundreds of years ago, we read of 200 native Irish taking refuge in trees and being shot down like rooks; also of a clergyman going out one morning, killing fifty of them, and then returning to breakfast. American treatment of the aboriginal red men has, even in more modern times, sometimes not been very different.

Oliver Cromwell.

Considering, then, that (whatever opinions may be formed of Cromwell's essential character) he has always been held up by everybody, but especially by the democratic school, as perhaps the greatest governor of men that ever lived, science is asking—

(10) Is it not just possible that, although milder modern manners of course demand milder modes of treatment, Oliver Cromwell may have been right in his principle, that the lower races of men want governing with a firm, strong hand, and that they are not fit for free institutions?

(11) As it appears from statistics (compiled by Mr. Leadam) that within the last fifty years forty-nine exceptional measures of a coercive kind have had to be resorted to in Ireland, does not this fact tend to show the same thing?

It is said that all that is wanted in Ireland is for grievances to be redressed; then she will be peaceful and happy; but sociological science is asking—

(12) Will any amount of redressing satisfy a half-barbarous race of men, who are not advanced enough, and probably can never be advanced enough, to understand the laws of nature? Even if the whole of Ireland were divided into potato-patches innumerable, would not grievances very soon become correspondingly innumerable? Would not population increase beyond all possibility of food for them? Would not the mass of paupers that would assuredly swarm over the country consider it an intolerable grievance and injustice for one man to have a potato patch whilst another man had none? And would not the last state of the wretched country be then immeasurably worse than the first?

Some politicians harp unceasingly upon unjust laws, unhappy circumstances, &c. &c., when the real thing that wants remedying is the moral character of a degraded race of men. Everything in this world depends on human character, as (to give an instance) is just now being shown in the case of the British

and American farmers, the former always complaining of adverse circumstances, when the real thing that is cutting them out is, as Mr. Clare Read says, *character;* that is to say, the extraordinary energy, hard work, intelligence, education, ingenuity, and temperance of the American farmers.

Character is everything; and how a race of men ought to be governed depends entirely on the character of that race. And yet what do most legislators know about the different characters of different races? Just nothing. It perhaps is not to be wondered at that accurate knowledge of human character, of anthropological science, or of the history of races, is not very general amongst the makers of our laws, when we consider who and what these makers of laws are. First, then, there are a considerable number of what are called the higher classes—that is to say, the aristocratic class. Lord Beaconsfield somewhere describes the English aristocracy as people with healthy organisations, who live in the open air and never read books. Now, a healthy organisation is a very good thing, and an open-air life is a very good thing; but surely even a *little* knowledge is a very good thing too, in spite of the proverbial saying about the danger of it. It is true that this class mixes in the world a good deal, and that this, besides tending to produce a certain large-minded tolerance and good-nature, leads in some cases to considerable general knowledge. A French saying says, "Les gens de qualité savent tout sans rien apprendre." But this, like most sayings, contains only a moderate quantity of truth. Besides the aristocratic class, there are amongst our law-makers many professional men. The knowledge possessed by these is, of course, apt

Legislators ignorant of human nature.

to be merely professional, besides which professional men are subject to professional narrownesses.

A large proportion of our law-makers consist of people engaged in trade. These, it need hardly be said, are very heavily handicapped by that very fact. In the first place, they rarely have had what is called a *liberal* education, and few of them have had time to acquire much knowledge beyond what is necessary for their several businesses. Besides which their peculiar modes of life, often with sectarian habits of thought, lead to narrownesses which are increased in some cases twenty-fold by being inherited through several generations. These modes of life often lead also to sad intolerance and bitterness towards everybody who is different from themselves. Indeed, human nature in its more vulgar forms before it has reached the charity and (what Mr. M. Arnold calls) the "sweet reasonableness of the highly developed Christian man," generally hates *the different*, just as is observed in the animal world. Put an ant of one tribe on to an ant-hill of another, and it is immediately torn to pieces.

The hatred of the man who makes his money by cotton, wool, or iron towards the man who makes his money by land, is the same thing as all those hatreds that are so common amongst narrow-minded, uncultured, or half-cultured people for what is *different*, and solely *because* it is different. In Voltaire's time a foreigner could not walk the streets of London without being hooted at even by what were called respectable people. Voltaire had plenty of wits, and always carried them about him, so when he was hooted at and pelted in London he jumped upon a doorstep, harangued his persecutors upon the

Voltaire.

greatness of England, turned the tables, and was escorted home in triumph.

Liberality of mind and tolerance are almost the last things that come to men in the evolution from barbarism to civilisation.

Nothing like leather.

Gentlemen engaged in trade in the provincial districts are too often like the immortal Athenian tanner, who said there was nothing like leather for making statues of, and who had in fact eyes for nothing else in the universe but leather. So it is with the mere industrialist. He can see no good in the world but in industrialism. He is as narrow-minded as the Athenian tanner.

Richard Cobden.

Neither can these people believe in the possibility of the reign of mere industrialism ever being interrupted. But they are wrong—wrong as poor Richard Cobden was when he believed in all simplicity and sincerity, thirty years ago, that war amongst civilised nations was only a thing of the past. War will never only be a thing of the past so long as this planet is inhabited. As surely as any country becomes emasculated by exclusive devotion to only one form of activity, such as mere industrialism, so surely will she become the prey, sooner or later, of some more manly race. Natural advantages of position, such as the proverbial "silver streak," may put off the evil day for one, two, or three hundred years—and what is a few hundred years in the world's history? But the end must come. The law of survival of the fittest must hold good. Ants in an ant-hill lay up goods and grow richer and richer, and think of nothing but riches. At length, when this deteriorating process has gone on a certain time, some more vigorous tribe of ants wages war upon

these effeminate industrials, which war ends in the destruction of great numbers, and the enslavement of the rest.

The fundamental idea that rules modern science is "the unity of nature." A principle in one stage of evolution is a principle in all. Modifications take place, but the principle remains.

Human life on this earth means struggle, struggle, struggle, for ever and ever, deterioration of race beginning immediately the struggle slackens; and then comes after a time the substitution of some more fit race. To realise this in history requires the eye to be cast over many ages of the world. But the smug provincial industrialist, looking only at his own little surroundings in his own little neighbourhood and in his own little era, and getting his buttered toast every morning without fail, sees none of these vigorous processes of nature, and thinks the age of eternal money-making in peace and quietness has arrived.

In "the struggle for existence," says Herbert Spencer, "among societies, the survival of the fittest is the survival of those in whom military co-operation is the greatest."

National life a polyhedron.

National life is a polyhedron with many facets or sides. But our smug friend above mentioned, whose idea of heaven is an eternity of buying cheap and selling dear, thinks national life has only the one side to it of industrialism, that one being really far from the best side, though it may be the most necessary one. Digestion is the most *necessary* function of the body, for without digesting a man dies at once, but there are infinitely *higher* functions than digesting.

If it had not been for our colonies, which have to a certain degree kept us up to fighting mark, the fate of the effeminated ants might perhaps, in spite of the "silver streak," have already been ours, and England might have become the prey to some people fitter than *mere* industrialists to survive on this planet. How we should have behaved to the invaders it is impossible to say, but I suppose we should have told them that we doubted not they had grievances caused by our injustice—that their unsettled condition indeed proved the existence of these just causes of complaint, and that we were only too anxious to redress the grievances and conciliate them in any way they liked. But whilst the talking was going on the invasion would have been going on too, and we should have been helpless to prevent it as a flock of sheep, or as a nation of mere industrialists must be. From this fate England has perhaps been saved hitherto by her soldier-requiring colonies. Field sports also, and especially the national pastime of fox-hunting, will also have done something to keep up that important part of a nation's life, vigorous manliness of mind and body.

There is a strange idea amongst some half-educated politicians that disorder and discontent amongst a people prove injustice in the way they are governed. But in the first place, people of a low type are always disorderly and lawless; and in the second place, communistic people like the Irish must be discontented, the definition of a communist being "a man (idle or with idle forefathers) who is discontented because other people (industrious or with industrious forefathers) are richer than he is."

Wrap it up in fine language as one may, this is the real definition of a communist.

Man a fighting animal.

Man, says science, has inhabited this earth millions of years, and during all this time has been essentially a fighting animal. At length in these latter days comes a set of insular industrialists, who, having nothing in their blood but centuries of hereditary buying and selling, jump up on to their counters and cry out "Oh dear me, what a dreadful thing fighting is! It kills so many people; and wounds hurt so much; and blood is so shocking to see; besides which, *if people spend all their money on fighting they will have none left to buy my goods with*, &c., &c."

Insular industrialism.

Hurricanes.

Of course, war means much pitiable suffering. So do hurricanes. Winds and hurricanes have destroyed millions. But no winds at all, by rendering air pestilential, would destroy millions of millions. In the same way wars have destroyed millions, but no wars at all would have prevented all the progress that comes from survival of the fittest, and the earth would be peopled by some miserably degraded anthropoid creature that happened to be the most prolific.

We must take our planet with its inhabitants, fightings, earthquakes, hurricanes, and all, as it is, not as Mercury or Venus is.

War.

The idea so common amongst well-meaning tradespeople who get their buttered toast every morning without fail, as their fathers did before them, that wars will cease, must come from ignorance of history, of science, and of human nature, added to that want of imagination so common amongst half-educated people, which deprives them

of the power to conceive anything they are not accustomed to. We *must* go by history and science, for we have nothing else to go by, and history has as yet shown no signs of wars ceasing. Still the future *may* be different from the past. Anything *may* happen. All mankind *may* become Quaker quietists. Or they may become dancing or howling dervishes, and so work off those passions and energies they have hitherto spent in fighting; and the more civilised men become the more energies they have to work off, and the more passions, desires, and interests they have to fight about. A savage is a poor intermittent creature with no *steady-going, persevering, permanently and continuously working* passions, interests, objects, and desires at all.

Taking broad views, history shows war to be the natural state of man, what is called peace being but exhaustion from war and the laying up of new populations and new means for fresh wars; these peaceful intervals sometimes extending over considerable periods of time. What the future may be is guesswork for people whose minds are not very strong. Men with strong minds go by facts and experience.

Any such extraordinary change in mankind and in the laws of nature (as they have been hitherto observed to be) as perpetual peace between nations would mean, would require the experience of many hundreds of years to prove, for the experience to the contrary extends from thousands, or, according to men of science, millions of years ago up to the present time.

A few years ago the American United States

quarrelled with Spain about Cuba, and war was nearly being declared. If it had been declared, General Grant's plan was to send an army of 60,000 men across the Atlantic to Spain, and take Madrid; and he would have done it, too, if he had chosen to do it. If we adopt the narrow and insular ignorances of our anti-war and anti-colony tradespeople, and become a helpless nation of mere effeminate industrial ants, this must some day be the fate of Great Britain, though of course not of Ireland, for no country would have her.

Our colonies require, and will always require, unceasing protection from savages and neighbours who, according to what has hitherto been observed to be the law of nature, *must* fight, and therefore *must* be fought. This being so, some ten millions more or less ought to be reckoned in the estimates every year for actual active warfare. If this is done, we may, besides defending the colonies, keep ourselves up to efficient fighting mark, and (helped by our insular position) defy invasion.

It may be asked what has all this to do with Ireland? A great deal. For it shows the ignorance of those mercantile and commercial politicians who, from want of a *liberal* education, of large intercourse with all kinds and classes of men, and consequently of power to imagine anything beyond their own little personal, insular, or parochial experiences, think that all that is wanted for putting down the turbulence of savage peoples is to tinker up a few laws, sprinkle a little rose-water about, and tell them to be good. It also shows by history that God's way of dealing with such savage peoples has always been for them to be supplanted by or rendered subject to superior ones

who are more fit to survive, and that any one who quarrels with this system of nature quarrels with the stern but undoubted laws of God, which ordain that the weak and the vicious must make way for the strong and virtuous, and that deterioration of the human race must be the consequence of these laws not being carried out. It also teaches the weak-kneed and mere sentimental religionist who may be shocked at all this, that Christianity is not the flabby thing he supposes it to be, but that it is a strong, manly, militant region, whose business it is to fight an unceasing fight with all that is ignoble, unmanly, low, degraded, vicious, and foolish. Christianity, as the author of 'Ecce Homo' truly says, is not the emasculate sentimental thing it is sometimes represented to be. Selfish hatred is indeed charmed away, but only because still more fiery passions take its place, such as intolerant anger against all wrong-doing, passion for or hunger and thirst after righteousness (called when established by habit "duty"), strong vital Christian passions of pity, hope, faith, joy, &c., &c.

Centuries of *mere* industrialism in the blood will render even the most able men helpless when they have to do with the turbulence that is in that most turbulent and fighting of all animals, Man. Witness the last few months in Ireland. Messrs. Bright and Chamberlain, whose blood is made up of centuries of ancestral industrialism, went down for two or three months before the old, old, Irish turbulence, helpless and paralyzed. And it must have been so. Pure savagery and turbulence is incomprehensible to long-inherited industrialism.

Messrs. Bright and Chamberlain.

Mr. Bright has much Hebrew blood in him, as

perhaps may have also, to judge by some of his characteristics, Mr. Chamberlain.

Hebrew race.

No one admires the Hebrew race, or appreciates what it has done for mankind, more than the writer of these pages; but still the Jew has for ages been almost exclusively industrial in his avocations.

The newest doctrine of science is that the greater part of human life is carried on by unconscious instincts and ideas inherited from ancestors—a kind of unconscious memory of ancestral experience. Just as bees make their cells with mathematical precision by means of ideas and instincts inherited and unconsciously entertained and acted on.

Looked at from the physiological point of view, this heredity is stated by science to mean vibrations set going in former generations—actually the same vibrations being continued from generation to generation. Looked at from the spiritual point of view, it is stated to mean unconscious memory continuing by habit through the generations.

Taking, then, all these things into consideration, science is asking—

(13) Would it not be possible to enact that no one should take his seat in either House of Parliament till he has passed a tolerably stringent examination in history as also in science, sociological, ethnological, and anthropological, thus ensuring *some* knowledge of human nature in all the various races?

Of course, this question science has too much science or knowledge not to answer at once in the negative, there being not the slightest chance of any such enactment being made; for it would be like schoolboys prescribing extra work and extra examination for themselves. Still, science may excusably dream

some day (at least in Utopia, if nowhere else) of law-makers for, and rulers of, the different races of men knowing something of the nature of the different races of men they make laws for and rule.

Survival of the fittest.

Nearly all modern scientific ideas about living creatures are founded on the doctrine of survival of the fittest. Bees lay up provisions and provide for the future; but some from want of energy and intelligence neglect to do so. These, being unfit to survive, nature leaves to perish. This stern justice is best for the bee tribe on the whole; for it encourages the survival of the fittest, that is, of the most energetic, the most intelligent, and the most self-dependent ones.

Famines.

Amongst men, serious famines from bad seasons recur, say, about every fifty years. These bad seasons arise (as is supposed by men of science) from the sun refusing to give its usual amount of light and heat for two or three or more years in succession. Civilised peoples have, as a rule, sufficient energy and intelligence to provide against these famines. But some of the lower races, from want of these qualities, fail to do so; and these, if left in nature's hands, do not survive, not being, in fact, fit to do so, and their place on the earth is taken by others who are more fit to survive. In this way the human race is not only prevented from deteriorating, but progress becomes possible. This being the case, science is asking—

(14) Is nature *right* in dealing out these rigorous measures? That is to say, do her doings in this respect end in the greatest ultimate well-being to the human race as a whole, by leading to the survival of the fittest; that is, of those who are the most

intelligent, the most self-controlled, the most virtuous, the most energetic, and the most self-dependent? Also, would contrary measures to these rigorous ones end in misery and wretchedness being multiplied infinitely, or would this not be the case?

Bills for the more effectual propping-up of paupers.

(15) What ought Governments to do in these cases? Ought they to submit to nature's stern modes of working, or ought they to endeavour by legislation to prop up the paupers, the idle, the drunken, the improvident, and the imbecile, and thus discourage the survival of the intelligent, the industrious, and the righteous and just-dealing part of the population?

(16) If Governments pursue this latter plan, what will be the results when future famines from bad seasons arise? And would such legislation end, or would it not end in famines and great misery every five or ten years, instead of every fifty years? And, if so, would not such legislation be the extreme of cruelty? Semi-paupers, and people of a low and weak type, are often, unfortunately, prolific. In the State of New York, in 1874, Dr. Harris was struck by the fact that a great number of paupers and vagrants had the same name. Upon investigation, they were all traced back to a young girl called Margaret, who belonged to the thriftless and vagrant class, and who had lived the life of a tramp many years before. This girl became the mother of a race of paupers, and her progeny has cursed the country ever since. The county records showed two hundred of her descendants to have been criminals, and seven hundred to have been idiots, drunkards, lunatics, and paupers, the cost of whom to the country

Prolificness of some of the lower races of mankind.

must have been enormous. Science, then, is asking here—

(17) If the Government passes Bills to prop up paupers, and to ensure the survival of the unfittest, will each pauper thus propped up provide the country, in the course of years, with two hundred criminals and seven hundred idiots, drunkards, lunatics, and vagrants like "the girl called Margaret"?

(18) If the Government passes such Bills, is there the smallest possibility that they will not be laying up for some not remote future period, at least quadrupled pauperism, quadrupled crime, and quadrupled misery?

(19) If such untold misery must be the future consequence of legislating to promote the survival of the unfittest, is it possible to conceive a degree of cruelty more fearful than it would be to bring about such legislation?

The Irish Roman Catholic priest.

But besides the prolificness observed in many people of a low organisation, there is in Ireland another reason why population tends to become unmanageable. That cause is the Roman Catholic parish priest. This person is often well-meaning, and nearly always ignorant and bigoted. He very properly, or, at any rate, naturally, endeavours to earn his living in that state of life unto which it has pleased God to call him. But this living is derived, in a considerable degree, from marriage and christening fees; and thus it comes about that, in addition to the ten commandments, he teaches his flock two more on his own account, namely, "Thou shalt marry as early in life as thou canst," and "Thou shalt have as many children as

thou canst." These two commandments are usually obeyed, whatever may be the case with the other ten.

Irish will never be content.

It is absurd to expect ever to satisfy or make content low-type Communistic Roman Catholic Celts of the West, who breed like rabbits on religious principles. It is absurd to expect ever to satisfy them by granting their wishes. They never can be made content in this way till two and two make five. And the more is done to satisfy what they profess to wish for, the more discontented they must in the long run become, because the more facilities will thus be given them for over-populating a barren country.

There is no possible chance of making the Western Irish even tolerably content till they have learnt that tinkering with the laws, whether political tinkering or Communistic tinkering, is over for ever. The more sugar-plums you give a child the more discontented it is. But negroes and the lower races, if they are firmly governed by a benevolent despot, will sometimes be very contented, and if the despot has great qualities, not only will their devotion to him during his life be often beautiful, but they will worship him after his death, as was shown in the case of the Indian soldier Nicholson, who was looked up to with extreme affection and reverence by the natives who were under him whilst alive, and was afterwards worshipped under the name of "the great spirit, Nik-Kol-Seyn." Henry the Seventh said that the way to govern the turbulent Irish was to send them some turbulent lord who was himself ungovernable in England.

Chinese Gordon said he gave up the Secretaryship

in India because it was too quiet work for his turbulent disposition. How about sending him to the West of Ireland? His influence over the lower races is miraculous. Or again: How about sending some distinguished "tribune of the people," who may have shown great powers of influencing the lower stratum of society in England? Every effective demagogue has the makings of a despot in him, and for any person of a sporting turn the salmon fishing in Ireland is excellent. The salary, of course, should be very good, inasmuch as the position would be a very responsible one.

Virtues change with evolution—or rather, the proportion between qualities changes as reason advances. The lower races often possess qualities, passions, and intellectual, or semi-intellectual, faculties, some of which men share with the lower animals, in a stronger degree than do the higher races. The African Bosjesmans are wonderful mimics. Many negroes, says Livingstone, are unceasingly laughing. No joke is too small for them. "The first form of co-operation or civilisation is," says H. Spencer, "family union." "Amongst the African Bushmen,' says Lichtenstein, "sexual feeling, the instinctive love of children, and attachment among relations, are the only ties that keep them in any sort of union." "Savages," says Humboldt, "know and care for only their own family; they know the ties of relationship, but not those of humanity." The gratitude and devotion of negroes is sometimes extraordinary. Livingstone told one of his devoted negro followers that he could not take him with him to England. The negro immediately threw himself overboard and drowned himself. The aboriginal Irish Celt is

African Bosjesmans.

Livingstone.

violently attached to his family and to the country and locality of his birth, and is therefore averse to
Emigration. emigration. But his reason is not sufficiently developed (and most likely never can be) to see that an overcrowded country *must* have recourse to emigration, and that if ten people try to live on a piece of land that will only grow food for four, six must starve. Science, then, is asking—

(20) Amongst the numerous nostrums for Ireland, why is it that we hear so little about emigration?

It is an axiom in the management of estates that, when a tenant gets into difficulties, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the best thing *for the tenant himself* is that he should give up or be made to give up his holding before he gets further into the wood. If this is done in time he will be rescued from money lenders, and will save, at any rate, something out of the fire. Propping him up finishes his ruin.

Laws of Entail. Legislation has, at some times, made foolish and injurious laws of entail, which have had for their object to prop up landowners who have got into difficulties, to save their land to their families, and to prevent it from coming into the market; thus preventing, also, the survival of the fittest, and securing the non-survival of the non-fittest.

What does it matter to the country, an impoverished landowner's precious land being saved to his family? Indeed, that it should be saved to it is good neither for the country, for himself, nor for his family.

Dr. Playfair. Dr. Playfair wrote not long ago an excellent article about the farmers of the old school in the Eastern

States of America, who were a few years ago being ruined by the competition of the fresh wheat-fields of the Western States. In fact, they were being reduced to a state of pauperism. The Government made no attempt to prop up these paupers, and issued no decrees that they need not pay their debts, but leaving perfect liberty of competition, the thriftless farmers of the old school who were unfit to survive, were soon replaced by intelligent, energetic men, who were more fit to survive, the result being that, where the land was of good quality, the farms very soon produced more and paid better than they had ever done before.

American governments never meddle with free contract, free competition, and survival of the fittest. Mr. Clare Read says that the American producers far exceed those of all other countries in energy and intelligence. Mr. Clare Read.

Mr. Herbert Spencer says that all legislation that meddles with natural competition tends to check energy and self-dependence, and prevents the survival of the fittest; also that meddling measures always work differently from the way they are intended to work, and often in the opposite way. He gives a great many instances of this. The latest one that might be given is the Ballot Bill, which was passed in order to put an end to bribery, corruption, and undue influence!

"Any attempt to force labour," says Adam Smith, "into artificial channels, to shape by law the course of commerce, or to promote special branches of industry in particular countries is wrong to the workers and hurtful to the wealth of the State." Peasant Proprietors.

Adam Smith evidently did not believe in legislation that meddles with liberty.

Considering all such things as these, science is asking—

(21) Ought governments ever to make laws with the object of propping up paupers, or of interfering with the natural working of the survival of the fittest persons or fittest races of men—the fittest meaning the most intelligent, the most energetic, and the most righteous and true-dealing.

One of the favourite maxims of free-trade is that every country should produce those things for which it is most suited by nature. Ireland is a country with a moist mild climate, and covered a great part of the year with clouds and mists from the Atlantic. This renders it unfit for growing corn, or maize, or any of the kinds of food that are suited for any except low types of mankind. But these same peculiarities of climate are favourable to pasturage, and are the causes of the rich verdure which has given the country the name of "The Emerald Isle." Beef and mutton are foods for men of the highest type.

Pasturage.

Science says that the character of races of men is formed very much by external circumstances, such as climate, diet, &c., and that an inferior kind of diet can only produce people of a low type. The worst diet known is a kind of clay. This produces the Andaman Indians, or "Dirt Eaters." They are believed by some to be the lowest savages known.

Andaman Indians.

Considering these things, science is asking—

(22) Should impediments be placed by Governments upon Ireland adopting that mode of farming for which she is perhaps more fitted by nature than any other country in the world, and would such

legislation be quitting the principles of free-trade in order to protect certain classes of men and certain kinds of production ?

(23) If the Andaman Indians lived in an island off the coast of England, which might happen to be rich in edible clay, ought we to legislate so as to perpetuate as far as possible this race of savages, or ought we to allow free competition with superior races, so that the fittest might survive ? Also, do peoples of a degraded type form so desirable a part of the population of a civilised country that they ought to be encouraged by special and exceptional legislation ?

One commonplace bit of rant about Ireland is to say that hundreds of years ago the land was stolen from its original possessors, natives slaughtered, soil manured with their corpses, &c., &c. All which, of course, is quite true. Just in the same way as the same thing is true of the red men in America, and all races of a low type all over the world, who have to make way for others that are more fit to survive.

Communism.

At the bottom of Irish agitation lies communism and craving for equality. Many people of democratic proclivities love equality and hate liberty. In this respect democratic despotism is like autocratic despotism ; and hence arises the well-known affinity between these two despotisms, as shown, for instance, by the love of extreme Radicals for Russia.

Liberty and equality deadly foes to each other.

Liberty and equality are irreconcilable enemies. Each destroys the other ; for where there is liberty equality cannot last a day, and equality can only be gained by first killing liberty. A Government may decree that everybody is to have three cows and only three cows ; but this can only be carried out by

making despotic laws depriving the clever, energetic man of the *liberty* to get for himself more than three cows. France at the revolution legislated with some semblance * of success with the view to equalise property. But this could only be done by making a despotic law depriving people of *liberty* to give away their property to any one they liked.

No equality can be got without some despotic law that takes away some liberty. Nature knows nothing of equality. Indeed, the whole system of nature is founded (according to modern science) and depends entirely upon inequality, and upon the superior, or more fit to survive, taking the place, through liberty of competition, of the inferior or less fit to survive. This seems to be not only the law of progress, but also the sole way of preventing deterioration of race.

J. S. Mill.

Poor, confused J. S. Mill was always complaining that there is no semblance of justice in nature; but he meant there was no semblance of equality. This, of course, is true. But justice there is. The industrious bee collects the honey and lives; the idle bee dies. This is justice. The proverb says, "Pains, gains; no pains, no gains," and this is undoubtedly the just law of nature.

Meddling legislation.

The more democratic England becomes, the more she seems inclined to prevent, by means of meddling legislation, liberty of competition. And this is exactly

* I say "semblance of success," for, according to Balzac, what success there is is only material. Spiritually, he says, it is more than a failure. "Plus," says Balzac, "nos lois tendront à une impossible égalité plus nous nous en écarterons par les mœurs.' Again, Balzac says, "En France ce qu'il y a de plus national est la vanité. La masse des vanités blessées y a donné soif d'égalité.'

what must be expected; for every one knows that the more ignorant a man is, the more inclined he is to blame the Government when anything goes wrong with him. In fact, he is always wanting to be propped up in some way and taken care of by the Government. America has hitherto been saved from this in spite of her democratic institutions, by the great majority of her population being educated and very intelligent, and by her always having worshipped liberty and self-dependent freedom of competition. The consequence is that she has arrived at her present astonishing degree of energy, invention, and intelligence in all matters connected with production.

Some recent meddling legislation in England seems purposely designed for the destruction of self-dependent energy and the encouragement of imbecility of character, the imbecilities, of course, increasing every generation according to the great law of heredity.

Considering these things, science is asking—

(24) How can any country which throws impediments in the way of liberty of competition, and consequently of survival of the fittest (that is to say, of the most intelligent, the most energetic, and the most self-depending), hope to compete successfully with a country such as America, that throws no such impediments in the way of liberty, free competition, and survival of the fittest?

But this question is totally ignored. One bit of meddling legislation after another is defended or opposed for all sorts of reasons; but the one really important question is never asked, namely, must not a country which meddles with liberty of

competition necessarily be swamped and beggared sooner or later by some country such as America, which does not meddle with liberty of competition?

One nostrum for Ireland is peasant proprietorship.

Peasant proprietorship.

M. Ville is perhaps the greatest living authority on experimental farming in France. At page 36 of the preface to his book, 'Artificial Manures' (translated by W. Crookes, F.R.S.), M. Ville says, "The great evil from which we suffer in France is excessive subdivision of land." At page 199 he says: "The example of France is lamentable and distressing, for the average production of wheat is only $14\frac{1}{4}$ bushels per acre." At page 201 he says, "I have no hesitation in declaring the agricultural situation in France to be lamentable and threatening in the highest degree." At page 202, quoting Lavoisier, he says, "Still the most distressing part of the picture is that with a languishing system of cultivation, such as prevails for the most part throughout France, there remains at the end of the year almost nothing for the farmer, who esteems himself happy when he is able to drag on a miserable and wretched life."

Peasant-proprietor-agriculture means agriculture without capital or machinery, and answers to the readoption of cottage spinning-wheels in the place of the capital and machinery now employed in making cotton, linen, and woollen goods. In France peasant-proprietor-agriculture means (of course with exceptions) bad crops, manual labour amounting to slavery for man, woman, and child, sordid surroundings, and subjection to money-lenders. Cottage spinning-wheels and peasant-proprietorship are alike suited only to an undeveloped condition of society.

Science, then, is asking—

(25) If peasant proprietorship is such a lamentable failure in sunny France, with every advantage of climate a country can have, a sober, industrious population, and only one child to a family, what chance could Ireland have with none of these advantages, with ten children to a family, and with a climate that renders the country unfit for the production of any but a very inferior kind of food—so inferior that it is only fit, as sole food, for people of a low type of organisation?

(26) Considering the uncertainty that exists as to the results of all human legislation, when it interferes with the natural working of things if left alone, and considering that human life is so complex that no one can foresee how a new meddling law will work, is it wise ever specially to legislate in favour of any fancy system, or of any fancy class of men, whether small proprietors, large proprietors, little farms, big farms, agriculture, manufacture, employers, employed, poor class, rich class, brewers, bakers, tinkers, tailors, or haberdashers? Should not things be allowed to work in the natural manner as is done with such marvellously successful results in the United States of America, so far as production of the necessities of life goes?

Tinkering nature's laws.

Nature works her mighty and complex laws unceasingly. Legislators tinker at these laws to the amusement of men of science, who know at any rate *something* about them. The tinkering often has no effect, and is therefore harmless. But at other times it is not harmless, for laws of nature are never repealed, and retribution for foolish meddling with them must follow in one shape or another, such as,

for instance, destruction of wealth, being out-competed by other countries that do not tinker foolishly, famines, tumults, crime, revolutions, &c., &c.

In Irish discontent there is, as has been said already, a large admixture of communism, that is to say, of the old, old sempiternal longing of the idle poor man to take unto himself some of the goods of the industrious well-to-do man, and thus to bring about that compulsory equality and uniformity of conditions that, in addition to the idle and thriftless, is so dear also to the heart of many amiable and well-meaning but sometimes perhaps rather enviously minded theorists. After a time, in some cases, the idle communist without a penny becomes himself an industrious, well-to-do man, and then good-bye to his communism.

Davy Armstrong and his "coo."

Davy Armstrong, Dean Ramsey tells us, was a Scotchman. He was the hottest of red-hot Radicals, and wanted to destroy everything. Davy left his home for a time, and when he returned one of his fellow communists began to talk to him as he had done in the former times. But Davy not responding, his friend found that his old fellow-grumbler had become a rank Tory. Much shocked at the discovery, he asked how it came about. "I've a coo noo," said Davy.

Herbert Spencer on evolution.

Herbert Spencer has written much on the analogy there is between the evolution of living beings and the evolution of the social life of nations. In the animal world there is first the homogeneous jelly-fish,—that is, a creature with no organs: no head, no heart, no liver, and in fact, no stomach at all to speak of. Gradually evolution to higher types takes place, and then separate organs make their appearance.

Thus, progress in living beings means increasing diversity of organs and functions, and the loss of homogeneous uniformity. So it is also in a nation, says H. Spencer. An extremely savage tribe is homogeneous, like the jelly-fish. There is no diversity, there are no rulers, no magistrates, no classes. One man is exactly like another. There is complete uniformity, and complete equality,—in fact, a perfect dead-level of degradation. As society advances, differences arise, till at length we come to the innumerable varieties of conditions and of life that we see in highly developed communities. Thus, the principle is arrived at by Mr. Spencer that development and progress mean amongst other things diversity, difference, and inequality in the lives of men, as opposed to the homogeneousness, the sameness, and the equality, of the savage, the jelly-fish, and the socialist. This progress is caused, says science, by survival of the fittest in the struggle of life gradually going on generation after generation. And the more liberty of competition exists the more rapidly and completely this evolution takes place. Hitherto the love of liberty has been greater in England and America than in other countries, and so diversity is greater in England and America than in other countries. But what may be the case in future no one can tell. All despotisms, whether autocratic or democratic, tend, as has been said above, to hate liberty and to love equality—to return, that is, from what Mr. Spencer calls the highly differentiated conditions of advanced civilisation to the homogeneousness of a low order of society, corresponding to the jelly-fish in the animal world.

Democratic and autocratic despotisms equally hate liberty.

Science, then, is asking—

(27) If these teachings of Mr. Spencer are true (and they are not disputed by men of science), ought the communism that is at the bottom of Irish discontent be encouraged or discouraged ?

Communism, craving for equality, and the consequent hatred of liberty, are undoubted "rocks ahead." And the more democratic we get the more dangerous these rocks are likely to become. To defend liberty against this implacable foe equality, must be the part of the intelligent, the educated, and the higher classes of society, for the majority of the lowest classes are doubtless on the side of the latter.

No one can foretell the future. Nothing is certain but the unforeseen. Still, however improbable it may seem, it is undoubtedly possible that upon our Radical nostrum-mongers—each of them intent upon his own little hobby in his own little arrangement of grey pulp he calls his brains, each of them intent upon his own little communistic contrivance for everybody except himself, and every class except his own—upon all these it is possible that, in what is called the irresistible march of democracy, a great wave of communistic anarchy may come and carry everything away, nostrums, hobbies, arrangements of grey pulp, and all. Then will society be reduced to its primitive elements of savagery, and civilisation will have to begin again. It may be said that nothing of the kind has ever been known in history. But nothing of the kind has ever been known in history as our present condition, so history proves nothing. Democracy in an old country; railroads, telegraphs, and rapid intercommunication of ideas; free trade, cosmopolitanism, patriotism dying out; shallow education universal; old ideas of religion and

Communistic anarchy.

morality shaken; reckless demagogues stumping the country, and politicians ready to pass any Bill whatever for a few party votes,—this is a combination of circumstances that has never been known in the world before: so, who can tell what it may lead to? Perhaps the communistic wave, if it comes, may be successfully resisted. But this can only be by all who have any care for religion of any kind, for morality of any kind, for order of any kind, for law of any kind, for property of any kind, or for their own lives, putting aside their narrownesses, class hatreds, sectarian bitternesses, and party fanaticisms, and combining together to fight in the cause of civilisation against savagery.

The wave may or may not come. But, as has just been said, we know nothing of advanced democracy under modern circumstances, in an old country. America proves nothing; for, in the first place, the experience of only one or two hundred years can prove nothing, and, in the second place, she has an infinite back-country as a safety-valve for all the scamps, scoundrels, and dangerous classes to betake themselves to.

It is difficult for people accustomed to lead quiet lives day by day and year by year in perfect apparent security, to imagine the possibility of a general break-up of society, and yet the same thing was equally difficult in France before the great Revolution; and nobody can tell what may be the upshot of conditions and combinations of conditions that have never been known in the world before. New circumstances must produce new consequences, and a fierce war between liberty and equality (i. e. communism) is an undoubted possibility. Then will be

put into practice the lessons taught over many years by the popular demagogues, who, however, never intended them to include themselves.

It would be easy to name one man in particular, advanced in years now, whose public career has been one long monotonous curse, expressed in admirable language, of all those classes of people who are rich and who have had what is called a liberal education —of those classes, that is to say, on whom it depends to secure and uphold the liberty lovers of equality are always working tooth and nail to destroy. If these semi-communistic denunciations were to succeed in their aim, the end might be, himself, his class, and all above the very dregs and "residuum" being swept away in a general deluge. And if it came to this it would only be a new illustration of the very old and very wise Persian proverb, "Curses are like chickens, for they always come home to roost," though no doubt, in addition to this literal kind of meaning, the proverb refers to the life-long wretchedness that must be caused by a permanent state of "envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness," in which latter sense the proverb must always hold good. "Hate at last," says Medusa, in the 'Epic of Hades,'—

> "Hate at last
> Left me a Fury. Ah, the load of life
> Which lives for hatred! We are made to love," &c., &c.

Is democracy irresistible?

It is an everyday commonplace to say that the march of democracy is irresistible. But what degree of democracy? The thing carried out logically to its extreme degree means the perfect equality of the lawless savage, without any government, varieties, orders, or classes at all. Is that the irresistible goal we must come to? If so, this future, that is called

so irresistible, is the very thing described above as being on the cards.

People pooh-pooh communism, and undoubtedly fears of it can easily be exaggerated. Still, it is met with everywhere in some form. Hardly a (so-called) liberal newspaper can be taken up without finding it. The writer of these pages has before him at this moment some rather ingenious verses printed in the 'Spectator' of January 15, entitled "The Lay-Landlords," and which mean simply communism—that is, the destruction of property, and therefore the destruction of those classes who have leisure and means to acquire education and culture; in other words, the disintegration of civilised society and return to its primitive elements. And is it possible that the highly educated editor of a respectable newspaper like the 'Spectator,' written by highly educated men, really wants himself, his staff, and all educated people in the country to be swept away to make room for the lowest, the most ignorant, and the most brutish classes, and nobody else? It is impossible. And yet what alternative is there, except that all the writing of this kind is dishonest, printed only for party purposes, and never intended to be acted on? Perhaps it is so. Still, it is said to be dangerous playing with edge-tools, even though nothing but play is intended. Communism.

Peter, the lay-brother in the Ingoldsby legend of St. Dunstan, feeling thirsty, invoked by means of cabalistic words a flagon of ale. The flagon came. Then a hogshead came. Then a tun. Peter could not stop the ale; and then he found that "*the devil 'tis easier to raise than to lay.*" Peter, in despair, shouted out "Abracadabra," but it was no use at all. The ale poured in harder than ever. Peter was up to his knees. He was up to his neck. He shrieked

for help; and then at last the monks came headed by the holy St. Dunstan himself, who at once cried out, "Vade retro strong beerum! discede a lay-fratre Petro." But it was too late. Lay-brother Peter

> "To the bottom had sunk,
> And was spied by a monk
> Stone-dead."

But perhaps the editor of the 'Spectator' newspaper thinks the deluge that sweeps away property will stop when it gets to the feet of the editor of the 'Spectator' newspaper. One can imagine the gentleman addressing the rising water like King Canute, and saying, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further. The line must be drawn somewhere. I am that line. Not that all editors of newspapers need be spared. Certainly not. Go to the editor of the 'St. James's Gazette.' Go to the editor of the 'Daily Telegraph.' Go to the editors of nearly all the leading London newspapers. Sweep them all away. They are but organs of a bloated aristocracy. But stop at the door of my office. Let not one drop of water cross that threshold; for wisdom dwells with me and with my people, and with me and with my people alone. Besides, I am making a very good thing of the editorship." It is to be feared that the waves will pay no more attention to the words of the editor of the 'Spectator' newspaper than they paid to the words of King Canute.

Pooh-pooh communism as people may, we have it in the midst of us in very unpleasant forms. The Fenians who blow up barracks and set fire to public buildings in England are simply communists like those who destroyed half Paris, and they would destroy London if they could.

Democratic ideas and feelings come from many

causes. Sometimes they depend very much on social feelings; for these are the stronger of the two, inasmuch as they are more personal. Some self-made man is a Conservative. Some day some silly fine lady snubs him for being plebeian, upon which he then and there becomes an enlightened communistic democrat, and remains a shining light for the rest of his life.

Christian charity.

It is the part of individual Christian men to mitigate, as far as in them lies, the sufferings of miserable people, whether the misery comes from their own folly, drunkenness, and idleness, or not. Christian charity is the business of every individual person; but sometimes Governments try to be charitable wholesale.

The most effectual form of charity is to improve the character of the recipient of it. But what can Governments do here?

Author of 'Ecce Homo.'

The author of 'Ecce Homo' says, "there exists no instrument for turning a bad man into a good one except personal influence." The influence for good of a noble Christian character over an ignoble one is sometimes miraculous. But what influence can Government exercise upon a poor wretch? Simply the influence of Policeman X.; in other words, absolutely none.

There is occasionally manifested by some few men, inspired by noble Christian passions of pity, faith, hope, and charity, a never-tiring devotedness that mankind have agreed can only be described by such words as "divine" and "Godly," and that works wonders. But what can a Government do? Well, to repeat what has just been said, it can send Policeman X.

Science then asks here—

(28) Is charity the business of Governments?

(29) Must not Government charity to miserable, thriftless, idle, or drunken people necessarily end in the long run in a tenfold multiplication of thriftless, idle, and drunken people, and intended charity thus become the extreme of cruelty?

(30) Does not Government charity to some always mean Government injustice and hardship to others?

(31) Does not the greatest good in the long run come from Government attending solely to justice, and allowing vice, improvidence, helplessness, drunkenness, idleness, and imbecility, to make way for virtue, foresight, self-dependence, sobriety, energy, and intelligence?

(32) Is it not a great law of nature that he that hath to him shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath? and does not this old and (to most) familiar saying mean very much what is now expressed by "survival of the fittest?"

Parnellism. All the forms of Parnellism in Ireland of course mean injustice to one side. No legislation at all would doubtless mean injustice to the other side in those cases where tenants have made improvements and then are refused compensation.

Science then asks—

(33) Are constitutional forms of government like ours unable in such a simple matter to secure justice to both sides, or are they fit for nothing but the sentimental meddling of a maudlin sort of pseudo-humanity?

Giving a beggar sixpence means paying a beggar sixpence to beg. It means giving a man money for being idle. Promiscuous charity and outdoor relief are generally condemned, as the best means yet

discovered for encouraging pauperism, idleness, and drunkenness.

Science then is asking—

(34) Is not "the three F's" (according to some interpretations of the expression) one of the most gigantic systems of promiscuous charity and outdoor relief that ever entered into the heart of man to conceive? And if so, what amount of pauperism and misery must sooner or later be the consequence of enacting them amongst such a people as the aboriginal Irish Celt, who marries at twenty and will live in a pig-sty? The three F's.

An improving landlord finding one day a pig in his tenant's cabin, built him a pig-sty. Visiting him six months afterwards he found the pig still in the cabin. Upon inquiry, he discoverd that since his last visit one of the sons had married, and his father had set him up with his newly married wife in the new pig-sty. Such are the ineradicable habits of people of a low and barbarous type. New married couple setting up in a pig-sty.

Men are led to act right, and saved from doing wrong by the noble or unselfish passions and desires either acting directly or through habit. In legislation the special passion that has hitherto in the history of the world led to beneficial laws being made has been patriotism. But a time in some countries seems to come when free trade is considered to be the right thing (whether rightly or wrongly so considered is not here the question). But sociological science says that free trade carried out means cosmopolitanism and the destruction of patriotism; and certainly instances have been known of eminent advocates of free trade publicly showing that they look not only with indifference, but with complacency Patriotism.

and satisfaction at the prospect of their own country being excelled in every respect by some other country; some distinguished free-traders, indeed, never losing an opportunity of glorifying some such other country at the expense of their own.

Destroy patriotism and the words traitor and treason cease to be opprobrious terms, and to call a man a traitor becomes a mere statement, conveying no more reproach than calling him a musician or a cricketer.

Sociological science says that free trade must mean in the end cosmopolitanism, citizenship of the world, instead of only one country, and thence the destruction of patriotism. An Englishman without patriotism will just as soon lay out his money in another country as in his own. An Englishman without patriotism will just as soon fight against his own country as for her. An Englishman without patriotism will never do anything for the good of his country intentionally. An Englishman without patriotism will do nothing towards defending his country in case of invasion. Thus, though free trade in itself brings money to the country that adopts it, it might be an interesting arithmetical problem to find out whether such country will in the long run gain more pecuniarily by free trade than she will lose pecuniarily by the destruction of patriotism.

Of course, if all other countries adopt free trade, thus destroying patriotism, and if they also renounce war for ever, England may gain as much from unpatriotic foreigners as she loses by her own unpatriotic people; but history and reason give no grounds to think that other countries ever will adopt free trade, renounce patriotism, or fight at all less than they

always have done. England, from her insular position, is safe from war *for a time*, but for how long a time? Perhaps it is only an island that can afford to adopt free trade, to lose patriotism, and to renounce fighting, even for a time. If any other country were to attempt such things it would probably be at once eaten up by some other country—if, that is, it were worth eating up. Sometimes, even when worth it, these eatings up are put off for indefinite periods (say, two or three hundred years), as in such cases as Constantinople, Belgium, &c., by jealousies between great nations, or considerations about the balance of power. But the end comes sooner or later. Whether any country can last long after all patriotism is stone-dead has yet to be proved.

Americans are passionately patriotic; so it may be considered as certain as anything in the future can be that they will never adopt free trade. No doubt, they dearly love the dollar-making part of national life, but they love their country as a whole even still more, and would be always willing to make great sacrifices in mere dollars to increase her greatness as a self-dependent, all-producing, and all-sided nation.

It may be asked, what has all this talk about patriotism to do with Ireland? It has this to do. It helps to explain the conduct of some politicians with regard to Ireland. For where patriotism (nearly man's noblest passion) is destroyed, and thus the word treason has lost its meaning, no motive for conduct will be left but personal or class ones, such as that hatred of landowners so common amongst poor, narrow-minded people whose blood is made

up of generations of mere mercantile and commercial habits.

In the matter of Ireland,

The citizen of the world and cosmopolitan free-trader, without patriotism, to whom the word treason has no meaning, cannot care two straws whether his country is disintegrated or not.

Considering all these things, sociological science is asking—

(35) How are governments to be carried on, and countries to be managed, if all the old motives for governing well are not only destroyed, but motives for governing ill take their place?

(36) When the noble and unselfish passion of patriotism is destroyed in some distinguished statesman, what guarantee will there be that he will endeavour to legislate for the good of his country, and not really all the time be doing all he can for the injury of his own country, and for the advantage of some other one that may happen to be the object of his passionate admiration? Take away the noble passions, and what motives for action can remain but ignoble ones? Thus when patriotism is gone from a man, what is to prevent its place being taken by the personal feelings, the narrow jealousies, the class hatreds, and the sectarian malignity so common amongst half-educated men; and if circumstances permit, what will there be to prevent in such a man unpatriotic endeavours to injure or destroy his own native country in order to gratify these feelings of bitterness and hatred?

Finally, science is asking the following question—

Hope for Ireland.

(37) Is there any possible hope for Ireland, except from (1) Patience, (2) Justice to all classes

equally, (3) Education, (4) Elimination of paupers and the worst specimens of the race by unbending execution of the law, (5) Complete freedom of contract and rigid adherence to those contracts when made, (6) Ruling the aboriginal Celt of the West with a strong firm hand as it is found to be without exception necessary with the lower and barbarous races of mankind. (7) Removing all impediments to the form of agriculture most suited to the soil and climate of Ireland, whatever that may be, whether grass, arable, mixture of both, large farms or little farms; carefully avoiding legislation that may in any way favour dependence upon a root that can only produce a race of men in type on a par with or perhaps even lower than the negro. (8) Removing all impediments to emigration, as much as it is possible to do so. (9) Doing anything that is possible to facilitate intercourse with those civilised parts of the world which are inhabited by races superior to the aboriginal Irish Celt. Isolation from the civilised part of the world, and in a storm-tossed island difficult of access in the Atlantic, being one great cause of Irish barbarism. (10) Establishing an uncostly mode of arbitration for settling justly any dispute between landlord and tenant about improvements made by the latter, or dilapidations claimed by the former. (11) Disfranchising those localities in Ireland where the people have shown themselves so disorderly, lawless, and barbarous as to be as unfit for a representative form of government as many negro tribes.*

* Prince Albert said wisely that representative government was on its trial. The trial has been made in Ireland, and has hitherto completely failed. If the communistic deluge so often prophesied overwhelms England, it will have failed in England too.

(12) Making life and property so secure in Ireland, even by the most despotic modes of governing if nothing else will do it, that capital will go to the country instead of leaving it, as it is doing, and must necessarily have been doing, during the recent non-government. (13) Making it as easy to sell land as to sell a horse, thus removing all impediments to liberty and to the free development of peasant proprietary, large proprietary, Anglo-Saxon proprietary, Aboriginal-Celt proprietary, American-Irish proprietary, American-Digger-Indian proprietary, or any proprietary whatever that the natural unrestricted working of economic forces may bring about, and thus prove to be the fittest kind of proprietary to survive under the circumstances.

Selling land.

In these ways, asks science, and by unflinching submission to nature's (or perhaps it would be better to say God's) great law of survival of the fittest, that is, the replacement of the idle, the thriftless, the drunken, the imbecile, and the disorderly, by the active, the careful, the sober, the intelligent, and the orderly—also by the careful prevention of any impediment being placed in the way of this great law being carried out by means of perfect freedom of competition; is it not just possible that slowly, in the course of many years, a better type of mankind may be gradually developed, and that the aboriginal Irish Celt may some time or other cease to be the terrible curse to England he hitherto always has been?

Finally science is asking—

(38) Do not the present evils of Western Ireland, that is to say, does not its over-population by a people of a very low order of organisation, come

from the above mode of treatment not having been steadily carried out in past time?

One more thing science wants to know—

(39) Why is it that such questions as these thirty-nine are never asked in the political world? Is it that questions that lie below the surface of the surface do not come within the range of practical politics?

Education.

A word about the education suggested above. It should be compulsory and rigorously carried out regardless of priests, bigotry, and the Irish vote —not mere reading and writing, but education of the character—*regularity of conduct, perseverance*, decently tidy habits, in short, the *ways* of the civilised races. This might in the course of generations make some impression upon the type.

There is no more certain sign of a low type than merely intermittent impulses and incapacity for steady energy. We are told that in Asia Minor the low-type Arab population are so incapable of even understanding the possibility of regular steady energy and persevering work, that they cannot believe that the great buildings, the remains of which are found buried in sand, could have been built by human hands. They attribute their origin to supernatural agency.

Here is the account given by Mr. Terence M'Grath of the Irish small farmer's daily ways :—

"He rises at nine o'clock, lounges idly all day round his reeking cabin, leaving his wife to dig the half-tilled and ill-grown potatoes for dinner; after which he visits his neighbours' houses, playing cards, or listening to exciting stories in his native tongue, on the approach of England's downfall and Ireland's

freedom, until night, when he flings himself, with his wife and family, men, women, and children, into a common bed."

Real "education," says Ruskin, "means teaching children to be clean, active, honest, and useful." The reason reading, writing, and ciphering should also be taught, is because a man who has learnt these things is more useful than a man who has not learnt them, but in themselves they can hardly be called education.

Disfranchisement.

A word about the disfranchisement suggested above. At the present moment, in consequence of obstruction, and therefore the (so far) failure of representative institutions, the English House of Commons is the laughing-stock of the civilised world. This being so, any member who is voted by a large majority (say five-sixths) of the House to be unfit to take part in the deliberations of well-behaved and civilised people, ought to be sent home to his business (whether pig-dealing, provision-selling, or whatever the business might be), and the locality that returned him, having proved itself unfit to send up a suitable representative, should be disfranchised. This would help to save the English form of representative government from being the failure wise Prince Albert foretold that it might possibly turn out to be.

Arbitration between landlord and tenant.

A word about the arbitration between landlord and tenant suggested above.

Each case would require its own arbitration; for no two are exactly alike. Any legislation to include all in a lump must be unjust.

A word about anti-landlordism.

Irish money-lenders.

Irish tenants buying their farms means tenants

borrowing money of the money-lenders to buy them with. Then would come refusal to pay the interest, as there is now refusal to pay rent, and attempts to drive the money-lenders out of the country, just as now there are attempts, even in civilised Germany, to drive the money-lending Jews out of the country, under similar circumstances.

Reclaiming land.

Money spent by Government in reclaiming land would perhaps not do much harm. It would probably be lost, but that would not matter much ; and it would of course be managed badly, for Government doings of the sort are always managed badly, and generally end in jobbery. Still, somebody doubtless would gain something, if it were only the jobbers.

The Irish Celt has a passion to be "an Indheependent Jhintleman." Therefore, if all the present landlords were swept away, there would at once begin to spring up like mushrooms all over the country hordes of new little landlords—little pauper squireens, idle, drunken, and rack-renting. How much would this mend matters ? After a time these squireens would be bought out by capitalists, large landlords would take their places, and the whole system of landlordism as it now is would grow up again. In the meantime, a hundred years of civilisation would have been thrown away. At any rate, this was Mr. Gladstone's argument ten years ago against fixity of tenure, only it was, as need hardly be said, put into much more beautiful words.

Landlordism.

Freedom of contract.

All people seem to get confused in their ideas when they begin to talk about Ireland. For instance, in what strange and confused ways people are talking

about freedom of contract! No Government can prevent one man making a promise to another, and no Government can make breach of truth virtuous, lies right, or truth and honesty wrong, or prevent nature's inevitable retribution for wrong-doing—no, not if the Government were backed up by "an enlightened public opinion" to any amount whatever. The experience of ages has settled the question that virtue means happiness and vice misery. The "enlightened public opinion" of those days might have decreed that the private lives of Nero and Caligula were virtuous and exemplary. But this would not have made them so, nor done anything whatever towards making them so.

Parnellism.

If there is a fraction of truth in history and science, Parnellism, carried out permanently and successfully, must mean in the long run Ireland being deserted by capital and by all superior and improving people, and the country given up to the merely numerical majority—that is to say, to hordes of lazy, dirty, drunken, rowdy, Roman Catholic, potato-eating, pauper peasants, pauper squireens, and pauper priests, all persecuting with the utmost intolerance any Protestants who might still be left in the country, and never losing an opportunity that might be offered them to manifest that hatred of England and the English, degraded people so often manifest towards those who are superior to them. "Virtue and goodness," says Shakspeare, "to the vile seem vile."

Amongst the above remedies for Irish savagery, the eleventh was to disfranchise certain localities. Over these disfranchised localities a governor with absolute powers should be appointed. Clever selection of one, together with modern publicity and the

modern newspaper press, will prevent the abuses of absolute power so common in ancient times.

The doctrine of Quaker quietism is that "force is no remedy." But the fact is that the criminal classes, and many barbarous and semi-barbarous peoples, can be made to behave decently only by force acting upon them, either directly or by fear of it. Force no remedy.

There is a strange idea afloat that every race of barbarians should be governed according to the ideas of that race. A theoretical governor of a jail once acted on this idea. Next morning he and his wife and family were found murdered, the jail on fire, and the prisoners escaped.

Criminals are simply barbarians of a low type, whose development has been arrested. All savages are thieves, liars, and possible murderers, though of course they have their savage virtues. Even Bill Sykes was fond of Nancy till he murdered her, and of his dog till he hanged him.

Some savage tribes consider the power to steal with success an actually divine attribute; and under this idea they call the Supreme Being "The Great Thief," this being, in fact, the highest name they can think of.

To repeat what has been said above, in the matter of stealing, savages and criminals are alike.

The intelligent reader will not need to be reminded that to refuse to pay a debt where it can be paid—that is, to keep from your neighbour what is his—is identically the same crime as to steal it from him.

Rulers of men may be divided into two classes: the Christian militant ruler and the limp-and-flabby or non-ruling ruler. The first of these classes wages

a never-ending war with all vice, folly, dirt, unrighteousness, lawlessness, dishonesty, idleness, and crime, insisting on the contrary to these things at the point of the bayonet if there is no other way; and yet combining with all this the utmost Christian tenderness and compassion, wherever these things are consistent with the stern repression of criminality, disorder, and savagery. The peace-at-any-price or non-ruling ruler of men is very different. Well-meaning, though ignorant and narrow-minded, he is generally engaged in trade, or, at any rate, seldom belongs hereditarily to what is called the governing classes. Though he knows the lower races of men to be ill-behaved, he says, "Do leave the poor, dear, lazy, lying, dirty people alone, and then they will very likely not cut your throat; but if you interfere with them nobody can tell what they won't do."

A land "flowing with milk and honey," that might be dotted over with the happy homes of thousands or millions of industrious, orderly, and civilised people, stretches out as far as the eye can reach. This country is inhabited by a dark-skinned person who is dressed in grease and cow-dung, with a skewer through his nose for ornament, and who lives for the most part by thieving and plunder. It is proposed to annex or make use of this country. "No," says the limp-and-flabby or non-ruling ruler of men, "to do this thing would be unjust to the owners of the country. It might also lead to bloodshed, and bloodshed is unchristian. Besides this, to annex the country would certainly end in expenditure of money. Now, money is a thing to make, not to spend, making it being, in fact, 'the whole duty of man.'

As to the living by thieving and plunder, it should never be forgotten that every race of men should be allowed to manage itself according to its own ideas."

Government settling the price to be paid for hiring an acre of land must surely mean Government settling also the price to be paid for hiring a house, for hiring a horse, for hiring a cart, for hiring a labourer, for buying a cow—in fact, for any hiring, buying, and selling whatever. People say that land-owners have a monopoly of the land they let. Well, so have horse-owners a monopoly of the horses they let. So has every trade a monopoly of the goods it trades in.

As to reclaiming waste land with Government money, once make life and property permanently secure and capital will go to the country, waste lands will be reclaimed that are worth reclaiming, and infinitely more money will be laid out for the purpose than anybody proposes that the Government should spend, lend, give, waste, or throw away, as the case might turn out to be.

The two political parties.

It seems that in constitutionally governed countries Members of Parliament to be useful must belong to one of two great parties. The best way yet discovered for getting at the right of a dispute is by paying lawyers on each side to look, not for truth, but for the best argument on each side. Then a result more or less just will be arrived at. So it is with a constitutionally governed country. The best way yet discovered for getting at the rights of a political question is by the country paying (by power, position, and place) Members of Parliament on each side to look, not for truth, but for arguments,

each for his own side. In this way a rough result more or less satisfactory will be arrived at. Thus we see that a Member of Parliament to be of use must be a party man, just for the same reason that a lawyer to be of use must be one. In England there is a good deal of confusion in naming these two parties. Whig and Tory have about lost the little definite meaning they ever had. At any rate "Conservative" is a more expressive word than the latter. Now, the opposite to conserving or preserving is destroying; therefore, logically the opposite party ought to be called "destructive." Nor is there any reason why it should not be so called, for if only two parties are allowed to exist in politics, they should be called by the extremes. Accurate classification becomes impossible. These two names then may be said to represent generally the party of contented people and the opposite party of discontented people, into which two parties mankind naturally divides itself, both of them being, of course, necessary, the one to ensure sufficient stability in human affairs, the other to ensure changes in one direction or another, when such changes are wanted. Science has the advantage of being exalted above these party ties and this party feeling. Its business is to look solely for truth—to be neither conservative nor destructive, but liberal—that is to say, liberal-minded, or free from bigotry, bias, partiality, or one-sidedness of every kind.

The above 39 questions that are being put by the science of the day, will not be universally understood —certainly not at least by many somewhat old people whose ideas have become ossified. Ideas that are in any degree new, require some time before

they take hold of the mind of the general public. Still, as the scientific discoveries of one generation become (where they are true) the commonplace truisms of the next, it is only waiting a few years after all.

One final recommendation to our rulers.

Read this pamphlet for your own instruction and then throw it into the waste-paper basket, for your master, the average British elector, will assuredly not allow you to act in accordance with one thing that is in it, inasmuch as, although a very admirable person, your master is too ignorant of history, too ignorant of science, too ignorant of sociology, too ignorant of human nature, too ignorant about the lower races, and too narrow and too insular in his ideas and feelings to believe in, or perhaps even to understand, a word that is written therein.

Throw this pamphlet into the waste-paper basket.

APPENDIX A.

If any one could be expected to disagree with what has been written in this pamphlet it would be the strong party paper the 'Spectator,' and yet what does it say?

The 'Spectator' (January 29, 1881) says that the Irish are not fit for liberty; that law constitutionally carried out is no use in Ireland; that redress of grievances has no influence towards producing content, but that any attempts that way only produce increase of wrongdoing; that the more justly Irishmen are governed the more difficult they become to govern; that the more forbearance is shown to the Irish the less successful is the government of them; that the more is done for Ireland the more impossible it becomes to govern her; that freedom, which should develop morality, only makes the Irish despise the Eighth Commandment ("Thou shalt not steal"); that self-government only fosters disobedience to the Sixth Commandment ("Thou shalt do no murder"); that if we are gentle we are hated; that if we are just we are hated more; that there is little hope for the future; that the strongest optimist cannot believe that any concessions will produce content or that any change of circumstances will improve conditions; that though sometimes in desperate circumstances there is hope, here there is none; that there is no hope for Ireland in separation; that there is no hope anywhere; that statesmanship is useless; that we have conciliated for fifty years in vain, for that to-day Ireland is less governed by Christianity, utility, or genuine patriotism than it was fifty years ago; that everybody would be glad to welcome, in exchange for Parnellism, O'Connellism and the Pope's brass band; that we all should be delighted to have to deal only with the fanatics and rebels of 1848; that English plans for Ireland all go awry; that of Irish plans there are none except immoralities and impossibilities; and so the 'Spectator' goes on complaining and actually seeming surprised and puzzled that all this should be so. And yet, the smallest knowledge of anthropology would have taught the writer that from the character of the Irish all he has written about them *must* be true and could not have been otherwise, and that, therefore, meddling class legis-

lation, such as the forced establishment of a peasant proprietary, contrary to the natural working of things or economic laws of nature (what the old Hebrews used to call, perhaps with more fitness, "the laws of God") as also such things as robbing one class (and that the civilised and civilising one) and giving the plunder to another class (and that the low type and barbarising one), *must* result in the multiplication without limit, and perpetuity without end, of pauperism, famines, and misery; and yet the 'Spectator' is in favour of such legislation.

The fact is, any legislation of this kind must be the extreme of cruelty. If ensuring the lingering and miserable death by starvation of one person is cruel, what must it be to ensure the ultimate unlimited multiplication of this misery by giving enormously increased facilities for over-populating an already over-populated country? It is a risky business tinkering at nature's laws.

After the above admirably true account of the hopelessness of making the "Wild Irishman" or "Barbarous Celt" contented and civilised by concession and "governing Ireland according to Irish ideas," the writer in the 'Spectator' finishes by saying that there must be some remedies that would prove successful, though no one can see what they should be; for to deny this would be pessimism, and pessimism means taking false views. Now this is about as pretty a piece of confusion of mind as one often comes across, and makes one suspect the gentleman who wrote it to have himself some Irish blood in him. A pessimist means a man who takes a more hopeless view than facts warrant. But the only question to ask is, what views do the facts warrant, not what some silly pessimists think or not think.

There certainly are remedies for Ireland that would work slowly for good by the gradual improvement of the breed and elimination of the more barbarous elements, and these remedies have been indicated in the preceding pages.

Land leaguers say that Irish legislation about land and other things ought to be in accordance with the ancient ideas the Irish barbarians used to have before superior races conquered them. This is exactly what the ancient Britons (a partially civilised and agricultural Celtic people) used to say after the Romans had conquered *them* and forced them to put an end to their frightful Druidical human sacrifices and to all their barbarous practices and laws. They acknowledged themselves to be conquered, but said their conquerors ought to govern them according to their own ideas. Very properly the Romans did nothing of the kind; whereupon the ideas, laws, and customs of the British Celt died out, the ideas,

laws, and customs of superior races took their places, and, just as in Ireland, the original inhabitants were driven westward to the Welsh mountains, where they were allowed to remain, because the Welsh mountains were not worth taking from them. Once upon a time a question was asked about the manners and customs of a certain race of savages. The concise answer was, "Manners they have none, and their customs are beastly." I suppose the theorist who maunders about governing every race according to the ideas of that race would say that, in governing this race of savages, all about the beastly customs in question ought to be learned, and then everything done that was possible to carry them out.

The State trials, of course, failed; whereat the 'Spectator' newspaper with charming simplicity begins to suspect that the jury system is not suited for the Irish Celt. Of course it is not suited for the Irish Celt. Science knows this without experience from its anthropological knowledge of the lower races and their different characters. But all history proves it also for those who have no knowledge of science.

Just one historical illustration—a story Daniel O'Connell was very fond of relating. He, O'Connell, was once defending, as counsel, before an Irish jury, a man charged with murder. O'Connell made no speech to the jury, contenting himself with producing in the witness-box the murdered man alive and well. The case was connected with politics. Party feeling ran high, and the jury, after a very short consultation, brought in a unanimous verdict of "Guilty." Now, this surprises an ignorant and honest Englishman, but for an Englishman who is not ignorant, it is just what he would expect beforehand from his knowledge of that particular type to which the Irish Celt belongs.

APPENDIX B.

A WORD more about war and industrialism. Democracies are warlike. Perhaps the Americans are the most warlike people that have ever existed in the world. Therefore if it should happen in the course of a few years, when they have recovered from their last war and are ready for another, that some quarrel with this country should excite them, and the invasion of England be proposed, volunteers would offer themselves by hundreds and hundreds of thousands. Woe betide us then if in accordance with mere commercial instincts we have renounced our colonies, which requiring as they do unceasing wars, keep us up to fighting mark! Woe betide us then if in accordance with the prognostications of sociological science that it *must* do so, free trade ideas have killed patriotism! Woe betide us then if we have degenerated into a nation of helpless industrialists, with a rich class made helpless also by generations of luxury, and with a spoilt working class hanging on to its Government's apron strings, unceasingly crying out helplessly to that Government for everything it wants, and getting it for its vote's sake, and consequently deteriorating more and more each generation in manliness, self-dependence, industry, and energy! Woe betide us then if with insular and illusory self-congratulations we trust for our defence to natural advantages of position, such as "the silver streak," and to such defences alone! What can silver streaks do in the long run against human passions, human ambitions, and human energies? In the course of a few years vast steam-ships without number will be constantly crossing the Atlantic, and for a country containing from eighty to a hundred millions of inhabitants, to send over an army of five hundred thousand men will be just nothing—especially when assisted (if the Irish are to be governed according to Irish ideas) by a very largely increased population of semi-pauper, semi-barbarous peasant proprietors, and semi-pauper, semi-barbarous petty squireens, in an island close to our shores, every individual peasant or squireen amongst them hating the English as only an Irishman can hate them. The old Prussian soldier, Blücher, when first he saw London, exclaimed "Mein Gott, was für Plünderung!"

After all, there will be one comfort for the sanguine believer in the future of the human race—that is, if he takes very broad views. If England does become a nation of mere industrialists, with all manliness and independent energy eliminated out, the sooner some race more fit to survive takes their place the better.

Foolish people think war unchristian. But Christianity did not come "to send peace on earth, but a sword." Christianity does not alter the things men do, but only the spirit in which they do them. Human life must go on, Christianity or no Christianity. Eating, drinking, buying, selling, marrying, and fighting are still necessities, only Christianity sanctifies them, that is, puts into them the spirit Christ put into them. It puts temperance into eating and drinking, honesty into buying and selling, love and affection into marrying, and humanity into fighting. It makes men pity what is below them, reverence and worship what is above them, believe in "things working together for good," hope in the future, rejoice in the present, "endure hardness," "do with the whole might what the hand finds to do," and strive with passionate hunger and thirst after righteousness, as well as after the punishment of wickedness and vice, savagery, disorder, and wrong. To think that Christianity only means negative Quakerism and the feminine sentiments is to be either a mediæval anchorite or a modern quietist—it is to take one facet of life for the whole.

The peace-at-any-price sect doubtless believe that their principles come from Christianity, but they really come for the most part from commercial-mindedness, insular isolation, narrow surroundings, Quaker quietism, much appreciation of material things, little appreciation of great or heroic ones, and last but not least, a certain distaste for being shot.

APPENDIX C.

ENGLAND was once peopled by ancient Britons; that is to say by a Celtic race, though a superior one to the Irish variety. Governing races of men according to the ideas of those races had, fortunately for England, not yet been invented; so the laws of nature had full swing, and superior conquering races, Saxons, Normans, Romans, Danes, Norsemen, &c., took the places of the aboriginal Celts. The worst of these died out, others were driven to the Welsh mountains, while those that remained in England were improved by mixing their blood with the conquerors. In these ways the fittest survived. The reasons why the same natural processes have gone on so slowly in Ireland are that Ireland is further removed from the comparatively civilised world and from the superior conquering races; that the soil of Ireland is poorer than that of England and not so much worth taking possession of; and that the laws of nature have been more meddled with by ignorant legislators. Thus it is that the unfittest have survived for so long a time.

Just as formerly in England, the cure for Ireland is gradual elimination, according to the stern laws of nature (that is to say, the stern laws of God), of the lowest, the worst, and the most degraded part of the Irish Celtic population, and for the rest, the gradual admixture of blood with superior races. This is the only possible ultimate cure. Most of the proposed ones are nothing but quack medicines that *must* do harm, and some of them infinite harm, and the doctors who administer such medicines cannot be too often reminded of Herbert Spencer's teaching that meddling legislation often works differently from and generally opposite to the way it is intended to work. "Man's purpose," says R. H. Hutton, "destroys what it intends to create and creates what it intends to destroy. Political purpose puts a duty on tea and finds to its horror that it has enfranchised a continent. Religious purpose crucifies a Syrian carpenter and learns too late that it has helped the world to the very fate it hoped to extinguish." Human life on this earth means unceasing struggle, those in the struggle who display most greatness of character (energy, intelligence, and righteous conduct) surviving from being fittest to survive. This

process goes on best where there is most liberty; that is to say, where there is least meddling legislation that interferes with transactions between one man and another; though, of course, in matters of crime and disorder, there ought to be not only interference, but interference rapid and effectual. All this is the proved doctrine of modern science, arrived at by observing facts and by disregarding alike the dreams of pseudo-humanity, of cravers after communism or equality at the expense of liberty, and of industrial millenarians who believe in a coming reign on the earth of peace and money-making for a thousand years.

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REDEMPTION OF THE LAND.

NOTE ON IRELAND.

LOCAL TAXATION: MEMORANDUM.

THE STANDARD, DEBT AND RENTS.

NOTE ON RAILWAYS.

BY

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REDEMPTION OF THE LAND.

My connection with agriculture extends a long way back, but it has been interrupted, and I shall not commit myself, in these pages, to any definite deliverance as to the best method of dealing with the English Land Question. It will be better if I endeavour to throw into a connected form some notes on the subject which I have made from time to time and which relate mainly to principles. The practical application of those principles is a matter requiring further deliberation and inquiry.

A change in the English land system has been urged times out of number, and there are many grounds on which it is desirable. We may expect to see as a result from it a change in the social as well as in the economic condition of the people. England has become a nation of autocrats and dependents—of mercenary commercial autocrats, and idle retired colonists with no other object in life but self-indulgence—not less than of land autocrats. From an addition to those employed in country occupations we might hope for a strengthening of the main body of the population, greater frugality of living, more homeliness and more independence of external influences. On this ground alone I am strongly persuaded that a thorough change of the present conditions of land tenure is

urgently called for. The nation is undergoing dissolution.

There are two things which constitute a nation: the land and those who dwell on it. In what relation do the dwellers stand to the land; what claim have they upon it? In order to decide this it is necessary to trace that relation and that claim to their origin. Let us go back, not to feudal times only or to village communities, or even to the earlier period when there were not yet communities but only families. Say that we revert to Adam. Adam acquired an interest in the soil because he tilled it. He may have regarded himself as the lord of all he surveyed, but his possession was only secure because there was no one else to contest it. His sons succeeded to the inheritance and fought over it, although one would suppose there must have been enough space for all of them. As yet there were no tenants and no landlords. Adam delved and Eve span. Descending a generation or two, we find the earth—or a part of it—inhabited by a number of families, probably already formed into small communities. They settled in select places—those not of a roving disposition—and allotted the land in shares amongst their members. The lots appear to have been at first of equal size, but the stronger or more industrious of the members—perhaps the patriarch with the largest family of big sons—made bondsmen of his neighbours, or possibly, fraternal love not seeming to have been very strong amongst our early ancestors, of some of the junior branches of his own family. This patriarch not only strengthened his household by lawful or unlawful means, but enlarged his estate by adding field to field; and so began the inequality of property which is the stock grievance of modern democrats. Other industries sprang up to supply the wants of the tillers of the soil and became the pursuit of separate

families, and so arose castes and guilds, manufacturers, preachers, playactors and tailors, all a part of the human family, although the last are to be counted in fractions only. To village communities succeeded monarchies, the patriarch still maintaining his sway and claim to a large share of the land. In the fulness of his generosity he bestowed what was not his own on favourites, who sometimes deserved the gift; more often did not. It is needless to enter into a minute account of the origin of feudal tenures, which date principally from the time of the Norman Conquest, but are partly also a natural growth. And it is equally unnecessary to describe the modifications which the conditions of land tenure have since undergone. Suffice it to say that an inequality exists: The ownership of the land is confined to a surprisingly small number of individuals out of the whole population. The land is not national property and is not applied to national uses.

To what uses ought it to be applied? If it were in our power to construct the land system anew, and were the community inspired by a desire to promote the common good, in place of each section of it, and, I might say, each member being engrossed by the pursuit of purely personal aims, the land ought to be devoted wholly to the advancement of national objects. Seeing, however, that the community is not actuated by this singleness of purpose, it is questionable whether the land can judiciously be so applied even if it be in our power to recast the system in a new mould.

Accepting things as they stand, how may the land system be remodelled so as to bring the maximum of benefit to the nation, under the conditions which exist?

We must acknowledge at the outset that the landowners have rights. How those rights have been

acquired may form a fair subject of investigation; but that they have rights is beyond dispute. On the other hand the community also has rights. The land is like no other property—it is the country itself. How are these opposing rights and interests to be reconciled? We have no legal claim on the landholders. There might be a claim in equity, but there is none in law; and there are equities to be weighed on both sides. The landowners have had an undoubted ascendancy in the legislature. The policy of the country has been directed by them; not only land legislation and home affairs generally, but also the relations of England with foreign States. I wish to write in no spirit of hostility to the landlords, but we must look facts in the face: and it will be well for the landowners to do this in time. Opinion and events march fast in the present day, and, if not guided or anticipated, may overwhelm those who may happen to stand in the way, before they have had time to realize their position.

For the additional heavy load of debt with which the country was saddled by the last war with France, the landowners are usually held to be, indirectly, more or less responsible. It was an enormous addition. Before the war the public debt was only £250,000,000; by the time the war ended it had reached upwards of £800,000,000. That the landowners acted in good faith and for the best will be allowed. They were jealous—they always have been jealous for the national honour. The fact is, that neither they nor the people realized what they were about. It is important, however, to bear in mind that this debt was incurred after the land-tax had been fixed in perpetuity, and that the land was not called upon to bear any further burden in consequence of the debt. A debt of this kind must, in a special manner, be regarded as incurred for the

defence of English territory, even if the struggle is fought out on neutral ground.

Other interests, it is true, also benefited. Through the supremacy which England acquired, her commerce was extended, her home industries stimulated, the condition of all classes improved, and respect assured to those Englishmen who chose to seek adventure or fortune in other lands. The material gain to England from the commanding position which she then attained has been immense. But with all this, the owners of home territory were the chief gainers—not simply by the enhancement of the value of their property, which the prosperity brought, but by the salvation of the property itself. Had there been another conquest of England, the land might have been partitioned amongst French nobles and military chiefs. While, therefore, others derived only single benefits from the war, the owners of land derived a double benefit and escaped paying for it. They regulated the burdens on their own estates, and did so to the prejudice of the rest of the community, as matters have turned out. As between them and the other members of the State, if it be said that the people living at the present day have no claim, in so far that they are not the same individuals who composed the middle and poorer classes a century ago, this argument is capable of being turned in an unwelcome manner against the landowners, for it may be rejoined that neither are they the same individuals as their ancestors, and that therefore they cannot claim exemption from State charges because their ancestors were exempt. The case of the other classes named is even stronger than this. They have succeeded to the order of things created in the past, and may consider that they might have been better circumstanced if the order had been somewhat different. A tacit contract has been made between the nation of the

one part and a limited number of individuals of the other part. Ought that contract to stand now, seeing that one of the parties was ignorant of what he bargained away? I am disposed to think that the position created ought to be respected. Both parties were ignorant—the beneficiaires as well as the nation. The nation is a continuing body, but the beneficiaires have changed. We have not to deal with the same men with whom the original contract was made; in many cases not even with their descendants. The land has passed into new hands.

Fortunately, England is not dependent upon the land as a source of revenue. There are other prolific sources from which revenue is drawn; but through them it presses, in some cases, with undue severity upon those engaged in industrial callings —firstly as regards their earnings and expenditure, and next upon the savings which they lay past. They indeed pay twice over. Land and other descriptions of property equally pay Income Tax; but to tax them equally may not be equitable. Mr. John Stuart Mill maintains that the Land Tax must not be regarded as a tax, but as a share of the rent —a right to participate in the increase of which has, in some other countries, been reserved by the State. He takes the same view with regard to tithes—that neither they nor the Land Tax ever belonged to the landowners; and he even goes so far as to say that local taxation must be regarded in the same light; but here he seems to have carried his argument too far. Local taxation is clearly of the nature of a surcharge on Imperial taxes. It is raised for purposes which are of comparatively recent origin. Mr. Mill also overlooks the fact that when the Land Tax was fixed in permanency, it was fixed at the highest rate, 4*s.* in the pound, which had, up to that time, been charged. The tax appears to have

fluctuated between 1*s*. and 4*s*. But had the tax been fixed at the lower rate only, the proportion being preserved, the revenue from it would have been considerably greater than it is. It would then have been five per cent. on income, the rate of 4*s*. being equal to 20 per cent.—an exorbitant rate surely; and such, no doubt, it seemed to those who had to pay it in 1797. The same rate was charged a century earlier. By the Act 4 of the reign of William and Mary, a tax of 4*s*. in the pound was imposed for "carrying on a vigorous war against France." It appears then to have been of the nature of a war tax, and was levied from personal estate and real property alike. A century later it had lost its extraordinary character, and continued to be imposed for ordinary purposes, being still charged equally on real and personal property. In the following year, by Act 38 George III., c. 5, the tax was declared perpetual. This also was done, as the Act sets forth, in an "important conjuncture." The other half of the tax, that raised from personal property, was not made perpetual.

Parliament reserved the right of altering the tax at any future time should they deem it in their discretion proper to do so; but this right has been allowed to lapse and can hardly with justice be revived now. New interests have sprung up. Ownership has changed, and many of the present owners have paid a full value for their prosperity. They have bought those properties unconscious of any such liability hanging over them. No steps have been taken to make them acquainted with it, and they cannot, therefore, be considered liable. This argument holds good more especially with regard to those who have acquired property by purchase; and it is extremely doubtful whether any distinction can be drawn between them and other persons

whose estates have come to them by inheritance. It is not in this way that a settlement of the land question can be arrived at.

Mr. Mill, indeed, proposes that a tax shall be charged on the increase of rent; but the plan by which he suggests that this should be done would only bring the tax into force at some distant future time, and by that time it might happen that there had been a decrease in place of an increment. For the case of a decrease he does not provide. Of the possibility of a currency disturbance he does not take account, either here or in any other part of his work where he deals with the questions of rent and land tenure, although he treats the subject of currency separately in an exhaustive manner. This currency disturbance has been at the root of all the late disorganization of agricultural industry in England. Mr. Mill views England too much as being self-contained, and her economical conditions with regard to production and the measure of value as unaffected by external influences.

Viewed as a means of adjusting the inequalities of wealth, Mr. Mill objects to a graduated property tax—that is, to an exclusive tax on what is known as "realized" property, but he would apply the principle of graduation to legacy and inheritance duties, and proposes a limitation of the amount which any person should be permitted to acquire by gift, bequest, or inheritance. How far these two last proposals would assist the revenues and equalize wealth requires closer examination than I am at present able to give the subject. It is possible that a graduated legacy duty might bring a considerable accession to the revenue, but it would not obviate the necessity of dealing thoroughly with the many defects in the system of land tenure. The change would affect other forms of property as well as land, and the difference between the nature of

land property and that of other property is very clearly stated by Mill. He is, however, also careful to point out that it would be unjust to immolate a particular section of the community for the advantage of the whole. He states that it is due to the landowners, and to the owners of any property whatever, that they should not be dispossessed of it without receiving the pecuniary value or an annual income equal to what they derived from it; an argument which seems to apply also to special taxation upon land. If it is wrong to deprive them of the value of one part of their property, it cannot be right to deprive them of another part of it, which would be the effect of a tax falling exclusively upon land.

Between a special tax on incomes from land and a higher rate of taxation on them than on incomes from other property, there is no essential difference. Mr. Mill approves Mr. Hubbard's very reasonable proposal for a readjustment of the Income Tax on the basis of a deduction of one-fourth in favour of the industrial and professional classes; but even this does not solve the difficulty, as land and other descriptions of realized property would still be left on the old footing; and our object is to recover from the land, in consideration of its peculiarly national character, some return which shall subserve national objects. It is of secondary importance in what form this return comes: it may be either a pecuniary return which may help to defray national expenditure and national obligations, or it may be value in some other form. Going no farther back than feudal times, the land was then held subject to certain obligations from which the holders are now exempted, and which it would be as unjust to enforce on the present owners as it would be to increase the Land Tax without equivalent.

We seem to be shut in to the conclusion that the only hope of deliverance from the dilemma is from

the proprietors of land themselves. We have no legal claim; we can only appeal to their sense of equity. A general view must be taken of the position as a preliminary step towards a reconciliation of private and public rights. We may help to assist the solution by setting forth the considerations to be weighed on either side.

One most important thing is to remove misapprehension, and a misapprehension I believe exists as to the amount of the income from land and as to the amount of taxation which it bears. This misapprehension is assisted, if it is not caused by the fact that, in the published financial accounts, the assessments on houses and lands are thrown into one sum. The assessment under Schedule A. of the Income Tax Act is stated to be £3,440,000, but of this sum a large part must be contributed by house property, the annual value of which is represented by so considerable a sum as £110,000,000, while land is valued at no more than £69,000,000; and even this smaller sum includes the land in towns. How much may have to be deducted for town land I am unable to say, but for London alone the amount cannot be small; and it is not impossible that the sites of towns may approximate in value the whole agricultural land of the country. In any case, the rent of agricultural land cannot be a very formidable sum or the tax upon it very productive.

We shall better understand the position with respect to revenue by an examination of the assessments on various descriptions of property under the Income Tax Act. They are as follows:—

INCOME TAX.

	Annual Valuation.	Assessment.
	£	£
Land Property	69,265,000	3,440,000
Messuages, Tenements, &c. ...	109,956,000	
Occupation of land	35,178,000	347,000
Annuities and Dividends from Public Funds	39,510,000	817,000
Profits from Trade and Professions	134,716,000	4,690,000
Pensions and Salaries	25,429,000	530,000
		£9,824,000
Mines	10,078,000	Taxation not stated.
Railways	28,958,000	
Canals	3,124,000	
Iron Works	1,933,000	
Foreign and Colonial Securities ...	7,204,000	
"Concerns not described" ...	23,189,000	
Miscellaneous	15,981,000	
	£504,521,000	

SOURCES OF PUBLIC REVENUE.

Income Tax	£8,710,000
Land Tax	2,720,000
Customs	20,316,000
Excise	27,400,000
Stamps	10,670,000
Post Office and Telegraphs	7,575,000
Miscellaneous	5,724,000
	£83,115,000

The annual Land Tax for England and Scotland amounts to £1,047,000 ; that for Ireland is not given.

Were an increase of revenue to be obtained from the land—which, however, does not seem likely—

there will be no necessity for applying it to the reduction of the charges on imports. The Customs tariff has already been so much reduced and simplified that little room remains for further change. A lightening of the duties on foreign imports could be more conveniently accomplished by means of the Income Tax. The duties on fruits, cocoa and coffee might be abolished without much loss, and those on tea and tobacco reduced; but the sacrifice in both instances might be compensated by an addition to the charge on spirits, which should be maintained at as nearly a prohibitive rate as possible. Any deficiency could be met by a merely nominal addition to the Income Tax, and even this might be avoided if economy could be effected in any of the branches of expenditure. Some of the charges coming under the head of Stamps—especially stamps on legal instruments and bills of exchange, as well as under the head of Excise, say the duty on beer—may, however, claim priority in respect of reduction over the Customs duties.

The Land Tax is so small now because a large part of it has been redeemed. That part at all events has gone beyond reach. Any previous declaration as to the reservation of State rights can in no way be brought to bear upon the redeemed portion, the rights of Government having been, with the consent of Government, bought out. The Act 38 of Geo. III., which I have before quoted, provides that: "All land tax which shall be redeemed or purchased in pursuance of this Act . . . . . shall be deemed personal estate." It is only with regard to the unredeemed portion, therefore, that there can be any question of reviving the right of Government to increase the tax.

There are three interests to be considered: those of the State, of the cultivators of the soil, and of the proprietors. There are also three main objects

to be kept in view : production, population, and revenue. The relations and mutual obligations between the landlord and the community we have inquired into, and have examined the question of revenue. The case of the cultivators—the producers—may conveniently be considered in connection with the question of production and population. Under what system of tenure can the largest production be obtained? What system will support the greatest number of producers in comfort? The outturn of agricultural produce per acre and of net profit may be greater in England than in any other country, but the maximum of commercial profit is not all that should be looked for from the land. We might turn a whole county into a single farm—pulling down homesteads and bringing under cultivation every possible inch of ground, and might thereby obtain a larger gross and net return than anything that has yet been approached; but suppose that the whole of the proceeds of the crop went into the pocket of one man, would the country be any the richer? We can imagine the whole country to be farmed by a single individual—an enterprising American would undertake to do it—and there would be a great economy of labour, a surprising net profit, but a very scanty population. This may be an extravagant example, but the matter is simply one of degree. England must depend on her men in the last resort, and her best men are furnished by the rural population. Her riches are not all to be measured in money. We have been taking much too commercial a view of our wealth; a merely monetary gain will not compensate for other loss.

Again, under the present system of large properties, the land is not producing the most that it might produce. The cultivators are not free to act as they choose. They are hardly dealt with in many

ways ; hampered by conditions in their leases regarding changes in crops and put to great expense in providing farm steadings. On many estates, when new farm offices have to be built, the proprietor supplies only the slates and rough wood. The tenants have to pay for the other materials, such as stone and lime, besides cost of conveyance and cost of construction. At the end of the term of the lease, these buildings, three-fourths of the cost of which has been borne by the tenant, lapse to the proprietor. The conditions introduced into the leases with reference to change of crops may be necessary in some cases, but their effect is to tie the hands of the tenant. He is not at liberty to turn the land on which he works to the best account as the market fluctuates, and he is therefore placed at a great disadvantage in competing with the producers of other countries. He has also not the same incentive to labour and to produce which they have ; he has not the same interest in the land or the same inducement to bestow unremitting care upon it. Take a man with a farm of 400 or 500 acres of land ; what a multitude of things he could do to raise the value of that land if it were his own—to improve and to beautify it. The production of the whole country would be increased ; its whole aspect changed.

The competition of other countries in agricultural produce makes a reform of the Land Laws unavoidable. Facilities of communication and distribution are equalizing values throughout the world and bringing agricultural produce from new countries with an unlimited extent and fertility of soil into competition with the produce of this country ; and from old countries as well as new ones—from countries where labour is cheaper, where both the landholders and those under them are more frugal in their mode of living and are contented with lower incomes than satisfy the same classes in this country.

The extravagance of farmers has been partly the cause of their own reverses, and the temptation will be great, when they become small landholders, to emulate the style of men possessed of larger means. If they yield, the result will be debt, bankruptcy, and again the accumulation of land in few hands. A change in living, more directness of purpose, less desire for display, are the first things needful for the formation and preservation of a prosperous, contented class of small land proprietors. With these needful qualities the prosperity and stability of the class are certain. Their land will increase in productiveness and in value; other industries will rise up around them to offer their products in exchange for those that have sprung from the soil. There will be a resuscitation of industrial life throughout the country; the entire nation will be richer, more fully occupied and more cheerful; and the voice of the demagogue will be no longer heard.

One of the principal advantages of this change will be that the profit which comes from the land will not be drained away for unprofitable expenditure in towns and in other countries, but will become reproductive by being returned to the land. The only danger attending all this domestic felicity is that the people may become too home-staying, and that the love of adventure may die out. This appears to be the result in France, where there are no less than four millions of land proprietors; but the difference may be one of hereditary disposition only, and may have no connection with the conditions of land tenure. The effect in England may merely be to tone down the too boisterous character of the race and to produce more home attachment and more conservatism of the most solid kind. Home attachment and undaunted courage are often allied. What England wants is men. She is still rich, enormously rich, but she has not men in proportion to

her wealth, and the men whom she has are deteriorating. The stock needs to be replenished and care taken of it. The question which should hold the first place in the minds of the legislators of the present day is—what can be done to ameliorate the condition of the people, and how can the land be made to subserve this end ?

Excessive subdivision of land property and the practice of subletting are evils to prevent which means should be devised. Both have the tendency to keep the soil and its tenants poor. Restrictions on the free acquisition and disposal of property are, as a rule, bad ; but property in land differs from all other property. It might be advisable to impose a minimum on the quantity of land that may be held for the purpose of cultivation. The case of the agricultural labourers must be dealt with specially. They might be allowed to acquire small plots of garden land, not as a sole means of support, but as an assistance to their other earnings. They should, however, be left to take the initiative themselves, and receive aid only when they show that they are capable of helping themselves. This will encourage habits of thrift, and in time they may develop into small proprietors. The best way of enabling them to make a beginning would probably be through an agricultural labourers' aid society, similarly constituted to the building societies in towns, which have had an excellent effect in inducing small tradesmen to save sufficient money to enable them to become house-owners. The decrease in the number of farm labourers in England in recent years is striking. Mr. Mulhall, in his work, "The Progress of the World," states that in 1871 the number was 17 per cent. less than ten years before ; and he quotes a statement of Professor Caird to the effect that, in 1821, 20 per cent. of the population was engaged in agriculture ; whereas, in 1876, only 9 per cent. were

so engaged. This is a most suggestive fact. There are several causes which account for it. There is the increase of pasture land, the consolidation of farms and estates, and the more extensive use of machinery, by which there has been a saving of capital and outlay, but a loss of men. The only way of retaining the men is by giving them an interest in the land. Machinery may still be employed and labour economised by its use. It is very generally employed on small properties on the Continent.

Evictions are another cause of the decline of the agricultural population. I have listened to heart-rending tales of those evictions, not from Ireland only, but from Scotland; and England also, although I cannot speak with the same certainty regarding England, has probably not been free from them.

In the Census Report for 1871, I find it stated that the urban districts had, in the ten preceding years, grown more than twice as fast as the country districts, and that in the previous decade the growth of the towns was more than four times as fast as that of the rural population. It is doubtful if the physical characteristics of the nation have improved with the preponderance of town numbers and influence, and it is certain that the moral qualities of the people have suffered deterioration by it. Another fact worth notice is that the proportion of men to women was less in 1871 than at the date of any previous census since 1811, and this disparity is attributed to the increase of the army abroad; but it is quite as likely that the smaller proportion of men is due to physical and social causes.

In deciding upon the plan to be adopted for release of the land, it is necessary to exercise great care. There are dangers to be encountered as well as advantages to be gained. We must beware

how we break in upon a system and upon associations which have become interwoven with the constitution of English life. The rights of property must not be lightly interfered with. They form one of the principal safeguards of society. Nor should anything be done to diminish the desire to acquire land. As men's minds are now constituted, this is one of the greatest inducements to effort. Even sentiment ought not to be disregarded. The love of home, the attachment to an ancestral seat, are sentiments which ought to be revered. Too great centralization also is a danger to be avoided. It is what modern English communists, who now wield absolute power, are aiming at. They want to convert everything and everybody into their own wooden type—to suppress individualism and render all movement purely mechanical and automatic. It is impossible, or, if possible, by no means desirable, to reduce all men to one dead level. Even if we succeed in doing this once, inequalities will again arise. If all worked for the common good, the inequalities would be less marked, but would be of a nobler character. In the present condition of human nature, however, this sort of community would give the slothful man an unfair advantage. The diligent would have to work for his support.

Those from whom our territorial aristocracy have sprung were leaders of men. Their distinguished qualities placed them in the foremost rank. Have the descendants of the men whose individuality carried them there preserved the qualities, the virtues, which raised their forefathers to supremacy? How far is it true that they supply the leaders in politics, or literature, art, science, or war? It would be interesting to reckon up how much the world owes to them—in adventure or discovery, invention or instruction, morals or cultured taste. Cultivated leisure is one of the strongest justifications for the

existence of a privileged class. Up to a very modern period the lords of the land, honest old gentlemen, whose memory everyone must cherish with affection and respect, were, in point of mental cultivation, as rough as the agriculture of their own fields; but they possessed other sterling qualities. Is it different now? Are there any qualities whatever which are worth preserving left? Or have others equally admirable taken their place. If all men exerted themselves to the extent of their capacity, there would be more general intelligence and more thoroughness, as well as more leisure for all.

We must weigh all these things, which have gone to form the national character and have influenced the national destiny, as well as the more material, but not more important considerations of income, production and population.

Keeping, then, all these things before our mind; taking a survey of the whole ground; let us see what measure is best fitted at the same time to advance the material well-being of the country and to conserve what is best worth conserving in the national character.

We may set out with the assumption—rather a worn-out assumption now—that the State has the right to modify existing institutions, if it is for the public welfare that they should be modified, and provided that individual interests are indemnified to such extent as they may be prejudiced by the exercise of this right. The health of the people is the highest law. Laws which are opposed to this one must be brought into harmony with it. Existing laws were framed on this principle, so far as it was understood when they were made; but their foundation having since changed, they must undergo alteration also. This is the fundamental reason for a change. It has been asserted, further, that not alone shall the State decide when institutions shall

submit to reconstruction: it shall also be in the discretion of the State to determine what shall be proper compensation to be paid; but this certainly is carrying communistic aggression too far. The decision of the State is held to be the decision expressed by the representatives of the people in the House of Representatives assembled for purposes of legislation; but this right, I confess, I should have considerable hesitation in confiding to the present Government of this country, who do not, as appears to be generally accepted, represent a majority of the nation, but a minority—that minority being themselves.

Some modification of the existing land economy of the country is undoubtedly required. What shall the modification be? Complete redemption, or only partial redemption? Nothing less than total redemption, I am disposed to think, will serve. The nation wants new blood. The men have become women—emasculated, effeminate—given up to luxury, self-indulgence, and silly conceits. The rising communists have borrowed the worst features and vices of the class whom their aim it is to subvert: they imitate the hollow vanities of that class, but miss all their nobler qualities. Their natures are still too grovelling to appreciate these—they want longer purifying. At the same time they have lost the natural, the most wholesome part of their own character. The modern Englishman—or Scotchman, or Irishman—of this type is an anachronism, an abortion: what of him is still his own is not worth retaining; what is not his own he had better be without. The population of England is becoming more and more concentrated in towns, and the towns are becoming more and more demoralised. To counteract this degenerate tendency, the only way is to recruit the population of the country; and this cannot be done without a thorough

reform of the conditions of the tenure of land. The social side of the question transcends in importance all its other aspects.

Let the redemption be carried out with every regard for existing interests and associations, but let it be complete for the accomplishment of the end required.

Town lands may be excluded from the redemption scheme. Only one of the objects sought would be attained by their acquisition—an addition to the revenue; and that is but a minor consideration. Those lands may be dealt with independently, with reference to such claim as the State may be considered to have upon them for unearned increase. Mines also may be excluded. We shall bestow some attention on them afterwards; but for the present they need not be taken into account, as, although they form part of the natural wealth of the country as well as bear upon revenue, they do not intimately affect the two most important questions, those relating to production and population. The redemption scheme, then, is much simplified by eliminating those two elements. We shall gain our main purpose by confining it to culturable land only; and even here some further excisions will have to be made. Many of those things called in the Income Tax Acts by the startling names of messuages, hereditaments and tenements, will have to be cut off. We thus get at the heart of the subject.

Now, what is the annual value of the purely agricultural land? Suppose we take it at £40,000,000 a-year: how can we buy this interest at the cheapest price? Of this annual value we do not require to buy the whole. Some portion will have to be left with the present owners. I do not imagine that anyone would seriously propose to strip them of everything. Even the most extreme Republican has surely sufficient liberality of mind to leave a few acres in

the possession of those to whom the whole belongs. Leave them their ancestral homes with space sufficient to turn in with freedom. It is needful to bear in mind that we have no legal claim against the owners of the land. Taking off these ancestral properties, we shall probably not have more than £20,000,000 or £30,000,000 a-year to redeem—at least not at once. And here again it becomes a question how far the State should afford pecuniary aid in the transference of property from the present to new holders, not because of any risk or injustice in so doing, but because of the effect on the newly created proprietors. If they come too easily by their properties the probability is that they will not hold them long. It will be sounder policy to remove all obstacles to the acquisition of land, and to leave farmers and others to acquire the land with their own means or with very slight aid from the State, whose principal office will be to act as intermediary between the parties. A sturdier class of small proprietors will in this way be created, with more character and self-reliance and more simplicity of life than if they had been taught to depend on State aid. And this is the class which the nation wants.

We have now refined down our State outlay for redemption to anything or nothing. The capitalized value of only half the annual income of the agricultural land would have represented a very onerous liability for the State to undertake; equal, it would have been, to an addition of one-half to the National Debt. But, at the outside, if the principle at which we have arrived be adhered to, a very modest sum indeed will suffice. All that is required is a pivot on which the project may turn. A sum of £5,000,000 or £10,000,000 would probably be ample; and, more than that, by means of this fund the redemption of the present

public debt may be expedited. The fund ought to be vested in trustees, who would pay from it advances made for the purchase of land, on full security, and return to it the instalments of money returned by the buyer. The compensation to be paid to the present proprietors must be on the basis of the present capitalized value, either in a principal sum or in an annuity, such value being the market value as nearly as can be ascertained, which would include the value of future expectations. The purchase-money advanced by Government, when money has to be advanced, should not, I think, exceed one-half of the whole sum. Assistance should only be given in cases of proved necessity, and the new proprietors ought not to be invested with full proprietary rights until the money advanced by the State has been fully repaid. It is not advisable that the purchase-money should stand as a loan with the former proprietor. This would be keeping up the old connection and old feeling of dependence. It is better that, where there must be a lender, Government should be the lender. The trustees should have the power to buy land, especially encumbered estates, commons, or waste lands, and redistribute them amongst new holders. On releasing encumbered properties they may be able to make a considerable profit, more particularly if the properties, as is most likely, have been neglected. All the proprietors of land in the kingdom might be invited to come forward and state what lands they are prepared to part with on these conditions, and notice might be given to farmers that the way was open to them, if they chose, to become proprietors. If the present owners receive full value they can have small cause for dissatisfaction. They might indeed be able to offer some aid towards fulfilment of the plan for redemption of national obligations, and thereby earn a title to the lasting gratitude of the public. It may not

be amiss to remind them that they have reaped an enormous gain from the general progress and security of the country, without any effort or outlay on their own part. With their aid, with the gain on the transactions of the Government Land Agency, and with the invested surplus of a national currency reserve, the redemption of the National Debt is a task which need not take long to accomplish.

This scheme of land redemption and debt redemption is capable of expansion ; being limited only by the quantity of land available and the number of buyers for it. The more widely it is extended, the more speedy will be its effect in both directions. The larger the scale the greater the profit. Government will gain by the difference between the rate at which it can create annuities or raise the capital to be paid to the old proprietor and the rate, still moderate, to be paid to the new owner. It will also gain on the purchase and partition of encumbered estates and other land. Some portion of the cost it may be expedient that the country, as a whole, shall pay. All classes have an interest in converting the land more into the nature of a national possession ; the merchant, the manufacturer, tradesman and labourer have an interest in the matter. The condition and prosperity of all will be improved ; industry will be stimulated by the production of a greater gross product ; and each will have it in his power, by the exercise of diligence and thrift, himself to acquire an independent interest in the soil. But they must not be allowed to run away with the impression—an impression which seems to have spread amongst the lower classes—that the land is to be handed over to them as a gift.

How are State rights to be reserved in the case of the new proprietors ? In establishing a new proprietary it will be well to avoid a repetition of the mistake made with the old one. A fluctuating

tax, regulated by the prices of produce, and settled for terms of five or ten years, suggests itself as a possible way of protecting State rights; and if a convenient, it certainly would be an equitable way of doing so. Neither proprietors nor tenants are entitled to the whole production of the national property, the land.

The widest extension of which the redemption scheme is susceptible is the complete acquisition of the land by the State, the community becoming sole proprietor and all other holders tenants under it. The principal drawback to this plan is that it would have the effect which we have been deprecating, of reducing all men to one level—a position of things ill-suited to the natural genius of Englishmen. If the whole purchase were effected at once this scheme would besides bring a large addition to the public debt, the burden of which is sufficiently heavy now; but it might be carried out gradually on the plan before suggested for partial redemption. I do not know that there is much objection to the State occupying the position of supreme landowner; and there is none to the judicial regulation of the rent on the principle adopted for Ireland. The chief objection to State ownership is that its tendency is to cause too great uniformity. The scheme deserves attentive thought. Government, as owner, might either effect improvements, charging a full rent, or leave improvements to occupiers, charging a very moderate rent regulated by prices. I doubt whether this may not, after all, be the best scheme. It would satisfy national objects most fully; and agricultural producers might be better off under it than they are. The State could afford to act more liberally than a private landlord. Too much might indeed be expected from it in this way; there might be a constant clamour for the reduction of rents by an owner so

extremely well able to make a concession. Under this scheme the redemption of the public debt, along with the addition to it, might proceed more rapidly than under the other plan.

Rights of property should be respected; but the private rights of property in land are not absolute rights. Especially may this be said with regard to minerals and metals, the exportation of which is simply carting away the country itself—"cutting away the ground from under our feet." The chemical properties in the soil, exhausted by agriculture, may be restored, but the produce of mines—never. Each waggon-load removed leaves the country permanently poorer. They ought to be the property of the State, and the revenues from them applied to the liquidation of the country's liabilities. An improvident landlord once affirmed that trees were an excrescence of the earth provided by God for the payment of debts. Trees can be replanted, the stocks of game and trout may be replenished if they fail, but the produce of the mines cannot be restored. The country has been playing the rôle of the improvident landlord, with the difference that it has been parting with its natural wealth without taking heed for its debts.

The objections which might apply to State ownership of agricultural land do not apply to the case of mines, as the development of their resources has not been due in any great measure to the action of the owners, but to the enterprise of individual capitalists and joint stock associations. The mines in Germany belong to the State, and some considerable revenue is, I believe, derived from them. Viewed as a matter of principle and abstract right, there can be no question that mines are more strictly national wealth than anything else which nature has supplied. Whether the mines can now be acquired on terms advantageous to the State, and without

injustice to the interests concerned in their working I am not in a position to offer an opinion without further knowledge than I now possess. The annual rental from them appears small compared with the value of the out-turn which they yield. The out-turn for the United Kingdom is stated to be of the annual value of £68,000,000, while the rental is only a little over £4,000,000. The royalties received are no more than £23,000 a-year. As the land should go to the producers working upon it, so mines should come to the State. If the country is about to enter on a new era of prosperity, which the disturbance of the circulation alone prevents, an increased drain will fall upon this source of wealth, and measures should be taken to protect the national interest in it. In this case, as in others, the State must pay something before it can obtain a greater return than it now receives. In her land and mineral resources England possesses untold potential wealth, which only needs to be properly directed and economised. The profit from the land is not expended in such a manner as to benefit the land or the workers upon it. Unproductive outlay absorbs the most of it, and the rest goes into money investments or to buy more land, rather than to develop what is already owned. The profit from mines is similarly used, while, in their case, the materials extracted are lost to the nation for ever.

This question of the application of the national wealth is a most important question, especially in its relation to national obligations. The exhaustion of the mines is one of the strongest reasons that could be urged for using all possible despatch in the repayment of the public debt, for their depletion is not alone a loss in itself but vitally affects England's position as a manufacturing country.

KENSINGTON, *July 28th*, 1881.

NOTE ON IRELAND.

THE first important fact to be noticed with regard to Ireland is that the Land Act of 1870 was passed in a year when a currency disturbance began which still continues, and, for all we can tell, may work greater mischief between contracting parties in all engagements than it has yet wrought. The extent to which this disturbance has affected the relations between landlord and tenant is not yet fully appreciated or acknowledged.

An inconsistency marks the accounts presented to the public regarding the condition of Ireland: from some quarters we hear of the abject poverty of the population, especially in the country districts; but, on the other hand, trade and shipping do not seem to show any decline, and the moneys lodged with the Savings Banks have been increasing. The explanation is, I think, to be found in the circumstance that a currency disorganization does not so much affect the trading as the producing classes who are under contract to pay fixed hire for labour and fixed rent.

Producers must go on producing although they lose; they will go on so long as their capital may last. Their rents may be high and wages high, but they must hold to their bargain with the landlord to the end of their lease, and in the case of their servants it

is difficult at once to effect reductions. This may account for trade being fairly well maintained and for the comparative prosperity of the classes who have dealings with Savings Banks. Their wages remaining high, while the cost of articles of subsistence and clothing was becoming less, they were enabled to lay by savings out of their earnings even if they lived a little better than they had formerly done. This explanation also seems to throw light upon the activity in the shipping trade. The same quantity of commodities had to be moved as before, although their monetary value may have diminished and indeed did dimish. The same phenomenon is observable in English trade: a large addition to tonnage and railway traffic accompanying an unsatisfactory state of production. I do not know if the agricultural population of Ireland, in regard to the opportunities open to them, were in many respects worse situated than the same class in England, when land reform became the platform of political agitators harbouring ulterior designs.

The information supplied in the publications of the Irish Land Committee, respecting the state of Ireland, is valuable so far as it goes, but one or two important points have been omitted. There is a break of several years in the tables of prices and of trade. Prices are given for the years 1826 to 1852, and again for 1873 and 1877, but not for the intervening years 1853 to 1872. From the tables of tonnage, also, the years 1858 to 1874 are wanting. The omission is important, because a large proportion of existing leases were entered into in those years, on the prices of those years, and, had the prices been supplied, we should have been able to compare them with the prices of the present time, and would have been placed in a position to judge to what extent the tenant's contract to pay rent had been affected by a change in the monetary value of his

produce. The omission indeed seems to vitiate the whole argument which the Committee advance. It may be, as the Committee state, that in 74 acres out of every 100 acres the tenants pay now the same rents as they paid between 1850 and 1860; but prices were much higher in the second half of the decade than they were in the first half, and they were higher still between 1860 and 1870. Prices also should have been given up to a later date than 1877, for, since that year, a considerable fall has occurred. There has been a great rise since 1852, as shown by the Committee; but it can bring little satisfaction to a tenant whose lease dates from 1862, to be told that prices are considerably higher now than they were in 1852. The years excluded from the Committee's comparison are the really important years. Viewing the "facts and figures" of the Committee, as they are stated, they show that there has been a remarkable advance in the monetary value of agricultural produce between the beginning and end of the period covered by them, but they should have embraced the years 1878 and 1879, the years in which the agricultural distress seems to have been greatest, if it has existed at all in the aggravated form which has been represented.

There has been also an extraordinary development of the external trade of Ireland. The shipping of the port of Dublin, which was only 880,000 tons in 1857, had increased to 1,973,000 tons in 1877; and at Cork and Belfast corresponding increases had taken place. The tonnage of Belfast had risen from 771,000 to 1,499,000; and of Cork from from 353,000 to 701,000. I reproduce the whole of the figures:—

	Liverpool (including Birkenhead)	Glasgow.	Dublin.	Belfast.	Cork.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1855	4,096,160	1,666,518	883,719	744,364	928,658
1856	4,320,618	1,673,096	904,903	772,127	347,126
1857	4,645,362	1,612,681	880,844	796,968	384,167
Average of preceding 3 years 18 years missed.	4,354,047	1,650,765	889,488	771,153	353,317
1875	6,588,731	2,249,857	1,677,543	1,434,754	623,467
1876	6,805,970	2,298,076	1,879,886	1,497,585	740,558
1877	7,000,726	2,428,616	1,973,781	1,566,752	740,201
Average of preceding 3 years	6,798,476	2,325,516	1,843,737	1,499,697	701,407

"From this table it will be observed that while the tonnages of Liverpool and Glasgow have respectively increased fifty per cent. in the last twenty years, those of Belfast and Cork have nearly doubled, and that of Dublin has considerably more than doubled in the same time. Also, the tonnage of Glasgow is only one-fourth more and that of Liverpool is not four times greater than that of Dublin."—*Report of Irish Land Committee.*

There has been an increase then in the pecuniary value of produce, accompanied, as it must have been, by an increase of rents; and there has been further a marked development of external trade—all circumstances which indicate that an improvement has taken place somewhere. The gross capital of the country, the Committee state, was estimated by Dr. Neilson Hancock in 1875 at "£258,887,700 against £95,286,000 in 1846-50; or, as he otherwise puts it, the accumulated capital per head of population in 1846-50 was £12, while in 1876 it was £49. When we compare the populations the contrast becomes even stronger. In 1846, eight millions of people had less than ninety-six millions of capital. In 1876 five and a half millions of people had two hundred and fifty-nine millions of capital." The unsatisfactory feature about this statement is that the increase of wealth was accompanied by a great diminution of the population, showing that wealth was being concentrated as well as accumulated, which accounts for some part

of the increased valuation per head. In a pecuniary sense alone the country had gained, and it has lately, still in this sense, been suffering only a decline of prosperity, not an absolute decline.

In the earlier part of the period referred to, the tenants of land must have made large profits; in the latter part the landowners must have done so. When the leases fell in the landlords' time came and they appropriated the lion's share of the profit in rent. When the subsequent reaction occurred, the tenants felt the pinch first, and now it has extended to the proprietors. In the interval, properties changed hands; many of them at the high prices which must have been offered and accepted in the middle period; and the new owners have not been prepared for the consequences of the decline. Currency theories are out of their way. They are satisfied to know that a sovereign is a sovereign and that its value may always be depended upon.

So much for the Committee's facts. Next, as to their opinions. They say, "It seems strange that so simple an elementary truth should require to be explicitly stated as that the rent of the land will rise or fall according to the quantity in the market and the number of persons looking for it . . . . Any attempt to regulate rent by Act of Parliament would be as futile as the efforts of our forefathers to control dress by sumptuary laws. It is not likely that in a nation which glories in free trade such an attempt will be made." Mr. Bonamy Price adopts the same view, and it appears to have been concurred in also by Lord Dufferin and Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Price, in his memorandum, appended to the preliminary report from Her Majesty's Commissioners on Agriculture, expresses the opinion that "legislative interference with the valuation of rent . . . . is a direct violation of the fundamental principle of all soundly-constituted industry, freedom

of contract; and soundly-constituted industry is the root of national prosperity. The State might as well dictate what the price of corn or coals or cloth shall be."

The simple reply to this is that the rent settled by competition cannot be a fair rent, because the quantity of land is an unalterable quantity, while the numbers seeking to occupy it are constantly increasing. Land is not like corn, coals or cloth, as Mr. Price assumes it to be. The quantity of these in the market may be increased indefinitely. The home production of them may augment or they may be brought from other countries. Land also exists in other countries, but cannot be transported from them. The people must go to those countries if they want more land; and in Ireland it is to the land that the people have to trust for subsistence. State regulation of the rent seems a necessity for the prevention of extortion. Freedom of contract in the case of land has the effect of throwing all the results of labour into the hands of a few persons; of exhausting the land and the workers upon it; of concentrating wealth in place of extending it. This is the permanent tendency, and it accounts for a good many of the anomalies which we find in the structure of modern society. Establish a sound principle and the anomalies will disappear; other things will adapt themselves to it and be regulated by it. A more equitable adjustment of the relations between landlord and tenant will, it may be hoped, lead to more hearty co-operation between them. Their true interests will not be found to be hostile to each other, but to coincide. The disadvantages under which tenants are placed are greatly due to the fact that properties are too large. The owners are too well off to trouble themselves much as to the condition of the tenants. All communication between them is conducted through the agency of

a solicitor or land agent, whose chief concern is to do the best they can for their client. Limitation of the size of the properties seems a necessity, and also that the owners should be obliged to reside for a stated period each year upon them, in order that they may see for themselves what is the state of the land and become familiar with the circumstances and requirements of their tenants. A responsibility rests upon them for the welfare of a large part of the population, and that the most valuable part. A little consideration must convince them of the responsibility.

It is apprehended that the Government regulation of the rent will remove all stimulus to improvement; but the effect is more likely to be to induce the tenant to undertake improvements. What can be more discouraging to a tenant, or more likely to drive him out of his native country with the bitterest sense of injustice, than treatment such as that described by Mr. Tuke in the published account of his visit to Ireland? A tenant who formerly resided in Ulster had built a corn mill on land belonging to one of the London Companies. When the lease expired the rent was raised, but again he built, adding a flax mill. The rent was again raised, and the property sold by the Company. The purchaser also raised the rent. At last, "aggravated by the sense of injury done to him, in having to pay so dearly for his own improvements—the landlords having done nothing—he determined to throw up his holding and emigrate to America." But he was not even allowed to realise the full value by the sale. "The agent for the owner gave out at the sale that the rent would be raised very considerably, and thus destroyed the value of the tenant-right to such an extent that only a very small sum was realised." No wonder that the victim of this scandalous treatment, "stung to the quick and

aggravated by the fact that after all the rent was not raised," left his native land with the bitterest animosity in his mind.

Another case is that of a Donegal tenant farmer, who had reclaimed a considerable quantity of land, for which he had paid £10 a-year on a lease, and expected to have to pay £45 a-year on revaluation. This he naturally deemed a great hardship, as the whole of the buildings and improvements had been effected by himself.

As illustrating the wretched, the distressingly wretched condition of the people in some parts of Ireland, I shall quote another instance given by Mr. Tuke. He describes his visit to a dwelling—a bog dwelling—in the "township" of Menacladdy. "Imagine an old man and old woman living in a hole scooped out of the bog, nearly three feet below the surface, and not more than six feet square. There was no door and no chimney, and the rain was finding its way into the hut through the only opening, about three feet high, which gave egress both to the smoke and to the dwellers in the hut." Who are the proprietors answerable for such a mournful condition of the people under their care? How can the State justify to itself this neglect of the health of its members, on which its soundness and strength depend? Has it no duty to perform? Legislation will not suffice for such a case as this. The disease wants practical treatment if the Commonwealth is to be saved from decay.

It is something to know that the Irish landlords are not all bad landlords. Mr. Tuke names Mr. Pim and Mr. Ellis as proprietors who have exerted themselves, and successfully done so, to improve the condition of their tenants. Men like these may be numerous; bad landlords may be the exception; but the laws are made to meet excep-

tions. And even between a good landlord and his tenant freedom of contract does not, in land, ensure equity of contract, or the proper application of national resources. The Devon Commission of 1845 laid down the principle that " The landlord has the undoubted right to the inherent qualities of the land, as well those that are latent and not yet called into productive activity, as those that are already developed and made profitable; and this right must extend up to the highest state of production of which land is capable."

The inherent qualities of the soil are the property of the country. The country may hire them out or dispose of them absolutely, but it ought to receive value for them. The question of the protection of the rights of the State should be taken into consideration in forming a new class of proprietors in Ireland. No provision is made for this, apparently, in the Bill now before Parliament. Local authorities also should be held responsible for the return of State funds to the full extent to which State aid is given.

Three things seem to be hurting Ireland: excessively small holdings of land, quite inadequate for the support of those who dwell upon them, and which cause a multiplication of the population exceeding the capacity of the land to afford them subsistence; excessively large holdings through the consolidation of farms into pasture land, which produce the opposite effect of decimating the population; and absenteeism, which draws away the resources of the soil and returns nothing to it. These three evils require appropriate remedies. Neglect is still the curse of Ireland. It may be hard that this should still have to be said. Neglect by the owners of the land, in the first instance, and in a less degree by the Government; not neglect of legislation—there is, perhaps, too much of that and

of official orders and reports—but a want of practical knowledge and the utilization of it. If partial remedies fail to work a change, then State ownership must be called into requisition. Let the State acquire the land and lease it out. Excessive subdivision, sub-letting, absenteeism and loss of population may all be prevented by this means, without any loss to the State and with much benefit to the Irish community. But in taking this step the State must protect its own interests. It is not required to make over to the Irish tenants, or peasant proprietors, what does not belong to them. The people of Ireland must not be encouraged to lean too much on the State; to expect the State to do everything for them while they put forth little or no effort of their own. This will be the effect of the legislation on which Parliament is now engaged; and still more would it be the effect of transferring the land bodily to the tenants. The new holders should, therefore, receive from the State the least assistance that can be extended to them, and be taught to rely only on themselves. If this is not done, they will go on in the old improvident way, and in a few years their discontent with their own condition and dissatisfaction with the Government will break out with new acerbity.

The proposal has been made that the rent payable by the tenant to the landlord should be fixed in perpetuity; but the tenant is not entitled to the whole increase in the value of the land any more than the landlord. The claim is advanced on behalf of the tenants to have their rents fixed for ever on the basis of Griffiths' valuation; that is, on prices as they stood in 1852. There could be no more unreasonable demand. The claim is manifestly untenable. The rise in the value of land which has taken place since that time is only partially due to the tenant and is to a still less extent

the work of the proprietor. It is the result of the general advancement of the country, in promoting which all classes have had a share. A considerable part of this increase should therefore come to the community. At any rate the community has an interest which ought to be preserved in view of the possible failure, at some future time, of some other sources of revenue. Whether the interest can best be preserved by State possession or by a variable tax is a question that can only be decided after the fullest consideration. Were the land to become the property of the State, I am inclined to the opinion that the sale of their interest by holders should be prevented. If they cannot successfully carry on the cultivation, let them give place to others, surrendering their holdings to the State and receiving compensation for outlay. It often occurs that the price paid for a lease by a purchaser is so high relatively to the intrinsic worth of the purchase, that he cannot do the land justice. It would be better that the land should be resumed and relet at a reasonable rent; at such a rent as would enable the new tenant to cultivate it to advantage. The land is not an ordinary property; the prosperity of the country is bound up with it in many ways, and not merely in a commercial sense. The loss of population in Ireland is an instance. This loss is referred to by the Irish Land Committee only in an incidental way. It is noticed in showing the increase which has taken place in accumulated capital, but I do not find the prominence given to it which it ought to have received. It is a startling loss. Its causes and progress ought to have been traced and clearly set forth. The population has been more than decimated: it has been reduced by nearly one-half. In 1846 the people of Ireland numbered eight millions. In 1876 their numbers were only five and-a-half millions.

This is not a matter to be slurred over. No increase of other capital will compensate for such a loss of bone and sinew. Is the State not bound to take measures for the prevention of such a profligate dissipation of its strength? The nation has lost some of its best blood. Great Britain must always expect that a large number of her men will be drawn away from her to occupy the fields open to them in her dependencies abroad; but there is no need that they should be forced away with feelings of hatred in their breasts against the country which might have guaranteed to them greater security in their own land, and to whose neglect of them they believe their expatriation to be due. The fact that England must lose men from unavoidable causes is the stronger reason why she should offer inducements to others to remain at home where they may grow up and live a physically and morally healthy life, uncontaminated by the corrupting influences of foreign residence.

One of Ireland's chief wants is the application of capital. She requires more than the owners can or are willing to apply. We hear of land mortgage companies for Cyprus, Egypt, Syria and other places, to lend capital to cultivators, to acquire and improve land for resale or lease, to cultivate land and prospect for minerals. Are no capitalists to be found to undertake the reclamation of Irish bogs?

Irishmen themselves have done exceedingly little for their own country in a practical way. They talk glibly on the subject of their grievances, but do not set themselves to work. Can they do nothing either by single or combined effort? Why do they not apply themselves with some little earnestness and thoroughness and system to restore vitality to their manufacturing industries, to procure capital for the reclamation of waste land, or to develop Ireland's mineral wealth? Can they explain why

it is that the woollen industry is so prosperous in Hawick and so lifeless in Ireland? With the great extension in pasture land, and increase in the stock of sheep, a full supply of material to be worked up ought, at all times, to be obtainable.

If Irish tenants were more industrious and thrifty than they are, and had they a beneficial interest in their holdings, they might be able to put together some capital of their own; but the turbulent character of the people is against steady industry. Were they as industrious as the Dutch, Ireland would now be as rich as Holland. Dutchmen have had more disadvantages to contend against than Irishmen have had, and it is only by steady perseverance that they have overcome them. Both Holland and Belgium supply the English market with produce which Ireland might send. That the producers of those two countries are able to beat Irishmen is no doubt due in a great measure to the fact that the land which they cultivate belongs to them, and that they can turn it to any purpose they please; but they have a heavy land-tax, if no rent, to pay. Their chief advantage over Irishmen lies in their greater steadiness and hereditary skill as farmers and gardeners. It is well worth the consideration of Government whether they might not bring over a few Dutch or Flemish farmers to Ireland to teach Irishmen agriculture. Put the matter to the test of practical experiment. The cost would be insignificant and the results might be of great value. They could hardly fail to be of some service.

The treatment which Ireland has received at the hands of England in time past has been harsh in the extreme. Ireland was never more prosperous than under the despotism of Cromwell, but becoming too prosperous, excited the jealousy of England.*

* I have here adopted Mr. Froude's views with reference to the past relations between England and Ireland, and believe that I could not have relied upon a more trustworthy authority.

The independent trade which she had established with the colonies was forced to pass through England; and the exportation of cattle and farm products to English ports was stopped. More lately Ireland was compelled to levy duty on her own exports of woollen goods, on the promise of support to the Irish linen trade, a promise which was never carried out. Not only was the promise never fulfilled: a duty was imposed on Irish linen coming to England.

Let England now, in consideration of the ungenerous way in which she has behaved to Ireland in bygone times, give Ireland the benefit of cheaper and better and more extensive means of communication: let money be expended out of the still abundant store of England, not to assist individuals, but for purposes of general improvement; for the reclamation of waste land out of which small properties may be formed; for harbours; and for the development of Ireland's mineral resources. The money may be provided partly by the State and partly by private enterprise; but if Ireland is to become rich and prosperous, she must become peaceful and industrious. She has not much productive capital of her own, and she ought to offer all the inducements she can to attract capital from England. It is for the leaders of opinion in Ireland to educate the people; to train them to such habits of thought and practice as shall lead to a more orderly state of society and inspire capitalists with confidence in embarking in Irish enterprise the capital of which Ireland stands in so great need.

While England's treatment of Ireland is without excuse, the proceedings of Irishmen themselves, especially in their relations with the Protestant part of the population, have been cowardly, bloodthirsty and brutal beyond expression. I refer especially to

the shameful abduction and violation of Protestant girls and the murder of Protestant families, deeds which were carried out with all the unbridled concupiscence and savagery of wild lower animals. It is not by deeds of darkness and cruelty that Irishmen can hope to ameliorate the condition of their country, or obtain even a moderate measure of self-government. Their capacity for self-government is exceedingly doubtful. They would probably not ask for self-government if they had the capacity to undertake it. Home Rule means Catholic ascendancy, and Catholic ascendancy in Ireland means separation from Great Britain, internal misgovernment and the withdrawal of English capital and enterprise. It is not the most peaceful and industrious of the inhabitants who want separation. They indeed must have sufficient good sense to perceive that there are many advantages which the country derives from forming a constituent part of the empire, and that, if they can obtain the concessions which to them the country seems to need, and retain the other advantages also, there can be little left to be desired.

It is questionable whether the country would be better governed by a Home parliament than it is. A local parliament would only stir up a crowd of petty jealousies and heartburnings. Questions of public concern might receive more consideration, but not such disinterested, unbiassed consideration as they receive now, and there would almost certainly be frequent collisions between the superior and the inferior administrations on questions of taxation and public expenditure. Foreign policy also, where the country ought to be united, would almost certainly be interfered with by the local body; although nominally beyond their province, they would consider themselves bound to express an opinion upon it, and perhaps competent to take the

direction of it. In such a small country as Ireland I do not see why the Viceroy should not be able, with a little effort, to acquaint himself with and keep himself fully informed regarding all the more important questions which call for the exercise of administrative talent. There are really very few such questions. The condition of the population—whether increasing or decreasing, well off or ill off—is the question of first importance; legislation and all other matters hinge upon that one. At any rate, all purposes should be served by the appointment of a consultative council composed of men of experience and solidity, whose acquaintance with affairs and well-balanced judgment would render their advice valuable. The present departmental secretaries do not fulfil the purpose required.

Agriculture, mines, and manufactures are the three principal branches of administration. Agriculture is backward, mines are undeveloped, and manufactures have nearly disappeared. Mr. Tuke observes, in the hopeless endeavour to discover a means of improving the condition of the people: "All that can be expected of any Government is to lay down great principles of treatment which shall surely, although slowly, cure the maladies and build up a sound and healthy system." But something beyond this is needed. Without great principles no broad lines of action can be laid down or clearly and consistently followed; but the practical work of administration will do more to remove obstacles and help forward a country's progress than all the enactments that a legislature can pass.

It is hopeful to find that there is a gold mine in Ireland. The revenue from it amounts to £10. The revenue rose to so much as £50 in 1861-62, but again declined to the sum before stated. Perhaps it

may again rise to £50. But were neither gold nor silver to be found in her, Ireland is still the Emerald Isle, with many beauties and associations to engage the affection of her people, and bind them to her; and with ample resources, properly handled, to satisfy all their wants.

LOCAL TAXATION.

MEMORANDUM.

THERE are some matters of the nature of excrescences which must be cut away before the central part of the land question can be approached. I allude to the law of primogeniture and entail, tithes and local taxation. Nothing can be done in the way of a wider distribution of land property until it is emancipated from the fetters by which it is now bound. The unsparing application of the legislative shears is required to free it from the entanglements in which it has been enveloped by the law. Tithes present less difficulty: their commutation for a money payment would be an easy matter. With regard to local taxation, it will be sufficient now to run over the points which have struck me on reading the report of the Select Committee appointed by the House of Commons in March, 1870, and presided over by Mr. Goschen. One of those points is that, out of the amount levied under the name of poor rate, in the preceding year, £4,000,000 were expended in other objects than the relief of the poor. Another is that, while poor rates increased, between 1826 and 1868, from £6,966,000 to £10,439,000, the share borne by the land *decreased* from £4,795,000 to £3,466,000. This discrepancy is accounted for in some measure by the rapid growth of the

population in towns, but it nevertheless is a striking fact, and seems to indicate either an exceptionally prosperous condition of the agricultural classes or a very slow growth of the country population compared with that of the towns. The backwardness of growth of the rural population is indeed proved by the census returns. It does not seem to be due so much to a smaller number of births or greater mortality in the country than in the towns, as to the drafting of the population to the towns from the country ;—a result of the development of manufacturing and trading industries ; of the increase of the number of retired moneyed men settling in towns, and of the land monopoly which restricts the number of persons who can find occupation in agricultural employments.

Besides the general tendency to consolidate farms and estates, the extension of stock-farming may be a special reason for the decline of the country population. This cause has been at work in an aggravated form in Ireland, as Mr. Froude has shown, but it may be operating on a smaller scale in England also. The country has been suffering from a congestion and loss of population as well as of other wealth ; and there is reason to fear that both are still going on. A third noticeable fact is the extent to which local taxation falls on the occupier. On this point the Committee express the opinion that the existing system is contrary to sound policy, and they suggest that the rates should be collected as at present, from the occupier, power being given to the occupier to deduct from his rent the proportion of the rates to which the owner may be liable. This may or may not be the best arrangement. A yet more simple plan would be to levy the rates from the owner, and to let him recover in the rent, or to establish a principle for the division of the rates between the proprietor and his tenant. Let

the taxes, say, for the protection and maintenance of property be paid in such and such proportions, and those relating to persons in such other proportions; or, let the taxes for general services fall on the owner and occupier in certain proportions, and for special services in certain different proportions; and, further, let the local rates, as the Committee propose, be consolidated, the consolidated rate being divided between owner and occupier in the same proportion as the separate rates of which it is composed. As, however, the distribution of local assessments may affect the distribution also of county and municipal authority, it may be necessary that the two things should be taken into consideration together, along with the division of the country into electoral districts. It has, I understand, been proposed that, for electoral purposes, the counties and burghs should be fused into one, but the soundness of the proposal is open to question. By its adoption the commercial element would acquire a still wider influence than it now has. The harder, more acute mind of the trading class would overbear the more slowly-moving, more impressionable intellect of the country population; and, seeing that the commercial spirit already pervades the community to an unhealthy extent, the preservation of the independence of the country element seems desirable as a counterpoise to it.

THE STANDARD, DEBT AND RENTS.

THE question of the stability or instability of the standard of value bears so directly on land policy and on the national debt that it demands separate notice. The national debt is a liability for which the property of the country, existing within the country, must be regarded as ultimately liable. This property consists of the land and of the works executed upon it; but the latter are of the nature of improvements. The property existing in England and claims on the property of other countries constitute, with ships and the merchandise in the hands of those engaged in commerce, the national wealth. Supposing England to suffer such a reverse as would deprive her of her hold on the property of other countries, and to be compelled to go into liquidation, public liabilities would have to be satisfied out of the assets available to meet them; and those assets would be the property held in England, of which the land would constitute the chief part. There is, therefore, a more distinct relationship between the public debt and the land than between it and other kinds of property of which the country might be shorn in a time of adversity. In the case supposed, the burden of the debt would be in proportion to the monetary value of the property. If, by reason of an appreciation of the standard, the pecuniary value

of the property had greatly diminished, the obligation remaining a fixed sum, the burden would be all the more oppressive—so much so, possibly, that the valuation of the property might not be sufficient to cover more than one-half or a fourth of the liability. It would be unfair to saddle the property with the whole of the liability, and there would be no injustice in cutting down the amount of the liability itself. It would be better still that there were no liability to meet. The case supposed may be an extreme one, but I have used it to depict more clearly the relation in which the national debt stands to the national property, and the desirability, in view of other contingencies besides a failure of mineral wealth, of being as free from debt as it may be possible for us to be. Apart from other considerations, the liability of the standard to vary makes this desirable. When the standard oscillates in one direction, the nation loses, and all its creditors are presented with an addition to their claims upon it. When it moves the other way, the creditors lose and the nation gains. It is as undesirable that the nation should gain at the expense of individuals as that they should gain at the public expense. A periodical adjustment of debts on an equation of values has not, to my knowledge, been suggested, but it is not too unreasonable a proposal to deserve consideration. It might extend to contracts generally, and the instability of the measure of indebtedness, of which we have recently had experience, almost renders some arrangement of the kind a necessity. The adjustment might be made by a permanent court of experienced arbitrators, and would extend to rents as well as other things. On the ground of equity, not less than for the sake of preventing a disorganization of industry and a suspension of its functions, it would seem that some such plan must be adopted. The alter-

native is to shorten the term of contracts or to make them subject to revision from time to time. If the variable nature of the standard and the effects of this variability were realized, people would adopt precautions for their own protection. Some means should be taken to make the subject better understood, especially by the lessees of land. The best plan may be to leave contracting parties to protect themselves; but it is highly desirable that they should be better instructed.

The position of a cultivating owner of land, when a change of standard occurs, is very much better than that of a farmer holding under a lease. Long leases, which are recommended as being advantageous to the tenant, may sometimes be attended with disadvantage. They allow time for recovering the value of improvements, but the tenant may lose more than he may gain, by a diminution of the sum which the produce of his farm will realize. Of course this occurs when the fluctuation is in one direction. In the other event the tenant gains at the expense of the proprietor. The cultivating owner reaps all the gain when there is a gain; and when the money value of his produce contracts, he can take effective measures to cut down his outlay. The farmer cannot do so; he must pay the rent he has agreed to pay, and his capital disappears before he knows where he stands or what the influences are which have been making him their sport. The whole matter, both as regards the public debt and other contracts, resolves itself into a question of the nature of a debt. Is it to be regarded, as it generally is regarded, in the light of an undertaking to deliver so much gold or silver at a stated time, or as a title to a given value?

It follows from what has been said that the fluctuating character of the burden of public obligations forbids an addition to them, unless for some object

of paramount importance. Such an object the redemption of the land may be said to be; but even were the land coming to the State, to be held by the State against the liability incurred, there would still be an objection to making a large addition to the debt; and no addition whatever should be permitted, even in that case, without provision being at the same time made for its speedy repayment. Where the land is conveyed to a new body of proprietors, and debt incurred for the purpose, the liquidation of the debt will depend, not on the return from the land, as would be the case were the State to become the owner, but upon their solvency. This, again, will depend on the manner in which they may exert themselves to develop their property and discharge their obligations. If there is any reason to apprehend that they will not exert themselves, or may shirk their obligations, then it would be very unwise for the State to undertake a new burden for them, which, in case of their failure to discharge it, the country would have to bear. When times are prosperous, they may be disposed to live up to the full limit of their income. If times are bad, they are more likely to seek to be relieved from their liability than to stint themselves. The property coming to them easily, they will not appreciate it as they would have done had they won it by their own industry. The fact that the other classes of the community have incurred a risk for them will be only indistinctly perceived, and is not likely to quicken them to exertion. Much must depend on the character of the men; but, in any case, an addition to the debt should be avoided, unless for the acquisition of the land by the State itself. The best men—those whom it would be to the country's advantage to have as proprietors—will, if they wish to acquire land, and the land is to be had, find a means of acquiring it with little or with no aid. That

land should be obtainable is a necessity, and it will be the duty of the Government to make it obtainable. The land should not be allowed to pass into the hands of speculators, but should be sold only to buyers who bind themselves to settle upon and cultivate their purchase.

The position which the country would occupy, had it no debt, may be instructive to observe. There would be no interest to pay, and excluding interest, the charges are for the—

Army,	... ...	£15,000,000
Navy,	... ...	10,000,000
Civil Service,	... ...	15,000,000
Other Charges,	...	10,000,000
		£50,000,000

in place of £80,000,000, as at present. The prospect is a tempting one, and should induce the nation to strain every nerve for the attainment of a position where so much might be accomplished.

RAILWAYS.

THE bounty paid by railway companies on produce imported into England makes it exceedingly difficult to determine how far English producers are unable to hold their own, in fair competition, against the producers of other countries. The traffic receipts, which were £35,000,000 in 1865, and £43,000,000 in 1870, rose to £60,000,000 in in 1877, the year in which the greatest excess of imports over exports occurred. Foreign produce must have paid the whole, or nearly the whole, of this increase. That this has been the case is proved by the growth of the imports of merchandise into England without any corresponding addition to the quantity of home productions exported to other countries.

In 1870 the imports of merchandise were ...	£303,000,000
and exports	244,000,000
Being an excess of imports of	£59,000,000
In 1874 the imports were	£370,000,000
and exports	297,000,000
Excess of imports	£73,000,000
In 1877 the imports were	£394,000,000
and exports	252,000,000
Excess of imports	£142,000,000

This was also the year of the highest railway traffic receipts.

But values declined in those years, while quantities increased; and railway freights being paid on quantities, a better opinion may be formed of what has taken place if I mention the quantities received of a few of the principal articles of foreign produce imported:—

Between the years 1870 and 1877 the imports of

Corn increased from ...	74,000,000	cwts. to	124,000,000	cwts.
Oxen, sheep, &c., from ...	870,000	„	1,075,000	„
Beef from	215,000	„	678,000	„
Butter from	1,159,000	„	1,637,000	„
Potatoes from	771,000	„	8,745,000	„
Ham and Bacon from ...	567,000	„	4,295,000	„
Eggs from	430,000,000	„	751,000,000	„

All these are articles of agricultural produce.

An increased supply of shipping was required to carry all this produce, and accordingly we find that the tonnage of steam vessels employed in the foreign trade has made great strides also:—

In 1870 it was	1,112,000 tons
In 1877 „	2,139,000 „

The tonnage doubled in seven years; and, making every allowance for the fact that the Suez Canal was opened in 1870, causing a change from ships to steam-vessels, a great part of the additional tonnage must have been built for the conveyance of food into England.

Railway and shipping interests have been supported at the expense of other interests, and of the land interest especially. Consumers have gained, but the gain has been an illegitimate one—a gain of a nature which encourages extravagance, being value received without value given. It has gone into waste. The profit of the railway proprietors and shipowners is of a more reproductive character, but in the case of the railways at least the profit has

not been fairly earned. In both cases it is a commercial, an external gain—extrinsic, if I may use that term with reference to it, to the country. It has been acquired at the expense of a disorganization of the internal economy of the country and of diminished efficacy of production. If the inland highways of commerce, of which the railways hold a monopoly, are to be subservient to any purpose, the development of internal production is the purpose which, first of all, they ought to subserve.

The railway system is of the nature of a public service. Through it alone can intercourse and commerce be carried on. The whole system should be brought more immediately under State control; but this should be done without weakening independent responsibility and without prejudice to the just rights of proprietors. There is indeed ground for the belief that the proprietors will be materially benefited, while the public also will be gainers by the prevention of action such as that which has recently occurred, as well as by cheaper and safer facilities of carriage for themselves and their goods. Railway charges, with taxation and other imposts, press more heavily on the public than they did, in consequence of the contraction of the monetary appraisement of capital, profits and rent. The consumption of national capital, there is reason to fear, is still going on.

Without entering upon details, there are some changes which suggest themselves as being not only expedient but necessary. These are—

An amalgamation of competing and unprofitable lines.

A reduction of the number of trains in many cases.

A reduction and equalization of fares and freights.

Separate lines for passengers and goods.

A classification of passenger and goods traffic on all lines should be published periodically by the Railway Clearing House; a distinction being drawn between home productions and foreign goods. I applied to the Clearing House some time ago for this information, but was told that it could not be furnished. The nominal capital of some of the companies may have to be reduced in bringing them into an amalgamated scheme, but the intrinsic value of the remainder will be increased, and unprofitable competition stopped. The effect will be to create a monopoly, but it will be a public monopoly, regulated by the State with a suitable regard for public interests on the one side and private interests on the other.

The removal of some of these smaller drawbacks will leave producers a clear field to work upon; but it is almost needless to say that these matters lie on the surface, and do not touch the fundamental question of all, the settlement of the tenure of land on such a basis as shall restore national territory to national uses and impart new life and vigour to the State.

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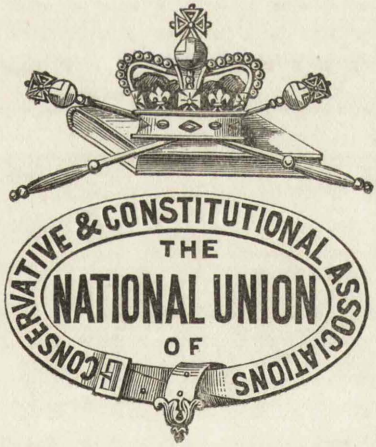
THE

IRISH LAND QUESTION.



BY A

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL.

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1869.

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IRISH LAND QUESTION.

More than 14 months ago the extension to Lancashire and Middlesex of Fenian outrages, hitherto confined to the further side of St. George's Channel, impelled a panic-stricken people and a terrified Parliament to do something which should pacify Ireland. At the time perhaps a large portion of the people conceived that the panacea was contained in Mr. Gladstone's resolutions. True, that in Ireland itself it had often been proclaimed, that the agitation against the Church, if of any great importance at all, was second to that against the land. True, it was also that while agrarian outrages had always been too frequent, there had not since the "tithe war" of a generation earlier been any marked animosity against the established Clergy.

True, that in the literature of Irish discontent, from the highest flights of rebellious poetry to the declamatory prose of minor Fenian newspapers the staple topic was invective against the English Government and the Saxon settler who owned the soil, and that religious and ecclesiastical grievances were sparingly referred to or altogether overlooked. Still the mind of England, dwelling on traditions of "Protestant and Popish" struggles, on the traditional resentment for penal laws and civil disabilities and the criticisms of foreigners, often either Roman Catholics or enemies of all established Churches, but presumed to be impartial spectators, believed that the Church as by law established in Ireland kept the two nations apart, and that on its removal the Celt and the Saxon, the Landowners and the Peasantry, the descendants of the Scotch settler of Derry and the descendant of the rebels of 1641 would all be forced into one fraternal band, and that "when they did agree their unanimity would be wonderful." In spite of the support which Mr. Gladstone's policy has found, these dreams are no longer cherished. Parliament, or at least the popular Chamber, has held out the prospect of this grievance being redressed.

Lawlessness and outrage appear in many places more rife than ever. People may still hold out what theory they most approve

on the Church question, but they cannot pretend that any solution of the Church question will disarm the Ribbon assassin, or introduce loyalty among the "Nationalists" of Cork.

The question which above all others fills Ireland with social and political discord is that of the land. It is a question which Englishmen who have given little study to Irish affairs can with difficulty realize and appreciate. In this country indeed the "land system" has had its assailants. But here political theorists; Anglo-Indians full of the condition of Ryots, and the permanent settlement of Bengal; antiquarians regretting the yeomanry of England in other days, travellers partial to the peasant proprietary of Belgium or Tuscany; not the tenant farmer or the labourer have formed the phalanx of objectors. Large estates have been denounced. But ideas of a right to the soil in the actual occupier, assertions that the landlord as such is an intruder and an usurper; that rent is a barely tolerable obligation, and the removal of a tenant an act of intolerable oppression, are ideas so alien to either Sussex or Devon, the Lothians or Inverness, that people believe with difficulty that they exist as facts in Clare or Westmeath.

Few will contend that notions of this fantastic character can for a moment be accepted as a basis for legislation; yet if they prevail among the more ignorant classes, if they are in some measure countenanced as those who read the speeches and pamphlets on the "liberal" side of the question must be aware that they are countenanced by lay and clerical demagogues, it is no blame to the Irish landlord or the English ruler if the question is one to which it is difficult to find any satisfactory solution.

That so anomalous a state of feeling, a state not exactly paralleled in any other country should widely prevail in Ireland, is so remarkable a phenomenon as naturally to call for some inquiry as to its cause. A very simple explanation is popular with a certain class of writers and declaimers. The misery and poverty of the people is assumed to occasion discontent. That misery is attributed partly to the absenteeism of a large number of Irish proprietors, and the reckless abuse of their rights by the remainder. A plausible connection of cause and effect is suggested, and a large part of the English people, ready to accept facts without enquiry, are persuaded that Irish crime and disaffection are chargeable on the wrong doings of the landed aristocracy of Ireland, and the wrongs suffered by the Irish masses.

But does this account square with facts?

We think that, on the contrary, it is not difficult to show that all the data on which it rests are erroneous. Disaffection is not strongest among the most depressed of the population. It is not in mouldering villages or decaying boroughs that Fenianism has its strongholds. It is most popular and most intense in wealthy seaports like the city of Cork, and thriving county towns like

Tipperary. The estates again of absentee proprietors, including in many cases, the properties of distinguished English noblemen noted for their liberality and intelligence, are frequently on at least a par with any properties in England or Ireland.

Exceptions no doubt there are. But again, in England absenteeism is not unknown. Proprietors do not reside out of the kingdom, but are frequently absentees from their properties. Where several estates are in one hand, separated as they often may be by 100 or 200 miles from each other, the personal care and observation of the owner is frequently reserved for one favoured locality. As to the general charge of tyranny against Irish landowners, it is necessary to appreciate the Irish tenants' own standard of tyranny before pronouncing an opinion upon it. Violent and imprudent men, no doubt, like Mr. Scully of Ballycoheg, occasionally excite resentment by actions disapproved among owners and occupiers alike. But an examination of the usual causes of vengeance taken on landlords, will show how acts, considered as matters of course in Great Britain, are treated as offences to be visited with the heaviest penalties by the unwritten code of agrarian discontent.

In Great Britain it is thought right and natural that a tenant, at the expiration of his lease should, at the landlord's desire, give up possession of his tenancy. In Great Britain it is thought only reasonable that a tenant-at-will should be dismissed on due notice, if a better tenant is to be substituted, or the land applied to other purposes.

In Great Britain if a house is wanted for a workman or servant, it is not thought a violation of justice to remove some other occupant who has been a temporary tenant of the premises required. In Ireland all these acts may be followed by denunciations from the priest at the altar, and vengeance from the Ribbon lodges. Cases occur where a lodger taken in by the tenant of a cottage has, with the full approbation of the neighbourhood, protested against being removed on the death of his or her host. Nor does vengeance only fall on the ejecting landlord. The new tenant who has hired a house or farm from which his predecessor has been ejected against the will of the neighbours, is liable to the same penalty as the author of his predecessor's eviction. Cases of this kind have appeared among the recent murders which have only too prominently figured in the daily journals of the last few months, and those who have read the accounts of former days, in the conversations of Mr. Senior, and the experiences of Mr. Stuart Trench, will be aware that of the forms of agrarian terrorism and crime, this vengeance on the tenant who despises the agrarian code has been one of the most common. Whatever charges then may be brought against individual proprietors, of breaking, not the code of popular opinion, but that of justice, it cannot in the face of facts be contended that the faults of the proprietory class are the real source of the restlessness of the peasant class in Ireland.

There are, however, three more probable causes to which the unsatisfactory state of feeling in that country on the subject of property may be attributed. One is connected with the economic condition, the other two with the past history of Ireland. The first of these causes is the almost exclusive dependence of the people on the soil. In England and Scotland the agricultural districts are not thickly peopled; the surplus population, if the land will not support it, finds an outlet in the industry of the towns. The farmer is generally in some degree a capitalist, not unfrequently a considerable capitalist. The mass of agricultural labour like the labour of other trades, is performed by hired workers. Manchester and Glasgow, the Black Country, and the Potteries, the vast mining, manufacturing and trading interests from which England derives so large a part of its wealth, offer a more remunerative, if not a happier or healthier career, to those who are in quest of a livelihood than the cultivation of the field. The country districts are denuded of those who prefer high pay and the possibility of a rise in life to old associations and a probable prolongation of their days. Those who live by the land are comparatively few. The produce of the land in proportion to the labour employed upon it is remarkably large.*

In Ireland all is different. In the North indeed, the British and Protestant colony carry on the linen manufacture with profit to themselves and benefit to the country. But throughout the country at large, trade is small and manufactures are wanting. The English parliaments of the last century, representing the commercial jealousy of the English people, hastened if they did not actually cause by their enactments, the decay of the woollen manufacture. The industry of Dublin was eventually destroyed by the violence of trades' unions, carried even beyond English example. The soil is the only source of an existence to a people who at the same time multiply faster than any people in the civilised world.† Early marriages are almost universally encouraged by the priesthood, both in the interest of morality, which no doubt stands remarkably high in Ireland, and partly in the interest of their own incomes, to which marriage fees largely contribute, and to which the ministers of a voluntary church cannot be totally indifferent. The class of labourers is small; every one aspires to be a tenant farmer, though his farm be but four acres, and to be able to subdivide his holding among his children. Thus, every consolidation of farms, every extension of a private demesne is regarded as an encroachment on the means of support available for the people. An evicted tenant

* Two-thirds of the people of France are employed in agriculture, with less return than is obtained in England by the labour of one-third of the people. (See Mac Culloch's Notes to Adam Smith, p. 567.)

† If we speak of China as civilized it may be an exception.

who in Great Britain might settle down elsewhere, in Ireland sees his only resource in emigrating, if he can find the means, to beyond the Atlantic.

The competition for land is in excess of the supply, and the increase of the population, unless checked by a calamity like the potato disease and famine, tends always to increase the disproportion. To this economical cause two historical causes must be added. One is the shadowy tradition of ancient Irish customs. The septs of the native Irish, who in many parts of Ireland lived by their own law for centuries after the English conquest, while often subject to the most tyrannous exactions from their chiefs, had at the same time a common property in land. While the peasantry were laden with the exactions of coshery and bonaght, the taking of provisions and levying of troops at discretion by the clannish chiefs, the soil in theory at least was liable to constant repartition, and regarded as the common property of the clan, who occupied a fixed portion of territory. In the opinion of Mr. Hallam the ancient social condition of Ireland was oppressive beyond that of France in the anarchy of the dark ages. But it was distinct from that which the tenures of other countries admit. The evils which accompanied it are forgotten. The evils which took its place are remembered. A period when out of 200 kings only thirty came to a natural death,* when the condition of the mass of the people, harassed by a barbaric aristocracy of petty chiefs seems to have been little better than slavery,† is elevated by poetic and popular imagination into a time of bygone glory and happiness, whose memory alone can afford some consolation in the bondage and suffering of later times.

But possibly the most powerful of these sinister influences which make the rights of the existing landed proprietors offensive to the minds of the people is the unhappy but irrevocable chapter of Irish history, which records how the fortune of war and the unsparing use of the rights of conquest have transferred repeatedly the soil of Ireland from the ancient holders to a new race. Such things have occurred elsewhere. In ancient days the lands of a conquered people were often distributed among a colony of conquerors. In the periods of barbaric conquest a large proportion of the estates of the vanquished passed to the invader. But these things belong to remote ages. The Norman conquest of England was the latest instance, and the precise extent and character of the transfer of lands which accompanied it is a moot point among antiquaries. But in Ireland the struggles of English and Irish, Protestant and Roman Catholic have down to a late period been accompanied by the forfeiture of the lands of the vanquished. Vast territories were thus taken possession of under Elizabeth on the suppression of

* Hallam's Constitutional History, p. 347.

† Ware, Antiquities of Ireland, c. Hallam v. supra.

Desmond's insurrection. James 1st, as is well known, planted his Anglo-Scotch colony on the domains of the Celtic chiefs of Ulster, who struggled by the side of Tyrone and Tyrconnel. The judges under Charles 1st and Strafford carried further in a somewhat questionable manner the work which direct confiscation had begun. Cromwell endeavoured to exclude the whole native population from landed property in Ulster, Munster, and Leinster. After the temporary triumph and subsequent crushing defeats of the Irish under William III, more than a million of acres were again forfeited. And the Protestant parliaments of the first half of the 18th century, holding as it were a wolf by the throat, passed laws long since repealed, tending still further to transfer land from Roman Catholic to Protestant hands.

The responsibility, however, for these evils rests not on any man of this generation. No one can be expected to imitate at present the revolutionary work approved by the Jacobite parliament of Dublin in 1690. No one can make it a grievance that the titles of a century and a half are not annulled, and the heirs of ancestors dispossessed in the 17th century restored to the heritages long passed from them. But the remembrance of these things explains how, with no special fault of their own, the present race of land-owners may be regarded with a hostility that in other countries would be inexplicable. Those who have read Mr. Trench's recent work will remember his graphic descriptions of meetings in secret of the discontented, where projects of assassination and rebellion were discussed. He describes how the frequent topic was,—"How are we to get back our old right in the land?" "Was it long since we lost it," enquired one interlocutor. "Long or short, it was in the days of her they call Queen Elizabeth," was the reply. On another occasion some one suggested that it was the dominant church that was oppressing them. The idea was ridiculed. It was replied that the Church and they "who owned it" were well enough, the land was what was wanted. Some one suggested that they might get the land laws altered. He was answered by the others, that possession of the land was wanted; and if they were not to have the land itself, it mattered little what the land laws might be. And the author proceeds to state that at the time of the disturbances in 1848, the people were pervaded by an idea that political change would restore the estates to the ancient families. We see, therefore, that it is impossible directly to remedy any of the three causes of discontent on the land question. We cannot, by direct legislation, introduce manufactures, or establish a thriving trade in Ireland. We cannot revive the Brehon laws, and the tanistry and gavelkind customary among the semi-barbarians of Ireland before the conquest. We cannot blot out confiscation from the history of Ireland, or blot out its work by a rival confiscation as disastrous as those of sterner times.

So far as discontent is inevitably the result of the traditions or economic condition of the Irish nation, it would appear incurable. Yet no doubt we are not hereby absolved from the duty of doing what may be possible to diminish it by other means. And the proposals that have been made with this object will deserve some consideration. Of these, the most remarkable and the most characteristic is that which at the height of the panic occasioned by various manifestations of Fenianism, was put forward by Mr. Mill. Mr. Mill considered no remedy availing that did not establish complete fixity of tenure, and create a peasant proprietary throughout Ireland. He required the creation of an absolute right to the soil in the existing tenant, subject to a fixed rent. And the State was to undertake, if the landlord so desired, to purchase his rights and become the recipient of this rent itself. The effects of such a scheme, political, social, and economical, would be of a far-reaching character. It would put an end to all large proprietorship in the country. As few men would care to remain permanently beside a property once their own, and a population once their tenants, but now independent possessors of the estate taken from them; it would remove from the country that body of resident country gentlemen whose numbers have been lamented as so few; it would remove the only political influence independent of and opposed to the priesthood. It would remove those whose interest it is to prevent the too great increase of population upon a single spot. The inveterate habit of early marriage among the Irish people leads to a more rapid increase of their numbers than in any civilized country. It is advocated by the priests in the interest of morality; and these interests are not the less remembered because marriage fees contribute largely to the income of the priests themselves. It has indeed been maintained that the possession of land as freeholders, inducing forethought and providence, would change the habits of the people. This opinion would be entitled to more weight if these habits at the present time were not constantly persevered in, in opposition to the plainest interest of the people.

A tenant possessing a lease, and secure of his tenure of a farm of moderate size, can scarcely by any covenant be restrained from dividing or subletting it. A tenant of a small portion of land marries at the earliest possible moment, and trusts to this spot, scarcely sufficient to maintain him, to support his wife and family.

The well-known work of Mr. Trench contains frequent instances of this kind, against which those who endeavoured to benefit the peasant, vigorously contended in the interest of the poor themselves. Mr. Senior in his "Conversations" observed, "that the object for which landlords were sent seemed to be to keep population within limits." "Without some such power," he observed, "Ireland would become a pauper warren." Every spot would be occupied by the largest population which it could maintain. They would soon increase

beyond this limit; starvation must be the result. And if large proprietors had disappeared; if the country was occupied alone by the peasant cultivators, there would be no quarter from which relief could come. The few remaining in solvent circumstances, would be crushed by the poor rates swollen to an overwhelming height by the insolvency and misery of the rest.

To these economic evils would be added a political evil not unimportant when the pacification of the country was the object in view. Everything that places the State in an obnoxious position towards the people must create fresh difficulties in tranquillizing and diffusing loyalty in Ireland. But on Mr. Mill's scheme the State must often become owner of the quit rent. The State must assume the position of a landlord. The State must authorise or refuse expenditure on the land. The State must evict for non-payment of rent. The State must at once acquire the influence and bear the unpopularity of the present proprietary, so far as it takes their place. On the one hand, as Mr. Lowe observed in the House of Commons, the State can couple an offer to make improvements or to allow rents to be in arrear, with an intelligible hint as to its wishes at an approaching election. This power a ministry might not be slow to use, or an agitator to inflame the public mind by denouncing. On the other hand, as Lord Kimberley pointed out in the House of Lords, the State alone would remain betweeen the tenant and absolute proprietorship. His farm would be his own, except for the claims upon him of the British Government. He would at once feel that he had a fresh interest in that Government being subverted. The agrarian aspirations of the Ribbonmen would at once be identified with the political aspirations of the Fenian. The private animosity of a peasant farmer against the individual to whom he had to pay rent, and his desire to be rid of the burden, would be widened and merged into a desire to be free from the rule of the British Crown, when the quit-rent still imposed on him was paid into British coffers.

But what is most remarkable is the judgment passed on the effects of such a scheme by one of the writers most approved by Mr. Mill, and the view of Mr. Mill himself on such a proposal expressed in one of his works some years back. One of the greatest advocates of small proprietorship is Mr. Thornton. But Mr. Thornton in his work on this subject (p. 185) admits that it is most undesirable that every proprietor should be a peasant. He dwells on the desirability of an admixture of large farms and large estates, and of the improving and civilizing influences, both on agriculture and the condition of the people of wealthy and intelligent proprietors among them. Now it is evident that Mr. Mill's plan would almost entirely eliminate such a proprietary from Ireland. It would leave the rural districts inhabited almost exclusively by petty farmers; and this in a country where one of the great

deficiencies has been the want of resident gentlemen. Mr. Mill, in his work on Political Economy, discussed the possibility of such a scheme as that which he afterwards advocated in his pamphlet. He, no doubt, at that time asserted that it was not contrary to the rights of property; but he as emphatically maintained on very sufficient grounds that its adoption would be very undesirable.* In the first place he stated it would be an expropriation of the whole body of existing landlords; and there were some landlords, "even in Ireland," whose expropriation would be a loss. In addition to this the existing holdings were too small to render it advantageous to perpetuate them. And lastly, if the experiment of a peasant proprietary were to be tried, the present occupiers were not the most favourable materials with which to start. Mr. Mill has apparently departed from these views, but it is not clear that he has refuted them.

Another favourite expedient, far more frequently urged than either this extreme suggestion of Mr. Mill, or the more limited scheme of Mr. Bright for the purchase of the estates of absentees and their re-sale to tenants, is that of compulsory leases for a very long period of years. Mr. Butt would propose 60 years, Mr. Maguire would apparently be satisfied with 31 years with a claim for compensation for improvements at its close. It is urged that such a length of time alone would enable a tenant to feel that confidence in the security of his position which would induce him to expend capital freely. It was also intended to protect him from the effects of mere caprice. It would enable him to vote as he pleased, or perhaps more truly as his priest and the neighbours whom the priest could influence pleased, without dread of summary eviction. It would also prevent a landlord with a fancy for farming from demolishing at will a number of small homesteads for the purpose of increasing the demesne in his own hands.

There is an apparent plausibility in this proposal. It is at the same time at once open to the general objection applying to all legal interference with private dealings. To compel a landlord to grant leases against his will is an undeniable invasion of the ordinary rights of property. It is contrary to the axiom usually recognized by political economists that in every contract or bargain each party, without State interference, should be left to make the best terms for themselves.

But in addition to these arguments, sometimes objected to as not applicable to the peculiar circumstances of landed property in Ireland, weightier reasons may be added. The grant of such long leases is in many respects likely to be most pernicious to the community at large and ruinous to all prospects of improvement. Fifty years ago leases for lives were not uncommon. They were

* Mill's Political Economy, vol. 1, p. 590.

often accompanied with stringent clauses against sub-dividing and cottiering. But the inherent propensity of the people could not be so restrained. At the expiration of these leases the farms were often reduced to three and four acres in size. It was in vain attempted to enforce the contract. A landlord on whose estate this operation had taken place consulted an eminent counsel in Dublin on the matter. His answer was "You have law on your side, and what is more, you have justice on your side. But there is one thing that you have not, and that is, a jury." The case would have been tried by a jury of tenant farmers. Nearly all the jurymen would themselves have been open to the same charge. Under these circumstances it would clearly have been hopeless to look for a verdict for the landlord.

The effect therefore of long leases was to create a vast population of petty occupiers holding the very smallest amount of land from which a livelihood could be obtained. Where this state of things endured down to the time of the potato famine, the terrible effects of that calamity were felt in their most terrific form. On some estates the small occupiers were compelled to depart on receiving a payment of several pounds per acre for what they had really no legal right to remain upon, except at the owners' pleasure. Thus some of the petty holdings were consolidated. But landowners who took this course had to face a storm of obloquy, which would have well nigh sufficed for the greatest tyrants of history. They were spoken of as ruthless "exterminators" of their countrymen, levelling with the dust the cabins of the poor, and sending them out homeless and hopeless on the world. The fulminations of the priest and the imaginative genius of poetic enthusiasts* combined in indignant invective against all attempts to arrest the ruinous economic condition to which the abuse of leases was bringing the country.

It is reasonable then, for many persons, who fully believe tenancy-at-will to be on general grounds objectionable, who readily admit leases of reasonable duration to be the most healthy condition of relations between the proprietor and the cultivator of an estate, to look with great distrust on a compulsory introduction of leases in Ireland. If indeed, as elsewhere, the conditions of a lease could be readily enforced; if at the close of a lease, the landlord could dispose of his property as he pleased, without reference to the tenant or any one holding under him, the objections to leases on the part of Irish proprietors might appear narrow and illiberal. But none of these circumstances exist. A tenant who was both able and desirous to remain after the expiration of his lease, would feel wronged and outraged if compelled to depart. A landlord would be disliked, denounced, possibly threatened with vengeance, who even expelled any persons whom the tenant during his lease

* See particularly some of Thomas Davis's Poems.

might have allowed to inhabit his house or any cottage held with his farm. The eviction of a tenant under lease, even if the conditions of the lease provided for its forfeiture on their violation, would be still more odious than the eviction of a tenant-at-will. Not that in the case of a tenant-at-will it is the easy operation often represented by those who deplore insecurity of tenure.

In many parts of Ireland, especially the south, fixity of tenure in the absence of leases exists by custom.

A lease, as Lord Derby recently stated, is regarded as limiting rather than extending the rights of the cultivator. Fixity of tenure is maintained by opinion, and opinion means more than that simple disapproval which a harsh and arbitrary man might disregard. Contempt for such opinion would throw the country into a flame. Every newspaper office, every Roman Catholic Chapel would send forth an autery against the offending landlord, and in many cases he might be congratulated if he escaped the fate of Mr. Scully or Mr. Featherstone.

Another remedy of a very different nature finds favour at the hands of certain writers and speakers. Its operation would be far too gradual and tedious to produce any effect on the minds of a peasantry willing to change their tenancies into freeholds at the earliest opportunity. It would, however, give satisfaction to the minds of those economists who denounced what they called the "land monopoly." We mean the abolition of primogeniture and entail.

The simple abolition of primogeniture in the case of intestates, leaving the power of disposal by will free as at present, would probably have little or no effect at all in changing the general succession to property. The effect, however, intended to be attained by its advocates, would be the division of estates into small portions, within the reach of purchasers of small means, and the bringing into the market of much land at present incapable of being alienated. It would be many years, probably many generations, before the holders of 10 or 20 acres were by this means enabled to purchase land for themselves. Large estates might disappear. Such as remained might be frequently sold *en bloc* or in portions at the death of the owner for the benefit of the co-heirs; but the small farmer would seldom be a successful bidder against the capitalist desiring to possess a portion of the soil. If indeed he had scraped together enough to succeed in such a competition, it would often be his interest to transfer himself to America or the Colonies, where his accumulations could enable him to enter on a career far more profitable than any which offers itself at home.

The creation, therefore, of a peasant proprietary, is not likely to be arrived at by the proposal under discussion.

If it were so attained the objections already discussed, the extreme subdivision of land, the rapid increase of a pauper popu-

lation, the removal of those landowners who alone could support the people or bear the burden of increased poor rates in time of distress, would apply to this scheme as much as to the plan of Mr. Mill. But suppose the only effect to be the creation of comparatively small estates, still cultivated by tenant farmers, and the constant change of landlords by purchase and sale of property. We believe that in the interest of the cultivators such a change would be disastrous. The great properties of Ireland, whether in the hands of residents or non-residents, are admitted to be the most wisely and liberally managed. The squireen is likely to be far closer and more exacting; he can less afford to be generous; and his views are likely to be less large and enlightened. Again, the most kindly and popular landlord is the man who is identified with the neighbourhood and the people by ancestral traditions.

The stranger who has invested in the land, capital acquired elsewhere, may be more energetic and more progressive, but he has less sympathy with the people.

It is this class of men who are in constant collision with the farmer. Mr. Adair, of Derryveagh celebrity, a gentleman whose proceedings certainly required strong reasons to justify them, and whose name was a byword with the friends of the tenant, was a man sprung from the tenant class and new to the possession of land. And the farm of Ballycohey, made famous by the proceedings and catastrophe of Mr. Scully, had changed owners six or seven times within the present generation.

On this point evidence given before the Land Tenure Committee of the House of Lords, is the more remarkable as it in some cases proceeded from witnesses advocating extensive change in the land laws. Mr. Maguire (2730) says that it was a great evil to the tenant when "the landlord, connected with the tenants through his family perhaps for generations, sold the property to a new man who had no sympathy with them, and only dealt with them as a means of getting so much per cent." And again (2736), that he "would rather see 2000 acres of land in the hands of one large liberal proprietor, than broken into lots of 100 acres each, and bought by persons desiring to create small tenants under them." Mr. Lane Joynt (2577) says, "there would be little of this cry of landlord and tenant if you had not the smaller class of landlords;" and (2578) "that the advent of purchasers under the Encumbent Estates Court, was looked upon by tenants, where great estates were sold in small lots, as a signal misfortune." And Mr. J. G. Mac Carthy, wishing to refer to the model estates of Ireland, mentioned those of the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Dufferin, and Lord Bandon.

Now if one thing would certainly follow from the complete abolition of primogeniture and entail, it would be the increase of small as compared with large landlords, and the substitution of new

for old families as proprietors. We leave the conclusion to the reader.

The remaining remedy for the grievances of Irish tenants is that remedy which several abortive measures have attempted to apply that of compensation for improvements. In the north of Ireland there has existed for a long period a system well known as the Ulster tenant-right.* By this system an incoming tenant purchases of the outgoing tenant the goodwill of the holding. The tenants' interest in the soil is therefore marketable. The claim is not legal; it has never been enforced in any Court of Justice. It has, however, a hold among the people, which would prevent its being easily disregarded. In the case of an insolvent tenant, on his quitting his farm, it often is beneficial to the landlord himself. There is no doubt of the superiority of Ulster, in its social condition, to the rest of the island.

The industry of the people, the general prosperity of all classes, offers a marked contrast to the condition of many parts of Munster and Connaught. But it may be doubted whether the people of Munster and Connaught would be turned into men of the Ulster type by Ulster tenures. Trade and manufactures, scarcely visible elsewhere, flourish in Ulster still more exceptionally than agriculture. The province is leavened by the British colony. The descendants of the Protestant plantation who came in under James 1st, and who made at a later date a great stand for their religion and their race under James II., display all those qualities, in which the Celtic and Roman Catholic population are wanting, and without which they fail to rival the industry of the Englishman and the Scotchman. To introduce, then, this species of tenant-right universally, would probably fail in raising the South to the level of the North. It would not be satisfactory to any class of the population; and so far as it compelled the landlord to pay for his own land at a fixed rate if he took it into his own hands, it would be an invasion of the rights of property.

The principle of compensation for fair improvements, the benefit of which the tenant must lose on quitting his farm, appears, on the contrary, eminently plausible. That a tenant, if such there be, who has repaired ruinous hovels and erected commodious homesteads; who has made land, hitherto unproductive, except of such weeds as barren or worn-out land will bear, capable of bearing splendid corn crops, or affording rich and fattening pasture to thriving herds of cattle, should be liable to eviction for any casual ground of disagreement, and the value of his improvements pass to the landlord, is no doubt an injustice, which if it often occurred would loudly call for a remedy. And if no such improvements are made, the very fact might be urged as a reason for giving an encouragement at present

* See Mr. W. S. Trench's evidence before Lords' Committee on this subject (1867).

wanting to tenants willing to improve. In England also the principle is not unknown. Payments for "acts of husbandry" exist in many counties. In Sussex, Kent, Surrey, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire a system exists of payments for manures and half manures (*i.e.*, manuring done two years earlier), and for improvements of longer duration, as the application of clay, lime, &c., and in the two latter counties for buildings.

In England the effects of the system are disputed. There is no doubt that in some cases it opens a temptation to fraud. But the more serious difficulty, especially as regards Ireland, where the proposed system is to have a legal force, which in England it has not, is first what are to be considered real improvements; and secondly, how far a landlord's assent to improvements is to be required. No landlord could reasonably object to the increase of the fertility of the soil. If he did so, the interest of the community at large might be taken to override his objection. But there may be so-called improvements of a very different kind. A tenant would often be willing enough to cover his farms with buildings at the expense of his landlord, with a view to subletting them to persons whom the landlord would find it very difficult to eject. But in most parts of Ireland farms are still so inconveniently small that the interest both of the landlord and the public requires their consolidation when practicable.

If a tenant be willing to surrender a farm and emigrate or remove to a distance, the landlord will wish to add it to the farm of his next neighbour. He will therefore wish to remove the buildings, whose maintenance after the holdings are united will only be an unnecessary burden. But according to some schemes of compensation he would be compelled to pay to the tenant the value of fresh buildings which that tenant had erected. He would have to compensate for so-called improvements which stood in the way of the real improvement which he desired to effect. And he might, perhaps, after purchasing the incumbrances placed on his own land without his consent, find cottages erected by the outgoing tenant inhabited by persons unwilling to remove, and whom he would be denounced as an oppressor for evicting.

It will, therefore, be necessary for any government attempting to introduce this principle to proceed with care and caution. The worst possible spirit in which it could be approached is that of a popular tribune, bent on redeeming general pledges to sweep away a great wrong, believing and committed to the belief that one side is the victim of grievous oppression, and that the other revels in the ascendancy of an oppressor. It is a case in which, more than in almost any other problem, there are rights on each side to be carefully protected, unjust and extreme claims to be discouraged.

It is a subject which has been complicated by sectarian bitterness, party animosities, and hereditary national hatreds, from which all

who wish to deal rationally and practically with the question, would wish to disentangle the points, on which the justice and policy of the case really turns. They are in a great measure points of degree and detail, on which moderate men of each class and party are ready to condemn the violence of their associates. The Land Bill of the Conservative Ministry of 1852, was regarded as in some respects admitting the principle of compensation more widely than many landlords approved.

Some of the strongest opponents of the proposed schemes of legislation are to be found among landlords on the liberal side.

Most unfortunate in the matter is the position of Her Majesty's present advisers. Mr. Gladstone has not put forward any definite policy on the land question. It is doubtful whether he and his colleagues have matured their views upon it; but throughout the contest in Lancashire, he gave utterance to the most vehement, and at the same time, most vague denunciations of the law as it at present stands. He spoke of the state of land as one of the trunks of the "Upas tree of Protestant ascendancy." At Liverpool, after dwelling on the "heartrending proceedings of Mr. Scully," proceedings which however objectionable, had been unlawfully and violently resisted, at the cost of the life of an innocent policeman, observed, that if his hearers had read the terms proposed to his tenants by that individual; "if they bore in mind that these terms could be proposed without offending the law, and that the strong arm of Government was ready to enforce what was legal, they could excuse, or at least understand the deep feeling of estrangement which, rising sometimes into burning hatred, had grown up in the minds of that unhappy people." Such language seems calculated to fever the blood, and to nerve the arm of every assassin and agitator from Antrim to Cape Clear. We have no need to refer to the well-known utterances of Mr. Bright. We will not dwell on the expression of Mr. Bruce, "Infernal Land Laws," alluding probably to some laws long since repealed, for discouraging the possession of land by Roman Catholics, but too likely to be understood as referring to the laws protecting property at present.

This intemperate, and we may well nigh call it criminal declamation, combined with total silence as to the remedies which the speakers thought just or practicable, makes every agrarian revolutionist hope to find proselytes, and perhaps leaders for his cause on the Treasury benches of the Lords and Commons. Ministers have refused to follow up their words by action. They have postponed the Land Bill to next year. They have indeed professed regard for the rights of property. So have Mr. Butt and Mr. Mill. They have refused to define the rights of property as they understand them, or state whether any of these plans are contrary to what they consider those rights to be. They must either adopt a subversive and revolutionary policy, or they must irritate and estrange the Irish peasantry by an apparent betrayal and deception.

The prospect, therefore, of a settlement of the question, is at present not a hopeful one. Mr. Gladstone must probably enter upon it before long. We believe that when he does enter upon it, it is likely to shiver his party and his majority to the winds. A party struggle in Parliament on this question is only too likely to throw Ireland into a state of burning fever. Fresh agitations, mass meetings, perhaps bloodshed, may be the result of a policy based on the speeches at the last general election. At the same time, if something is to be done for Ireland, this question is the root of the matter. The impracticability and injustice of many of the remedies offered we have it is hoped made clear. A bill establishing written contracts tending to encourage, without in any way compelling the granting of leases; and awarding just compensation for such improvements as really benefit a landlord's estate, might perhaps effect much. It might give confidence and security to the tenant wherever confidence and security are really wanting. It would shew a willingness to remove any real grievance that may exist; and if accompanied as it should be with unsparing vindication of the law when violated, might tend to the satisfaction of the more reasonable portion of the people, and the pacification of the country. It would not satisfy those whose element is agitation. It would not content those who regard the soil as the peasant's own and the landlord as an unjustifiable intruder. We trust that no measures by which these parties would be gratified will ever pass the United Parliament. To investigate the nature and expose the dangerous character of many of the suggestions from this quarter has been the object of a large portion of these pages.

The opinion of the English people is anxious that right should be done. It is also anxious, perhaps over anxious, to be rid of troublesome questions concerning Ireland. We wish to dissuade the people of England from sanctioning hasty or ill-informed legislation. We trust they will weigh the difficulties of the matter in hand. We may fairly expect them to distinguish between measures to improve the condition of the people, and measures dangerous to the institution of property as subversive of the social order of the kingdom.

We have admitted that differences exist in the circumstances of England and Ireland. These differences may authorise some differences in legislation. We believe moderate men on all sides to be ready to consider the amendment of the law; we therefore the more protest, believing that the good sense of the nation will protest also, against rude dealing with this delicate problem at the political exigencies of a Ministry, or by the inconsiderate ardour of an impressionable and versatile Premier.

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THE

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THE IRISH UNIVERSITY BILL.

It is naturally a matter of astonishment to Englishmen that the whole of a Session should be devoted to the question of higher education in Ireland. This question had a paragraph all to itself in the Queen's Speech. Though the reform of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge engrossed much attention, and occasioned long discussions in 1854 and 1856, neither the Oxford nor Cambridge bills became Ministerial measures. They were discussed on their merits without involving the fate of Ministers or exciting the passions of party. It is well understood what is involved in making any measure "a party question." Men, whose convictions are opposed to the measure, whose public utterances bind them to resist, can yet find a reason to their constituencies, if not to their conscience, to support it, on the plea that the leaders of their party are pledged to it, and that the interests of the party are involved in its acceptance. A question of University organisation is just one of those which Parliament should reserve as outside the domain of party. Why then is this Bill of Irish University Education made the Ministerial business of the present Session? the controversy on the decision of which depends the failure or the permanence of Mr. Gladstone's Administration?

Mr. Gladstone has still an ample majority in the present House. Notwithstanding the continued Conservative victories in the elections of the last two years, there remains a majority in the House of Commons of from 50 to 80, who will vote for a measure merely because it is Mr. Gladstone's. To this majority he directly appeals when he stakes the fate of his Ministry this Session on the Irish University, and it is to gain this power over his own majority that this prominence has been given to the question. There is no such special dearth of higher education in Ireland as to make the establishment of a new system there an important novelty. For nearly three hundred years a

great University has flourished in Dublin. Founded by Elizabeth, in order to secure the bringing up of the youth of Ireland in religion and learning, it boasted the great Lord Burleigh as its first Chancellor, and Archbishop Loftus as its first Provost. Queen Elizabeth founded a single College, clothing this college with the powers of a University, as the Scotch Universities and many Universities on the Continent consist of but one college each. This University College has afforded, for nearly three centuries, intellectual training to the men of genius Ireland has produced. Philosophers like Bishop Berkeley, orators like Burke and Shiel, poets like Goldsmith and Moore, attest its success. It has filled the professions in Ireland with distinguished physicians and lawyers. So high was its efficiency that, for many years after the institution of the Indian Civil Service Examination, the highest place at that great competition was taken by its students.

It was intended by its founders, the ministers of Elizabeth, to hold the same position towards the Church in Ireland which Oxford and Cambridge hold to the Church here. Its Fellows were to be clergymen, and Divinity made up a large part of its course of study. It was assumed that the whole of the Irish population would be gradually included within the Irish Church, but this hope was disappointed, and in 1793 it was made a subject of complaint that the University was shut against the members of a Church to which the mass of the nation belonged. To obviate this difficulty, the University adopted the plan of giving degrees without requiring any religious tests whatever. The Catholic laity of Ireland immediately acknowledged the boon with the most profuse expressions of satisfaction. They sent their sons to Trinity College, and a few years later when it was proposed to found the College at Maynooth, and make it available for laymen as well as for Divinity Students, the Catholic laity presented a petition to the Irish Parliament, through Mr. Grattan, protesting against the founding of a separate College for Roman Catholics as tending to deprive them of the advantages of association with their fellow-citizens. Numbers of Roman Catholics have graduated regularly at the University of Dublin since this change was adopted. Eight of the Roman Catholic judges at present upon the Irish Bench have studied at this University. Not only have these eminent Roman Catholics pursued their own studies there, but, having found the benefit of this system of education, they continue to send their sons to the same institution, although the Roman Church having profited for more than fifty years by the liberality of Trinity College now pronounces it a sin for Roman Catholics to take education except in an ordinary Catholic University.

This year the number of Roman Catholics in Trinity College is 106 ; of other denominations, 1,100. But we must recollect that, in the first place, the proportion of Roman Catholics to Protestants is in Ireland only one to

four who are likely, from their income, to send their sons to a University, notwithstanding the large preponderance of Roman Catholics amongst the poorer classes; and, secondly, that the 1,100 Protestant students at Dublin include 240½ Divinity Students, whilst the Roman Church objects to allowing its Divinity Students to frequent Universities attended by laymen. The 500 students at Maynooth will not be allowed to attend lectures at the University of Dublin in common with laymen, no matter how Mr. Gladstone may remodel the institution.

Deducting the Divinity students on both sides, and taking into account the 181 lay Roman Catholics at the Queen's University, we find the number of lay Roman Catholic students for all Ireland is nearly one-fourth of the whole number of lay students in Ireland, which is very considerable when we remember that the proportion of Roman Catholics amongst the owners of property in Ireland is only one-twelfth. Mr. Gladstone states the proportion of students as one-eighth, but he got at this by excluding from his calculations those students who go to the Irish Universities to get professional degrees as Doctors of Medicine, of Law, &c., and do not take degrees in arts, as in Mathematics, Classics, or Philosophy.

The history of the Queen's University marks the character of the Papal party in Ireland. A generous effort to remove from the Roman Catholics any cause of complaint has been employed by their leaders as a basis for further aggression.. Though students not members of the Church of Ireland could take degrees at the University of Dublin, the Scholarships and Fellowships which led to the government of the College and University, and the control of its Divinity course, were necessarily confined to members of the Church. This complaint was pressed upon Sir Robert Peel, and he proposed to meet it in 1845 by constituting a new University. The Queen's University was to provide the highest class of education, without distinction of creed. Members of any religion could hold its Professorships. The University was unconnected with any particular creed, but ministers of the three great denominations in Ireland—the Established Church, the Roman Catholic, and the Presbyterian—were attached to each College to look after the religious observances of the students of their respective flocks. This project was a bold departure from the then recognised theory of a University. It was a great sacrifice of pre-existing opinion to meet Roman Catholic demands. All pains were taken to render the new Colleges efficient and inexpensive. To avoid the cost of residence in a large city like Dublin, those Colleges were separated: one in Galway, another in Belfast, and a third in Cork. The common University examinations, conducted by a Court of Examiners selected from the Professors of the three Colleges, are held twice a year in Dublin. The theory of this scheme

was founded upon that of the National system of Primary Education established in 1831 by the late Earl of Derby, and every effort was made to adapt it to the wants of the Roman Catholics. A priest was appointed as the President of Galway, and a distinguished Catholic layman President of Cork; but the temper of the Catholic party had completely changed in the interval between the year 1831 and the opening of the Queen's University in 1850. They had got to believe that the more they asked the more they would obtain. The Liberal notion that Irish difficulties might be obviated by governing the country through the priests was being preached in England, and the priests were not slow to note the fact, and prepare to propose their own terms for the duties they were asked to perform. A living Irish prelate has himself expressed the confidence which actuates his order. Bishop Keane was asked how it happened that he and his brethren proposed claims in Ireland which were not heard of in France or Austria, or the Roman Catholic Cantons of Switzerland, and his reason was that "in Ireland the Government felt the importance of winning the confidence of the Irish Bishops;" his brethren thought that now was the time to press their demands, and in this spirit the Hierarchy met in 1850. Cardinal Cullen was sent over by the Pope specially to take advantage of the political situation. At the time of the agitation for the Catholic Relief Bill, one of the points most persistently urged was that the Roman authorities in Ireland had always a local origin. No Bishop could be appointed unless chosen by the deacon, and his name had been submitted to the Pope's selection. Bishop Doyle told the House of Lords in 1825 that it was "impossible" for the Pope to set this custom aside. When the Roman Catholic Archbishopric of Armagh became vacant in 1850, Cardinal Cullen's name was not amongst those sent by the diocese to Rome, but he was nevertheless appointed by the Pope to the astonishment, but without the resistance of the people.

Cardinal Cullen assembled the Irish Bishops at Thurles, and obtained from them a decree condemning the Queen's University and Colleges. By another resolution, the project of founding a University of their own was commended to the country. From that time to the present the struggle has been carried on vigorously by the Cardinal. He has gradually filled the Irish dioceses with his own creatures, and through this authority over the local priesthood he exercises a vast political influence over the ignorant masses of Romanist electors. At the last general election more than fifty Irish members owed their seats to the influence of the Roman Hierarchy. Anathemas were pronounced against all persons who sent their sons to the Queen's Colleges. In some dioceses, as in those of Clonfert and Galway, such parents are denied the sacraments of the Church. In others the persecution takes another shape. The obnoxious parishioner is attacked from the altar of the chapel before his friends and neighbours, and de-

nounced as an enemy to his Church and to his country. In 1857 the Catholic University was opened at Stephen's Green, Dublin, out of moneys collected by the Bishops in Ireland and abroad. This establishment could not itself give degrees, but it had a sufficient staff of professors to prepare students for a degree examination, such, for instance, as that of the London University. That University would have sent over examiners to examine candidates for degrees in Dublin if only such candidates had been forthcoming. But the Bishops have never attempted such a plan. They have maintained this University in Dublin as the model of what a University ought to be, conducted "on purely Catholic principles," but they have always steadily refused to say what students they had, and have pleaded that as they could not give degrees of their own they could not be expected to have many students.

The claim of the Roman Hierarchy is not merely to teach the truth, but also "to prevent the propagation of error." During Lord Palmerston's lifetime the clergy felt that they had no chance of enforcing their claims, and though they still made them, the Queen's Colleges continued steadily to grow in numbers, and up to 1866 the number of students increased every year. In 1865, shortly before Lord Palmerston's death, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bruce declared in Parliament their disposition to make further changes in recognition of the Cardinal's demands, and after Lord Palmerston's death in September, opened negotiations with the Roman Bishops with a view of securing their hearty co-operation in the great party struggles which it was foreseen must ensue. When it became known that the Ministry had recognised the claim of the Irish Bishops to speak in the name of the Catholic population of Ireland, the present Irish University question at once came into being. The number of students at the Queen's University immediately began to decline, and has never since attained the figures that it reached in 1865.

In their negotiations of 1866, the Bishops sent the Government a memorial setting out their own views. They wished to have the Catholic University which they, aided by their flocks, had founded, recognised and endowed, but failing that, they accept as "an instalment of the justice in educational matters to which our flocks are entitled the proposal to introduce modifications into the existing University system," provided "these changes do not interfere with Catholic teaching." But they add, "without rearranging the Queen's Colleges on the denominational system, so as to meet the conscientious objections of Catholics, much of the evils and injustice of which Catholics complain will remain unredressed. These colleges will continue to be a standing cause of disunion between the Catholic bishops of Ireland and the Government of the country, which policy, not to speak of any other consideration, would put an end to. With our Catholic University

unendowed, and with other University arrangements still hostile to us, the proposal of the Government could not, we respectfully repeat, be regarded as satisfactory to the Catholics of Ireland." Still, they are willing to co-operate, assuming "that the new scheme will provide that the University founded by the Roman Catholic Bishops will be chartered as a College within the new University in such a manner as to leave the department of teaching Catholics altogether in the hands of Catholics, and under the control of their Bishops, its founders." They submit a draft charter which appoints the four Archbishops and their successors perpetual governors of the College. Eight other Bishops named are to be life governors, the Archbishops to fill up all vacancies among these life governors. The Archbishops, too, for the time being, shall be visitors of the said College, and "their authority shall be supreme in questions regarding religion or morals, and in all other things in the said College." "The governors shall have full power to appoint, and, as they shall see occasion, to remove, as well the Rector, Vice-Rector, the professors, and other members of the faculties, the tutors and masters, as also the Secretary, and all officers, agents, and servants of the said College." The memorial goes on to stipulate that "the tests of knowledge in the new University be applied in such a manner as to avoid the appearance of connecting, even by identity of name, those who avail themselves of them, or co-operate in applying them, with a system which their religion condemns."

This was the exposition of his views which Cardinal Cullen made to the Government in the spring of 1866 ; and the Government endeavoured to carry them out, by converting the Queen's University into an examining board, like the University of London. Though the Ministry promised to discuss the project with Parliament, nothing more was heard of it until the fall of the Ministry in June. It then appeared that a new charter had been sent to the Queen's University a couple of days before their resignation, empowering that body to grant degrees on examination, irrespective of any particular place of education. At this time, there were six vacancies in the Senate of the University, to which the charter was addressed ; by a Queen's letter of the same date, these vacancies were filled by adherents of the Government—Lord O'Hagan, the present Irish Chancellor, and Professor Sullivan, of the Catholic University, being of the number. This Senate accepted the new charter by a majority of two. But the Law Courts, at the instance of the Graduates, set the act of the Senate aside, as tending to degrade the character of the degree. We have the old scheme again revived. Mr. Gladstone's Dublin University, in the Act of 1873, is the old Queen's University of the Charter of 1866.

In 1869, Mr. Gladsone proposed his Irish Church Act, indicating that he intended to follow it up by a measure for remodelling Trinity College, Dub-

lin. The University authorities met this by announcing, in August, their intention to accept Mr. Fawcett's proposal for the abolition of tests, and appeal to their national position, to protect them against the proposed assault. They knew how much they possessed the respect and sympathy of all classes of Irishmen ; and now that Parliament had solemnly declared that the welfare of the Irish Protestant Church was of no consequence to the nation, it followed that the resources of a national institution like Trinity College could not be employed expressly for the benefit of that Church.

They took this opportunity to throw open their endowments and all that they possessed to the Irish people, knowing that the Irish people would welcome the boon. Even Mr. Gladstone admits the position which this University has won in Ireland and the claims it has on the regard of the Irish. In a grudging sort of way he allows that "it has done in Ireland a large portion of the good which has been done for her at all." The University proposed not only to remove tests but to reform its general government, so as to admit Roman Catholics at once to a voice in its management. Mr. Fawcett accepted the declaration of the University ; and in the next session challenged the Government to carry it out. Mr. Chichester Fortescue and the Liberal party denounced the proposal as illusory, and quite inadequate to remove the Catholic grievance. The Catholic Hierarchy resisted it with great vehemence. In a series of resolutions issued from Maynooth they expressed their confidence in Mr. Gladstone, and demanded a separate Catholic University, but failing that, they sketch out much the same plan as that now embodied in Mr. Gladstone's Bill. Should her Majesty's Government be unwilling to increase the number of Universities in this country the Bishops declare that "religious equality cannot be realised unless the degrees, endowments, and other privileges enjoyed by their fellow-subjects of a different religion be placed within the reach of Catholics in the fullest sense of equality." If "one National University for examining candidates and conferring degrees" be established, they propose these terms for "the Catholic people of Ireland :" —"They shall have a distinct College, conducted upon purely Catholic principles, and at the same time fully participating in the privileges enjoyed by other colleges of whatsoever denomination or character. That the examinations and all other details of University arrangement be free from every influence hostile to the religious sentiments of Catholics, and that, with this view, the Catholic element be adequately represented upon the Senate, or other supreme University body, by persons enjoying the confidence of the Catholic Bishops, priests, and people of Ireland." No doubt the Council of 28, to whom Mr. Gladstone proposes to transfer the University powers of Trinity College, will be found, as soon as their names are given to the public, to answer this description.

In 1870, 1871, and 1872, Trinity College has sought, through Mr. Fawcett and its representatives in Parliament, the powers necessary to enable it to admit Roman Catholics and Dissenters to its highest prizes ; but Mr. Gladstone and the Ultramontane party have year after year opposed it. Mr. Gladstone said that the Reform of University Education in Ireland was part of the programme of the Liberal party, and must be reserved for the Government to deal with. He would resign if the House of Commons supported Mr. Fawcett's notice. This threat was sufficient to rally the Gladstonian phalanx.

In 1871 when the Bill, accepted by the University of Dublin, was introduced, he said that it was too late for that Session, otherwise it would have been his duty either to accept the Bill, or produce another of his own. Mr. Heron, the Roman Catholic member for Tipperary, objected to the Bill being even read the first time. What the Catholics wanted, he told the House, was a separate University with an endowment of £30,000 to £40,000 a year.

In 1872 Mr. Gladstone played with the Dublin Bill until the moment for going into Committee arrived, when he declared that all but the abolition of tests must be omitted, or he would resign. His adherents rushed to his aid as before. This year, when the question can no longer be adjourned, he makes it the primary business of the Session. Scotch, English, Imperial questions are postponed ; the Gladstone majority is summoned, in fulfilment of his bargain with the Irish Bishops, to vote the Irish University Bill through the House of Commons.

By this Bill the Queen's University, the especial object of Cardinal Cullen's aversion, is to be merged in the new University. One of the Queen's Colleges also, that of Galway, which had attracted many Roman Catholic students in the west of Ireland, and was thought to be fostering too much independence of thought amongst the Catholic laity, is to be sacrificed. With the funds withdrawn from these purposes, with £20,000 a year taken from the plunder of the Established Church in Ireland, and £12,000 a year to be now taken from Trinity College, Mr. Gladstone proposes to endow the new University. As to the confiscation of part of the property of Trinity College, it is true no one can dispute the title of the College to those funds, but Mr. Gladstone is anxious to establish the principle of "taxing" Colleges, as he pointed out with special reference to the Commission now sitting on the Oxford and Cambridge endowments, and so Trinity College is taxed in order to provide endowment for a new Body, which shall take the place of Trinity College in all University matters. The University may also take the place of the Colleges as a teaching body, for it is to have a staff of professors lecturing in Dublin, and yet it is to have Colleges affiliated all over the country. How the students at Belfast, or Cork, or Maynooth

are to profit by the professors' lectures in Dublin does not appear. The University is, however, to give degrees without requiring any attendance whatever at lectures. The governing body is not to be evolved from teaching bodies already existing in Ireland, but to be nominated by the Crown. Twenty-eight Dublin lawyers and doctors are to take charge of the new scheme, and make it work, assisted by representatives of the Colleges, of whom the Roman Catholics may affiliate a dozen or two without much difficulty. We shall have a repetition of the sort of Irish Board which dismissed Mr. O'Keeffe from his educational work at Callan, because Cardinal Cullen told them that he was a suspended priest. As an instruction to these people how to act, the Bill contains a provision "that they shall punish any professor or other person having authority in the University who, when in discharge of his functions as a University officer, may by word of mouth, writing, or otherwise, be held by them to have wilfully given offence to the religious convictions of any member of the University." As a further caution, the University is forbidden to teach mental philosophy or modern history, though it may examine in these subjects. "It is impossible," says Mr. Gladstone, "to retain the perfectness and completeness which academical learning possessed in the olden time." With the Roman Catholic party objecting to every branch of science or learning as fraught with doctrines dangerous to faith or morals, no teacher can attempt to teach things, except, perhaps, pure mathematics, without the risk of being pulled up by some sensitive student whose conscientious susceptibilities are wounded by the doctrines expressed. And it is a University thus indefinite in its nature, thus crippled in its future career that Mr. Gladstone, after his four years' study of the question, proposes to substitute for the great University of Elizabeth.

IRISH PEASANT PROPRIETORS

FACTS AND MISREPRESENTATIONS

A REPLY

TO THE

STATEMENTS OF MR TUKE

BY

W. J. SINCLAIR

"Of all the writings and speeches which this Irish question has produced, there is none which has made so deep an impression on the English mind as the pamphlet of Mr Tuke."
—LORD SHERBROOKE, *Nineteenth Century*, *Nov.* 1880.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCLXXX

IRISH PEASANT PROPRIETORS.

THE travels of a tourist, however gifted, and the theories he deduces from his observations on men and things, are rarely of much national importance; but when they have been quoted with high approval in both Houses of Parliament by members of a Ministry which has announced the intention of dealing next session with the very important subject to which these observations and theories refer, they rise at once into that class of shadows which coming events cast before them, and call for inquiry into the capacity of the tourist for extracting accurate information from the materials at his command, his impartiality in making use of them, and the general correctness of the conclusions he has drawn from his facts. We need hardly say that we allude to the lately published pamphlet of Mr Tuke, "Irish Distress and its Remedies," and his article in the 'Nineteenth Century' for August, entitled, "Peasant Proprietors at Home."

Mr Tuke, who had made a tour in Ireland during the famine of 1847, would, from his allusions to Mr W. E. Forster, the Irish Secretary, appear almost to have been sent out like a Noachian dove from the much-tossed Ministerial ark, to try if, in his flittings over the troubled waters of Ireland, he could pick up a chance spray of olive, to be turned hereafter by Mr Gladstone's conjurings into another "messenger of peace," as he rather infelicitously designated his Land Act of 1870.

The branch which Mr Tuke brought back to the Downing Street window was "peasant proprietorship," and the tree on which it grew, the action of the Church Temporalities Commission in creating a "peasant proprietary," which he affirms to have been an unqualified success, — though in support of his assertion his pamphlet only brings forward the cases of *three* glebe tenants out of many hundreds in the county of Donegal. He does also, in the 'Nineteenth Century,' quote a few cases in the county of Tyrone, of which, indeed, the success does not seem particularly brilliant. We do not believe that peasant proprietorship, in any shape or form, would be a cure for the ills of Ireland, either by warding off the periodical famines by which the proletarian districts of Connaught and Donegal have been periodically visited from time immemorial, or by putting an end to the agrarian outrages by which it is habitually afflicted. On the contrary, we have no doubt that both maladies would be intensified,—the one by more minute sub-

division of the holdings, already too small for comfortable subsistence; the other by substituting a much more oppressive race of landlords than those at present in being, just as the Landed Estates Court has done already, and as has been the case in Belgium, where, as Mr de Molinari in his recent remarkable letters has shown, peasant proprietors are daily becoming fewer, and land is rented by the wretched tenants at a rate fully double that of Ireland. Still less were we inclined to believe, before seeing Mr Tuke's pamphlet, that the Church Temporalities Commission had been successful in creating a beneficial ownership of the soil. As, however, this alleged success is not only the *raison d'être* of his writings, which have been so belauded by men in high positions, but has also been the great stalking-horse of the advocates of peasant proprietary before Mr Shaw Lefevre's Committee, on whose report the projected Land Law of the present Ministry is said to be based, we thought it well to make some inquiries as to the accuracy of his statements and the correctness of his inferences, and found, as we confess we expected, that in many cases his statements are at variance with facts, and in others so coloured by *suppressio veri* as to have the appearance of *suggestio falsi;* whilst the inferences he draws are often not consistent even with the garbled narratives of his informants, — in short, that a more unreliable guide than Mr Tuke could hardly have been selected by Ministers willing to be deceived, as we shall proceed to show.

Two attempts to create peasant proprietors by legislative measures have already been made by Mr Gladstone's party—one by the Bright clauses of the Land Act, the other by that part of the Disestablishment Act which offered to occupying tenants of the glebe lands the right of pre-empting the fee-simple of their farms. The first is an acknowledged failure. The persons who took advantage of it were, as a rule, people who required no legislative aid. To grease the wheels of this measure, so as to make it at all workable, was the avowed object of Mr Shaw Lefevre's Committee—and is that of the Land Commission appointed by the present Government. To justify their action, it is desirable to point to some sort of success. This, Mr Shaw Lefevre and Mr Tuke assert, has been achieved by the Disestablishment Act, as worked by the Church Temporalities Commission; and to glorify it, Mr Tuke's article in the 'Nineteenth Century' for August was expressly written as a suite of his "Tour in Donegal." We say his "Tour in Donegal," as he does not appear to have found any model peasant proprietor in Connaught; and also, because Donegal has presented the most extensive field in Ireland for the working of the Church Temporalities Act, along with, as we assert in opposition to Mr Tuke, the most decided proofs of its failure. And although it may be necessary to show the general unreliability of Mr Tuke's statements, and the bias which he apparently has against landed proprietors and Boards of Guardians in general, we shall, as far as possible, confine ourselves to this par-

ticular locality and subject. Mr Tuke, on the whole, does not seem very fortunate in his discoveries, as he only quotes three instances of successful peasant proprietary in this great county, which contains within its boundaries about fifty parishes, most of which had glebe tenants, to whom was afforded the opportunity of being lords of the soil if they thought proper. He does certainly give a few instances in Tyrone. Tyrone, however, is, as every one knows, one of the most prosperous counties in Ireland. Although without manufactures, it maintains itself in peace and comfort, and makes no outcry for legislative interference. It neither murders its landlords nor holds out the hand of mendicancy, so that it may be dismissed with the mere statement that the few instances quoted by Mr Tuke present no feature by which the peasant proprietor can be distinguished from the adjacent tenant-farmer; and we shall return to Donegal, a county particularly remarkable as showing the highest degree of agricultural prosperity in its eastern districts, whilst the western portions present, under the same land laws and customs, scheduled unions inhabited by proletarian paupers. By customs, we mean that the Ulster tenant-right is fully prevalent in both; and as its extension to all Ireland has been advocated by some, and in a modified form was proposed by the Irish Attorney-General on the part of the Government during the debates on the Disturbance Bill, we wish to point out how little dependence can be placed on the mere passing of a law as a

remedy for distress, and the immemorial vanity of *leges sine moribus.* In these western districts Mr Tuke found his three model peasant proprietors, and thus introduces them to his readers in the 'Nineteenth Century:' "The glebe lands first visited were in the county of Donegal, a few miles from Dunfanaghy. They consisted of three farms—the sizes, purchase-money, and other particulars, being as under:—

	Former rent.	Poor-law valuation.	Purchase.	Paid.	To pay.
H. M'Fadden, . . .	£7 1 0	£5 5 0	£127	£37	£89
John Sweeny, . . .	5 14 0	5 5 0	102	28	74
Andrew Gallagher, .	5 0 0	5 0 0	102	28	74"

He describes these peasant proprietors as marvellously superior to their neighbours in every respect, and as making rapid improvement. We also visited these glebe lands, which are those formerly attached to the rectory of Mairagh or Myragh. We found that, instead of consisting of three small farms, as stated by Mr Tuke, they covered 2500 acres, and were occupied by fifty-nine tenants. Of these, four, not three, had purchased their farms. The fourth is ignored by Mr Tuke—having been, we presume, not thought presentable by his guide. The remaining fifty-five occupiers became tenants to a Mr Doherty, who purchased the "residue." We made inquiry as to the condition of the "proprietors," and found in their general condition and that of their farms no feature of prosperity beyond that of the surrounding

tenants, and that they had all been recipients of relief under the Seed Act in the course of the present season. We heard that some of them had otherwise been "relieved;" but this we had no opportunity of verifying. We found, too, that Andrew Gallagher, the third on the list, who is reported by Mr Tuke as "doing as well as the others," had sold his parliamentary birthright to Mr Doherty—the purchaser of the residue—and re-entered the ranks of the tenantry, from which he had been for a short time elevated. We heard, also, that it was not unlikely his example would be followed by at least two of the remaining three. On the whole, we cannot think that a system which has only benefited three occupiers out of a possible fifty-nine, was a discovery worthy of all Mr Forster's laudation, even supposing that these three had received all the advantages which Mr Tuke ascribes to them. We have shown that one of them, Andrew Gallagher, has been obliged to sell his farm. This man is now in a decidedly worse position, morally and materially, than he was before he purchased it; and we maintain that there is not a property of similar extent in the county where as large a proportion of the rent-paying tenants would not be found in quite as good circumstances and undergoing less pressure than the three exceptional men of Myragh, who have been set before the public by Mr Tuke as if they were the sole occupants of the glebe lands to whom the right of pre-emption had been offered.

If, however, Mr Tuke had confined himself to the glorification of the few specimens of peasant proprietors he has discovered amongst the many hundred glebe tenants to be found in Donegal who have rejected the proffered boon, this article would probably not have been written ; but as he alludes in both his Donegal Tour and his 'Nineteenth Century' article to the circumstances of the glebe tenants of one of the most typical of the proletarian parishes of Donegal, in words which unfortunately do not represent facts, and as the actual circumstances of this case are most strikingly illustrative both of Mr Tuke's utter unreliability as a source of information, and of the difficulties and dangers which have beset the pet scheme of Messrs Bright, Shaw Lefevre, and Tuke, we shall quote his 'Nineteenth Century' paragraph at length, and append the results of our own investigations made upon the spot, or drawn from official documents.

Mr Tuke says of this parish : "It may be well very briefly to notice another instance where glebe lands were sold which has led to some newspaper controversy, and has *unjustly* been quoted as showing that the attempt to form a peasant proprietorship has failed. These were situated about thirty miles south of the above [the prosperous three], not far from Dunglow, in Donegal. They were formerly held by twelve very small tenants, whose total rental was about £45—varying from 20s. to £6—and one of £11. With two exceptions, the purchase-money

was under £100, varying from £19 to £85, and the higher ones were £129 and £209, and averaged about nineteen years' purchase. The tenants, it appears, were too poor to find the money, and applied to some one in the neighbourhood, who stated that he could borrow the money for them at 4 per cent; and they signed agreements with the Commissioners to purchase the land, he finding the money. Afterwards he told them it must be 10 per cent, not 4 per cent; and he brought them a deed to sign, the contents of which they were quite ignorant of, making over to him their rights of pre-emption, which the Commissioners allowed; and he is now the absolute owner—leaving the so-called purchasers tenants as before, but under contract to pay the money-lender 10 per cent, equal to double their old rental. Representations made to the Commissioners were too late to allow of their interfering. The rents were not paid last year, and certainly none can be paid this." He might more accurately have written that the unlucky "local usurer" had never received any rents at all, and apparently never will.

Such, however, is the version given of the Maghery glebe tenancies. But Mr Tuke is not the only person who has brought them before the public. Mr Shaw Lefevre, whom he elsewhere quotes with much admiration, thought proper, in the newspaper controversy above mentioned, to give a different one.

In a letter to the 'Times,' written January 26th, he stated that "the glebe lands of Templecrone were

held by thirty-nine tenants, of whom five paid the entire purchase-money, and the rest fell into the hands of the local usurer;" and winds up his story by saying that these unlucky peasants "are not, and never will be, *owners*, and have not received the aid towards becoming so contemplated by the Church Act, and are in a worse position than they were before." His last clause is true, whatever the rest may be. The wretched people have, by the action of the Church Act, been put in a much worse position than they were; and the good intentions of its promoters have, in their estimation, largely added to the proverbial paving-stones.

We shall now proceed to show how completely Mr Tuke and Mr Lefevre have misrepresented the case —our authority being Mr Godley, secretary to the Church Temporalities Commissioners. In a letter dated January 28, 1880, which also appeared in the 'Times,' he says: "In the case of Templecrone, there were fifty glebe tenants in the parish. Out of these, forty-one purchased their holdings for cash, and the Commissioners have therefore no more concern with them. In twenty-eight cases out of the forty-one,[1] the conveyances were, by the purchasers' instructions, not made to themselves, but to another person, who may be presumed to have advanced the purchase-money. *Nine* new proprietors only, out of fifty,

[1] These twenty-eight tenants paid rent to the Commissioners from 6s. a-year to £2, 8s. 8d., which was the highest sum—see Mr Tuke, p. 10.

remain on the Commissioners' books as still liable for part of the purchase-money of their farms. The total half-yearly interest secured by the nine mortgages executed by these *proprietors* is £9, 12s. 6d."

As it would be hard to find greater discrepancies than exist between these three statements, we made inquiry in the locality, and of course found that Mr Godley's was quite accurate *as far as it goes.* The tenants were fifty. Of these, twenty-eight got into the clutches of the "local usurer." They are included in the number of Mr Godley's forty-one "purchasers for cash," and very bitterly complain of the way in which the Commissioners allowed them to be misled. Five of the remaining thirteen were in sufficiently good circumstances to pay cash for their holdings; nine, as we were informed, raised the purchase-money by selling part of their stock and borrowing at high rates of interest, so that they have ever since been in straitened circumstances, and were recipients of charitable relief during the past winter. Mr Tuke might therefore have found a better illustration of successful peasant proprietary here than at Mairagh—five being actually in fair circumstances. Of these, our informant, Frank Devenny, was one. A better specimen of his class could scarcely be found, so that it is a great pity Mr Tuke did not "interview" him. He would, moreover, as we did, have learned that Devenny did not consider his condition in the least improved,—that he regretted he had made the purchase, and could have made a better use of the money (£70) which

he paid for his farm. His father, he said, had paid £315, instead of £209, as stated by Mr Tuke.[1]

Our next inquiry was from one of the nine "mortgagers" who are still in debt to the Commissioners. On being asked if any of them had paid their instalments during the past year, he replied "that they had not, that some had never paid, and that he did not think any of them would ever pay again." To the remark that "non-payment would entail foreclosure of the mortgages and sale of the tenements by the Commissioners, his pithy rejoinder was, "*Where will they find a man to buy?*" very clearly showing that he felt himself master of the situation. On pressing our inquiries, we found that *not an individual out of the nine had as yet paid a single instalment to the Church Temporalities Commissioners.*

Mr Godley, we suppose, did not feel called upon to mention this item of intelligence, but it would have been more candid to have added it to the others contained in his letter; and it will now be seen, from the above analysis of the condition of the Templecrone peasants, that this unlucky glebe land presents within its limited area the active operation of almost every one of the objections which have been made to the plans proposed by Mr Bright, Mr Shaw Lefevre, and their allies, for the transfer of Irish estates from the possession of the present landlords to that of the occupying tenants. It is true that a certain very

[1] The rents of the twenty-eight tenants of the "local usurer" from 6s. per annum to £2, 8s. 8d—see Mr Tuke's statement, p. 10.

small number of occupiers, who have by the accumulation of wealth as tenants proved that actual circumstances are no bar to the prosperity of their class, were able to purchase the fee of their holdings without inconvenience; but a larger number have either trenched on the capital required for the cultivation of their farms, or hung the everlasting millstone of debt around their necks. In many instances, indeed, they have done both. A third class, having sold its legislative birthright to the "local usurer," presents the worst features of rack-rented pauperism under a petty landlord, driven by his extortions into a well-organised combination to pay no rent at all; whilst the last batch, whose debts are due to the State, as represented by the Church Temporalities Commissioners, have proved how completely official agency has failed to palliate distress, or to cope with a similar combination to refuse payment of the instalments due on the purchase-money of the lands on which it still has a lien. Outwardly, there is no sign by which the four classes can be distinguished from the peasantry of the adjoining estate. Inwardly, the action of the Commissioners has been to introduce agrarian conspiracy in its first stage into a district where it was hitherto unknown.

After comparing the actual circumstances of the Templecrone case with the statements of Mr Tuke and Mr Shaw Lefevre, we would not be surprised at any attempt made by the thick-and-thin advocates of peasant proprietary to ignore or distort a state of

affairs which so strongly tells against their cherished theories; but it does seem strange to find Professor Baldwin, a witness brought forward by Mr Shaw Lefevre before his Committee on the Bright clauses of the Land Act, quoting this very case as a success under adverse circumstances. Giving evidence in 1878, the Professor thus speaks of Mr Swiney, the "local usurer" of Mr Shaw Lefevre, and his transaction: "The tenants were very small farmers, and being very much afraid of a land-jobber being the purchaser, they went to a very respectable young man in the town of Dunglow, who is an auctioneer, and keeps a hotel and a large shop there, and said to him,—'You buy the estate in trust for us, giving us power to redeem at any time we think fit; and as long as you are out of your money we will give you 10 per cent for it.' This was actually done." The Professor goes on to add that the tenants are paying their rents and making the most *remarkable improvements* he ever saw, which he attributes partly to the 10 per cent, double their former rent, being "an additional stimulus put on in order to get rid of it."[1] It is true that Professor Baldwin does not actually name the estate of Templecrone glebe lands as the scene of Mr Swiney's financial operations; but after diligent inquiry, we have been unable to find any other corresponding transaction; and as it agrees in the main with the features of the Templecrone case as far as Swiney

[1] Professor Baldwin has since informed us that he did mean Templecrone.

was concerned, we have no doubt of its identity, and are led to dwell upon it as another specimen of the sort of evidence on which the new Land Act, inspired by Mr Shaw Lefevre's Committee, is to be grounded. We regret to say, too, that Mr Shaw Lefevre's own letter was, to a certain extent, written contrary to "light and knowledge," as we were informed that he had inquired into the case, and had received information pretty nearly corresponding with that which we have given, which he could easily have verified by referring to the Church Temporalities Commissioners, and so have spared himself the humiliation of being contradicted by Mr Godley.

But it is now time to return to Mr Tuke, who might, if he had taken a very small amount of trouble and made some further investigation, have satisfied himself of the utter failure of the Church Temporalities Act in creating peasant proprietors in every parish he passed through in the county of Donegal—as, for a friendly witness like him, there would have been no difficulty in obtaining the official statistics denied to ordinary mortals by the Church Temporalities Commission. To us, of course, they were a sealed book; but we have been able to obtain returns of the actual comparative numbers of purchasing and non-purchasing tenants in several parishes which are mentioned by Mr Tuke, as well as of two or three others, which are as follows :—

Parishes.	No. of Tenants.	Purchasers.
Inver, ...	45	4
Killybegs, ...	80	1
Kilcar, ...	85	6
Killymard, ...	33	5
Mairagh or Raymunterdony, . .	59	4
	302	20

But of these twenty, three in Killymard, and one in Mairagh, having sold their farms to the purchasers of the "residue," have re-entered the ranks of tenant-farmers. Briefly, *about 7 per cent purchased, and in five years 20 per cent of these ceased to be proprietors.* Of these returns, the first two are from the papers supplied to intending purchasers by the Church Temporalities Commission; the others from the union rate-books. In Inver, three out of the four purchasing tenants were public-house keepers; the fourth, a gentleman's butler. In Kilcar, the 79 non-purchasing tenants sold their right of pre-emption to two different individuals, who, of course, must look for a return on their outlay to increased rent. In Killymard, the purchaser of the "residue" informed us that he bought up the interest of three of the purchasing tenants for less money than they had paid for it; and the general result has been, as far as we can find out, that a few men, who, by their industry or their adventitious resources as publicans or shopkeepers, had raised themselves above the ordinary level, have become proprietors of their holdings; whilst the remainder have become

the tenants of small landlords, who, as the experience of the Encumbered Estates Court sales have demonstrated, are about the worst class into whose hands they could have fallen. This, in fact, is the great difficulty in dealing with the land question on any terms short of total confiscation of the landlords' rights. What is to be done with the "residue"? Judge Flanagan, in his evidence before Mr Shaw Lefevre's Committee, states this very clearly as the reason why the Bright clauses of the Land Act have failed: "Owners will not sell their property to tenants; they will not run the risk of having *residues* left on their hands unsold;" and therefore, unless the solvent tenants pay such a price for their holdings more than they are worth as will recoup the vendor for this chance, sales will not be made. Towards remedying this defect, Mr Shaw Lefevre asked if it could not be made a legislative condition of sales under the Encumbered Estates Court that the owners should have no choice in the matter?—to which the Judge replied: "They may take away a man's entire property if they think fit,"—an answer which showed pretty clearly the opinion of as acute a legal mind as in Ireland, of the drift of Mr Shaw Lefevre and his friends, whose ends Mr Tuke's writings are intended to promote.

To do so more fully, it is of course desirable that the condition of Ireland should be made as black as possible — that landlords and Boards of Guardians should be represented as unfaithful to their duties, and the actual means of subsistence of the peasantry

looked at through the wrong end of the glass. We are unwilling to suppose that Mr Tuke voluntarily stated what was untrue; but his evident bias against the bodies above named, and his utter ignorance of the matters about which he undertook to write, made him the ready recipient of any tales which were told him, of which we shall proceed to give a few instances.

At Gweedore he visited the townland of Meenacladdy under the guidance of the Roman Catholic clergyman of the parish. He describes it as "stretching over a wide extent of wet bogland"—in all, 697 acres. On this, he tells us that in former years—down to 1877—the 34 tenants *usually grazed* 248 *head of cattle and horses, along with* 920 *sheep*,—now reduced to 71 head of cattle and 127 sheep. Nothing, he says, "could show more strongly the loss sustained, and the extreme poverty of the district, than the comparison of the foregoing figures."[1] It would certainly do so if they could be depended on; but the most moderate acquaintance with the subject would have informed him that either the sheep or the cattle represented as having *usually grazed* in *former years* would have been much more than the land could possibly have supported. The numbers must have been arrived at by some such mysterious process of arithmetic as was used by Mr Gladstone when, in his advocacy of the Disturbance Bill, he totted up the 15,000 victims of eviction; or by Mr Forster when, on the same occasion, he enumerated the many thousands of policemen

[1] The present stock being, as he says, 71 head of cattle and 127 sheep.

employed in their manufacture. Mr Tuke's special instance of distress in this district does certainly seem rather strange. He finds one unfortunate man who has *four cows and a pony* in his drawing-room. We know enough of the habits of the country to be certain that the possessor of four cows had also at least as many head of young cattle—probably twice as many; but the poor man is wept over by Mr Tuke, because he feared "he would be obliged to sell some of his cattle to purchase food." We are hard-hearted enough to think that Mr Tuke wasted his commiseration; and probably the Board of Guardians thought so too.

Mr Tuke tells us that at Glenties there is a large amount of stocking and glove knitting, and a large warehouse where the people obtain the wool they knit, and "generally receive at the rate of one shilling per dozen pairs for socks," and "three shillings per dozen pairs for gloves." Mr Tuke did not take the trouble of verifying this statement at the factory. We found that the payment for socks varies from one and fourpence-halfpenny to seven shillings per dozen pairs,—the lowest rate being about 40 per cent over Mr Tuke's averages. Glove-knitters are paid from three shillings to eight: at the lowest rate, we were informed by several of the knitters themselves that they could earn sixpence per day. Messrs M'Devitt, to whom the country owes the introduction of this trade, informed me that the best knitters of fancy gloves could earn a shilling, or even more. We do not, therefore, wonder, when Mr Tuke says he saw

crowds of women, none of whom appeared to be in want, waiting for their supplies of yarn; and when we say that several firms are engaged in this trade, and that work was obtainable by every person who applied for it, we think that not only the distress of this district has been enormously exaggerated, but that the wages paid for a kind of work which is carried on as the worker goes to market, herds her cows, or trots to gossip with her neighbours, and requires not even light, can compare very favourably with those received by large classes of English seamstresses.

Mr Tuke's knowledge of agriculture does not appear very extensive. Undervaluing, as he habitually does, the efforts of every one but priests and relief committees, he says "the Glenties union is distributing potatoes for seed, but that the supply is limited to 4 cwt. for each applicant, which is only *enough for one rood of ground.*" If he inquires of some of his English neighbours, he will find that 4 cwt. of Champion potatoes are seed for half an acre, so that he diminishes by fifty per cent the relief afforded; and if he had in July traversed the country of which he gives such a deplorable account in February, he would have seen that, in spite of all he heard of the total want of seed, a larger amount of ground than usual was under both potatoes and oats—proving very clearly how cleverly the stores of seed had been concealed from prying eyes. Indeed he might have found in the local market notes, at the very time of his visit, and throughout the entire winter, until the

Boards of Guardians came into the market, that potatoes of good quality were selling in Donegal and Killybegs for 3s. 6d. per cwt.

Mr Tuke, speaking of the Glenties union, tells how the boys and girls habitually go forth to the richer parts of Ulster as agricultural servants, and laments that this source of revenue was cut off. Most certainly, as far as the previous summer was concerned, he was in error. The hirings at May were as numerous as usual. An instance within our own knowledge will help to explain how they might not have been so throughout the winter. A boy of twelve years of age was hired in November for three months. When his "quarter" was out in February, his master wished to re-engage him; and the boy would gladly have remained, but his father wrote that unless he got a considerable advance of wages, he must come home, "as we are getting seven pounds of meal a-skull every week, and the more there is of us, the more we will get—and maybe some clothing too." That this was no solitary instance, we have every reason to believe, as the complaint was general that this class of servants were particularly scarce during the past winter—which was not to be wondered at, as the girls naturally preferred the pound of meal per "skull," which secured existence, added to the sixpence a-day they could earn by knitting at home, to the drudgery of farm-service; and the boys, like true Irishmen, were content with short rations, joined to the *far niente* they were enabled to enjoy.

Mr Tuke, in his strictures on the action of Boards of Guardians, mentions several cases in which, he says, they ought to have administered outdoor relief. One is that of a woman partially paralysed, whom he found "in a miserable room, quite unfit for human habitation, *but half full of good potatoes*," where she had to lie from "month's end to month's end, dependent upon others." Clearly this was a case in which the Guardians had no business to interfere. Her proper place, if relief was needed, was in the poor-house infirmary, to which she would have been at once forwarded, on application being made to the "relieving officer," and where she would have had the food and attendance suitable to her case.

Another of his illustrative tales is that of two poor lunatic women, mother and daughter, in the same locality, who, by the priest's account, were in a *most fearful state of destitution*, having pulled down their house and roof, under the idea that it was bewitched, and inhabited a mere heap of stones without a roof. "Where were the poor-law administrators?" asks Mr Tuke. The story of these poor women is sad enough, but does not justify Mr Tuke in his attack on the administrators of the poor-law. The mother is the widow of a policeman, whom she married soon after his former wife had been murdered. The murderer, as usual in Ireland, was undiscovered. Her eldest child was a son; after her second confinement, when the daughter was born, she became insane, her hallucination being that there was blood under every

stone in the house, which she has pulled down in her efforts to discover it. Her daughter is affected by a similar craze. The son, a young man of most excellent character, is, as Mr Tuke says, in the metropolitan police, and gives all he can for their support through relatives in the neighbourhood. The women neither beg nor steal; they are not vagrants, and commit no assaults: and the "poor-law administrators" of the district, to whom we mentioned Mr Tuke's strictures, would be much obliged to that gentleman if he would point out under what section of the Poor Law Act they have any power to interfere with them.

But of all Mr Tuke's "specimens," as he calls them, the most absurd is probably that of Mr Patrick Burns, which, we are informed, the Duke of Argyll read out to the House of Lords with tears in his eyes. This worthy was found by Mr Tuke "sitting at a loom without woof or warp," at which he was "mechanically moving back and forwards," in a sort of mental doldrum, brought on by his destitute condition, which seems to have affected his other faculties, as, although Mr Tuke says "he pays six pounds a-year," he has, we are immediately after told, *not paid any rent at all for three years.* We would say that the landlord of Mr Burns is quite as much to be pitied as that gentleman himself. It is quite clear, at any rate, that it was no recent failure of crops which caused his distress. And as the trade of a weaver, in a district where the people are generally clad in homespun, is a very good one, we fear that sheer idleness was the

cause of Mr Burns's destitution; and we have no hesitation in saying that a more completely theatrical "get up" than that of the warpless weaver, has not been presented to an intelligent tourist since the Empress Catherine's eyes were regaled with pasteboard villages. Mr Tuke says he was told that tenant-right was unsaleable. He probably received this information; but we have cases before us from the immediate neighbourhood, in which thirty years' purchase was paid much about the time he speaks of; and recently, at Carrick, £200 were given for a farm of exactly the rental of that of Mr Burns—viz., £6 a-year.

Misery undoubtedly there was, and often is and will be, in such a country, in spite of any legislation; but the case of Mr Patrick Burns is about the last that should be brought forward as calling for any *deus ex machinâ* to interfere; and we suspect that Mr Tuke and many other people would have different views on the subject of peasant proprietary if they were a little more conversant with the actual condition of other countries, which they are constantly quoting,—as, for instance, Flanders, where, according to the latest edition of Mr de Laveleye's book (admittedly the best authority extant), peasant proprietary has almost ceased to exist, and its place has been taken by what he justly calls the worst possible of social conditions, "petty tenancies under petty landowners"—conditions which modern legislation, by the Encumbered Estates and Church Disestablishment Acts, have rapidly increased in Ireland; or France, where a

late statistical writer (Bochin) tells that, out of 9,000,000 proprietors of the soil, "3,000,000 are in a normal condition bordering on destitution, and are in fact often in receipt of charitable relief;"—or if they knew the habitual condition of the wretched peasant dwellers in Silesia; or the reapers who come down from the Bavarian mountains to cut the Rhenish harvests, just as the Donegal and Mayo men do those of England and Scotland. In all these cases subdivision has gone on unchecked, as it would infallibly do in Ireland until its condition would be worse than it is at present.

If Mr Tuke had called at the Donegal poorhouse when he passed by, he would have found that not only did the Guardians supply seed to a great many occupiers of land whose needs they thought very small, but they actually had on hand at the end of the season many tons of oats for which there were no applicants. At Carrick, he dismisses the efforts of the Messrs Musgrave, the principal landed proprietors, in this curt fashion: "Mr Musgrave, a Belfast merchant who purchased seed, and owns most of this property, is *giving some work making roads.*" One would hardly suppose from this that Messrs Musgrave were making many miles of road; had borrowed several thousand pounds from the Board of Works, which were being expended when Mr Tuke was in the country (employing, as we were told, all comers); and had imported over 100 tons of Champion potatoes for seed for their tenants;—but such was the case.

Nor does he make the smallest mention of other proprietors who have done likewise. At Ardara, he says, "about £600 is likely to be expended on roads in two baronies." The two baronies referred to are Banagh and Boylagh. In a large part of Banagh no public works were needed. Moreover, the sum of £2244 was presented by the Baronial Sessions, and sanctioned by the Government; in Boylagh, £5000, and the money has actually been expended. In Banagh, the landed proprietors, who are charged with apathy, have for the most part made their properties liable for the payment of sevenpence in the pound (besides taking a large amount of shares), to promote a railway from which they can expect no pecuniary return, save through the benefits which they consider will accrue to their tenants. To this railway, we may add, the Government have steadily refused any aid, save on terms so onerous that it is impossible to comply with them. Mr Tuke enlarges on the decrease of cattle and sheep in Donegal, and its consequent present misery. There has certainly been a loss of cattle to the amount of 4 per cent, according to the agricultural statistics published by the Government; but this is as nearly as possible the general percentage of decrease over all Ireland: and of sheep the same returns make the decrease in Donegal 10 per cent, which is, within a fraction, the ratio over all Ulster, whilst over Ireland it is 12. These particular statistics do not certainly refer directly to the special object of this review, which was to show how completely the attempt

to create an appreciable peasant proprietary by the action of the Church Temporalities Act had failed, and how poor and evanescent were the results where a few tenants had taken advantage of its provisions. They are quoted merely to throw light on the enormous exaggerations to which the public and the Legislature are invited to give credit, and as a supplement to the proofs we have given of the general unreliability of the testimony on which Mr Forster and the Duke of Argyll pin their faith, and, as far as we can learn, intend to base future legislation.

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[FOURTH EDITION, WITH MAP.]

IRISH DISTRESS AND ITS REMEDIES.

THE LAND QUESTION.

A VISIT TO

DONEGAL AND CONNAUGHT

IN THE SPRING OF 1880.

BY

JAMES H. TUKE,

Author of "A Visit to Connaught in the Autumn of 1847."

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PREFACE.

DURING the Irish Famine of 1846-7 the Society of Friends took a very active and prominent part in the administration of funds for its relief, and money or food to the value of £200,000 was dispensed by its Central Relief Committee in Dublin. When during the past winter the first intimation of the distress in the West of Ireland was received, a small Committee was formed in London to consider whether it was right and needful again to take up the work. The result of these inquiries led this Committee to the conclusion that it would be unwise to attempt any extended organisation for this purpose, seeing that already two very influential Committees had been formed in Dublin for the relief of the distress. The need for further information on account of the conflicting statements as to the extent of this distress, was, however, very strongly felt by the Committee. This, and the deep interest which the writer of the following pages has for many years taken in the Irish question, led him to the conclusion that a visit to the distressed districts of the West, especially to those which he had seen during the "Great Famine," might be of

service. It was then his privilege to accompany his much-honoured friend the late William Forster during a portion of his arduous visit to the West of Ireland which extended throughout the whole of the terrible winter of 1846-7.

Although no general subscription was raised, a few of the writer's friends generously placed in his hands a small fund for distribution in cases of peculiar suffering or sickness, or for objects outside the scope of the Dublin Funds. The kind permission was also given by the Duchess of Marlborough to inform her Committee of any localities which either had been overlooked or needed further help, of which the writer availed himself in several instances. His acknowledgments are also due to the Committee of the Dublin Mansion House Fund for the assistance given him in various ways towards the prosecution of his inquiries.

In addition to the knowledge acquired as to the actual extent of the distress, much information was also obtained bearing upon the social condition and general circumstances of the Irish people, the results of which were from time to time forwarded to the Committee in London, and in part printed and privately circulated. Some letters also were inserted in the *Times*. It has been thought that the information thus obtained has a further value, and may tend to throw some light upon portions of the very difficult and complex problems which the country is called upon, as far as practicable, to solve.

In reporting the conversations or opinions of those whom he met during this visit, or in offering any suggestions on the questions involved, the writer is not conscious of being unduly biased by any political or class prejudices. It is his earnest wish to bring to bear upon the subject the knowledge gained in his earlier or later visits to Ireland, combined with the familiarity with questions affecting the land which a long residence in an agricultural county, and his experience as a country banker may have given him.

J. H. T.

HITCHIN, HERTFORDSHIRE, *June*, 1880.

MAP

SHEWING THE

SCHEDULED DISTRICTS IN

IRELAND

1880

For 3rd Edition of

IRISH DISTRESS & ITS REMEDIES

BY J.H. TUKE.

Scale of Statute Miles.

3 10 20 30 40

Railways

Roads

10 9 8 6

55 54 53

DONEGAL
TYRONE
DERRY
ANTRIM
LONDONDERRY
FERMANAGH
ARMAGH
MONAGHAN
CAVAN
LOUGH NEAGH
DOWN
SLIGO
MAYO
ROSCOMMON
LEITRIM
CONNAUGHT
LONGF.
W.t MEATH
MEATH
LOUTH
GALWAY
KING'S C.
KILDARE
LEINSTER
QUEENS C.
WICKLOW
CLARE
CARLOW
DUBLIN

NORTH CHANNEL
FIRTH OF CLYDE
IRISH SEA
BALLYCASTLE BAY
DROGHEDA BAY
DUNDRUM BAY
BELFAST LOUGH
DONEGAL BAY
GALWAY BAY
CLEW BAY
KILLYBEGS BAY
BROAD HAVEN
SLIGO BAY
MILL HAVEN
KILKERAN BAY
GREATMAN'S BAY
GARUMNA BAY
BALLYNAKILL BAY
KILLOUGH BAY
DUNDRUM BAY
DUBLIN BAY
LOUGH SWILLY
LOUGH FOYLE
LOUGH ERNE
LOUGH NEAGH
LOUGH CORRIB
LOUGH MASK
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LIMERICK
KERRY
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CORK
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WT MEATH
MEATH
LOUTH
DUBLIN
KING'S COUNTY
KILDARE
QUEEN'S CO.
WICKLOW
CARLOW
KILKENNY
WEXFORD
WATERFORD
LEINSTER
IRISH SEA
ST GEORGE'S CHANNEL
Achill Islands
Achill Head
Clew Bay
Newport
Westport
Castlebar
Louisburgh
Croagh Patrick
Killery Harb.
Leenane
Kylemore
Letterfrack
Clifden
Dogs Head
Slyne Head
Roundstone
Bofinn
Bofinn Bay
Kilkerrin
Kilkerrin Bay
Carraroe
Galway Bay
Black Head
South Arran Isles
Ballinasloe
Athenry
Tuam
Roscommon
Castlerea
Boyle
Ballaghadereen
Ballinrobe
Cong
Lough Corrib
Oughterard
Ballynahinch
Ennistymon
Lisdoonvarna
Ballyvaughan
Kilfenora
Corofin
Ennis
Clare
Tulla
Killaloe
Limerick
Newcastle
Ballingarry
Kilmallock
Charleville
Mallow
Newmarket
Kanturk
Castle Island
Tralee
Tralee Bay
Dingle Bay
Dunmore Head
Blasket Is.
Skellig Is.
Valentia I.
Kenmare River
Bolus Head
Ballinskelligs Bay
Cahirciveen
Killarney
Lough Leane
Macgillicuddy Reeks
Tarbert
Listowel
Abbeyfeale
Castleisland
Millstreet
Rathduff
Watergrasshill
Cork
Blarney
Glanmire
Middleton
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Cork Harbour
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Ballycotton Hd.
Ardmore Hd.
Dungarvan Bay
Lismore
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Tallagh
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Kingsmory
Carnsore Pt.
Tuskar
Greenore Bay
Greenore Pt.
Haven P.
Wexford Harb.
Blackwater Harb.
Old Hd. of Kinsale
Courtmasherry Bay
Gally Hd.
Crookhaven
Baltimore
Toe Hd.
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Mizen Hd.
Sheep Hd.
Dursey I.
Cod Hd.
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Dunmanus Bay
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Inishcarra
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Ballinskelligs Bay
Feilhomarrow
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Lisacrevel
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Suir R.
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Maine R.
Feale R.
Flesk R.
Laune R.
Roe R.
Foyle R.
Bann R.
Lagan R.
Erne R.
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Brandon Hd.
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REFERENCE

THE PINK SHEWS THE SCHEDULED DISTRICTS

James Wyld.
Geographer to Her Majesty.
11&12 Charing Cross. LONDON.

IRISH VISIT—1880.

CHAPTER I.

DONEGAL.

DUBLIN, *February 20th.*—I left home in the evening of the 18th for London, and on the 19th crossed to Kingstown. Whilst in Dublin I had an interview with the Lord-Lieutenant, and am indebted to his courtesy for letters of introduction from the various departments of the Government to the local authorities in the country. The Duchess of Marlborough also favoured me with an interview, and entered most heartily into the objects of my visit. I was much impressed with her deep personal devoted interest in the work into which she has thrown her whole time and energy. Various apartments in the Castle were given up to the business of the Fund, of which the Duchess is the heart and soul. In one the Ladies' Committee, with endless piles of letters and correspondence, were at work in a most businesslike fashion. In another Lord R. Churchill and the Honorary Secretaries were earnestly labouring. I was shown the various arrangements, involving an immense amount of detail and correspondence, which the Committee had made for carrying on their operations.

At the Mansion House I was introduced to several members of the Committee presided over by the Lord Mayor, and was shown, with the greatest courtesy, the details and mode of carrying on the work of the Mansion House Fund. As at the Castle, so at the Mansion House, all other objects seemed subservient to that of administering to the greatest advantage the funds at the disposal of the Committee. It was interesting to find that so many gentlemen actively engaged in professional or other work were giving up a large portion of their time to this very important service. No one without some experience of similar work can form an estimate of the

vast labour and amount of detail necessitated by an incessant correspondence extending over all the world as regards the receipt of money, and to almost every parish in at least one-half of Ireland as regards its distribution.

The plans of action of the two Committees have from the first varied considerably. In the Duchess of Marlborough's Committee, the *Union* is made the area over which operations extend, and the Chairman of the Union is appointed Chairman of the Committee, and is the individual with whom the Dublin Committee corresponds. To him is intrusted the duty of distributing to local Committees in the Union the allotments of money made from time to time. In the Mansion House Committee local Committees in each parish are usually selected. This plan has the advantage of directness and of sending the relief at once to the point at which it is required, which sometimes is not so promptly done by the other system; but, as will be seen, there can be little supervision of the lists of the local committees, and at times too much depends upon the opinion, or good nature, or easiness, of an individual, which is to some extent corrected by the supervision of the Union Committee on the Duchess of Marlborough's plan. The experiences of my journey confirm me in the opinion that the Union system is the least liable to abuse, which, with the best intentions, it is difficult to avoid. Some Unions are, however, too large, and require to be subdivided, each part having a Committee in direct communication with the Dublin Funds. From the Honorary Secretaries of both Funds I received circular letters of introduction to the various chairmen and secretaries of local committees, which were the means of giving me a welcome wherever I went, for which I cannot be sufficiently grateful. I was joined here by my nephew, H. T. Mennell, whose experience in the relief of distress during the Franco-German War will be invaluable.

22*nd*.—At Enniskillen I visited the workhouse, wishing to see how it appeared as compared with the year 1847, when I saw it in the most terrible and painful state—the inmates, then 700 in number, suffering from fever and dysentery, and the whole place so loathsome that it was with the greatest difficulty I over-

came my repugnance to enter it. It is situated on an eminence on the banks of the Erne, commanding lovely views of this fine district, and the shortest way to approach it is to cross one of the little inlets of Loch Erne which run in and out in all directions. I was ferried over by a tidy Irish girl, who had a gold locket of ample size and a chain to match. She used her oars to the little boat most admirably. At the workhouse I found a most intelligent master, and the house in as perfect order as the best English workhouses, and with but half as many inmates as in 1847. All was as clean as possible—only one more able-bodied man and about twenty more who were infirm were in the house than last year—showing that in this union, at any rate, there was no unusual distress. It is indeed a well-to-do district. The poor-rate is not more than 10d. in the pound. The master strongly advised paying the poor small farmers in the impoverished districts for working on their own farms. He said, "Every shilling in this way would be as good as twenty shillings which were only given;" and that "good country roads were much required, and ought to be made to every townland, at the expense of the county."

23*rd*.—We left Enniskillen early by train (a single line) for Ballyshannon. The railroad runs through a beautiful country, with most charming views of the lake. The long detentions at the numerous stations allowed opportunities of speaking to the police constables, who in Ireland attend to the arrival and departure of every train. They are a smart, well-informed set of men, and, as we found in 1847, are able to give, in a few words, the information wanted. "They have no object in not speaking the truth" (as an Irish friend of mine said), "and you can depend on them." At Kesh the police constable stated there was no distress; but, he added, "Some of the people hear relief is being given in other places and they think they ought to have a share." At Pettigoe, a thriving little town, most of the property belongs to Sir J. Leslie, "who is a good landlord, giving his tenants time to pay their rents." There is a Relief Committee here, and one or two townlands were reported by the police constable as "very badly off." He said that "in one townland there is not a meal of

potatoes left. There is no employment of any kind for labourers. There are no labourers, in fact, for all are small farmers, each having from four to ten acres, with a bit of mountain land. The people in this district are very well behaved; during seven years he had only seen one drunken man in Pettigoe on a Sunday. No withholding of rent if they had it to pay, and no agrarian disturbance of any kind. A large Scotch sheep farm in the neighbourhood was of no use to the people in giving work. Work ought to be demanded for relief given."

At the next station, Belleek (where the Belleek China works are situate), we were informed that there was great distress in one or two townlands in the neighbourhood; but as we had booked to Ballyshannon, we went on, and called on some of the gentlemen on the Ballyshannon Relief Committees, who gave us much information. "The assistance they have had has been very useful, but some families are placed on the lists who ought not—it is most difficult to avoid this. The small tenants of four to five acres are always in want (no doubt worse this year); work ought to be demanded for relief given. Farms of about five to ten acres can never be profitably worked; a man must have fifteen acres of arable land to be able to stand a bad year or two—such men often do well. A man ought to make £4 or £5 a-year by his poultry." Ballyshannon had raised £150 to £160 this year for the poor, and about as much last year. Being again told of the great distress near Belleek, and that no one had visited the district, we decided to retrace our steps. Before leaving we met with two gentlemen, Mr. Paterson and Mr. Simpson, who were inspecting the country for the Liverpool Fund. They had been through Donegal, and gave us much information. Great suffering existed in some parts visited, and others not seen by them needed visiting. The Liverpool Committee almost confine their operations to assisting in useful works, and to providing seed-potatoes or oats, when supplemented by local subscriptions. Mr. Paterson and Mr. Simpson had a very strong impression, from all they had seen, that the owners of land are doing very little for the poor, and that they even object to applying for money for public works, on the ground that it would be charged to the poor-rates, half

of which fall upon the landlords. It is fair to say that it is thought that many landlords are very poor, but this is not the case with all. The Liverpool Committee offered here (Ballyshannon) to give £100 towards the improvement of the pier if the town would raise the same amount. The Liverpool fund amounts to £8,000.

The general appearance of Ballyshannon is wonderfully improved since 1847, when the destitution was awful, and the poor-house (now not half full)* was crowded with inmates, and the death-rate fearful.

At Belleek—most beautifully situated at the outlet of the waters of the Erne, which rush wildly through a rocky channel, crossed by a little bridge as you enter the village—we found a small hotel, well appointed in every way. It was recently erected for anglers who come for salmon-fishing, paying £6 10s. a week for the sport, but being allowed only one fish, out of their takings, per week. Close by stand the newly-erected handsome buildings belonging to the Belleek Pottery Company, which gives work to hundreds. Finding the districts in which the suffering was stated to exist were two or three miles further up the valley, we drove on at once, calling by the way on the poor-law guardian, who is also a member of the Relief Committee. He was not at home; "gone out for the evening to the Protestant clergyman's a mile or more away." So we drove two or more miles further, through a poorly-cultivated land, and at last, after passing through the beautiful grounds of a non-resident proprietor—"too poor to do anything for the people"—we found ourselves at the house of the Protestant clergyman, with whom was the poor-law guardian.

They stated that the want of the little farmers on the mountain townlands was very great indeed; they had little or no resources; the potatoes were all gone, and but for the "Relief Funds" many would be starving. Nearly all the tenants in some townlands were receiving relief, 2s. 6d. and 5s. worth of meal per family. The potatoes had utterly failed, and they had no seed and no means of buying it and no employment; even

* The poor-rate in the Union varies from 6d. to 1s. 3d.

the presentment at the Baronial Sessions for a much-needed road giving access to these townlands had been thrown out by a majority of one, the landlords nearly all voting against it. Some of the small farms were pointed out for which £4 to £5 a year is paid—narrow strips of poor mountain land, three to five acres, with a run on the wild mountain behind for a cow or two, on which, as our informants stated, at the best times the people could only "eke out a very miserable existence." Yet, strange to say, such is the craving for these plots, that in ordinary times a tenant could have sold his tenant-right for from £20 to £30. Unhappily for us the day was now drawing to a close, and we could not cross the lovely little lake which lay between us and these little farms, which, from its shore, ran up far into the waste moorland.

No one (we were told) *refuses to pay his rent who can do it,* but the farms are highly rented. The estates are encumbered, and the landlords are unable to do anything. As we had heard, the presentment for the very road so much needed to give access to these lands, and the making of which would have given the employment which is so much wanted at this time of distress, was thrown out by them. No landlord had paid or was able to pay anything towards assisting the poor in this district; even the interest of the mortgage on the estate in one case was hardly paid. It was nearly dark when we again reached our quarters at Belleek.

24*th.*—Early this morning we called on the secretary of the Duchess of Marlborough's Fund for the Belleek district—a well-to-do tradesman, postmaster, Clerk to Petty Session, &c.—who showed us the long lists of little farmers now receiving relief, chiefly on those lands we had seen—a saddening list of families, on the verge of destitution, and who, so far as the Poor Law and the gentry are concerned, would apparently have been left to perish but for the assistance given by charitable funds. Here, as elsewhere, we did all we could to impress upon the local committees the vital importance of demanding work in return for food given to the *able-bodied,* even if that work is upon their own little farms. The pressing question really is—How can the land be cropped for the coming season? The Government measure,

"Nolan's Bill," for the supply of seed-potatoes or oats, to be repaid in a short term, through the medium of the Poor Law, is unpopular, from the feeling of the better class of farmers and guardians, that if the instalments are not paid the burden of repayment will fall upon them, and this they say they cannot stand and will not vote for. The Poor Law in the poorest districts in fact becomes inoperative from the unwillingness of the guardians to tax themselves. The secretary (agreeing with the idea of the importance of employing the men on their own lands) very truly observed, "Yes, we are just sowing seeds for another famine if we do not get the lands sown." Speaking of the heavy indebtedness of the people to the shopkeepers, he said, "We wore into it, and wore into it without knowing. I have over £1,000 owing to me which I don't expect to get back, and shall lose as I lost nearly all in the old famine." He feared some shopkeepers might take advantage of the relief tickets, and take part for "the old horse" (old debt). But, he added, "I tell them, I shall leave that quiet in the stable."

Then we had the great pleasure of seeing the Belleek China Works, and meeting the intelligent and enterprising owner and manager, Mr. Armstrong, who, with his partner, has put £40,000 into these works. The "water power" of the outlet of the lake, the felspar, which constitutes 73 per cent. of the china turned out, and the cheapness of labour, were the inducements twenty years ago for establishing the works here. They are now giving employment and good wages, from 9s. to 40s. or more a-week, to a large number of people, representing 1,000 persons in all, and these works prevent the town of Belleek from being on the Relief list. In addition to the many pretty little articles of Belleek ware familiar to all, the great turn-out of the place is now in sanitary ware of all kinds. Jennings' and Tylor's sanitary ware, and Maw's inhaling bottles, &c., are made here. Mr. Armstrong is a most ingenious and energetic man, and it did one good to find one man really solving the question of Irish misery and discontent by giving full employment at good wages, and combining with this a strict and intelligent oversight of his people. Whilst we were going over the works a man came

up to show him some work he was modelling. "Yes," he said, "as good as I could wish it; it is perfect." And, as the man went off, Mr. A. said, "Seven years ago that man came to me at 5d. a day, and now he is earning 35s. a-week, and on the 1st of April will earn £2 a-week." I asked, with some interest, his views on the land question. "The *little farms* are the curse of the country; no man can really live on them in the best times; they are miserable homes, and there can be none of that moral respect, without which no real improvement of the people is possible. That is at the bottom of it all. It is to the improvement of the *home* that we must look, and my people bear witness to the good influence of the works in that way; mothers coming and begging for another child to be taken." The Irish girls have great taste both in working and painting, and we saw many beautiful specimens of work, superior to any I had ever seen before. Mr. Armstrong considers *there is an absolute need of relief*, but spoke of the great difficulty of discriminating; and mentioned a curious instance of a gentleman who was guided to some point on the road by a ragged-looking man, to whom he gave a shilling, and who, as he was afterwards told, could have lent him £1,000! Mr. Armstrong also spoke very strongly of the importance of demanding work from all able-bodied men who needed relief.

We left, most heartily desiring the prosperity of the works—a bright spot in the neglect and suffering around. But, though this is an exceptionally good instance, it would be wrong not to notice that, except in the very small farms, there are signs of real and permanent improvement in the country. As we drove back to Ballyshannon, I could not but recall the miserable objects I saw one Sunday morning in 1847, digging over the bare ground for a chance potato, and the corpses of the dead carried, without ceremony or funeral, to the grave. From Ballyshannon, nearly all the way to Donegal (a most beautiful drive along the lovely Bay of Donegal), the improvement was marked. One village looked poor, and no doubt was so. At another a fair was being held; and certainly the farmers were quite as well dressed as any small farmers would have been in England. Trade was bad, "no one could pay," we were told,

and cows were difficult to sell at £3 10s. to £5 or £7. But the change in the cattle was wonderful; the long-horned, ragged beasts have disappeared, and neat, tidy little beasts have taken their place.

At Donegal I found that our old friend John Hamilton, of St. Ernan's, who worked so zealously in 1846-7, was in Scotland. He is now eighty years of age. I called on the Protestant rector. He had none of his congregation on the Relief lists; but he said employment and food were much needed by many. At the hotel we met with three priests, who, with rolls of cases of those needing relief, most appalling to look at—I fear rather an indiscriminate list of nearly all their people—had come in to attend the Relief Committee. With them we had much talk. "All the evils of the country were the result of *want of fixity of tenure*, and of the want of power on the part of the Irish people to rule their own country." Differing from most, they thought the *smallest* farms would pay if the holders knew that they were secure of their improvements, and were not likely to have the rents raised at any moment. "The Bright clauses—blessings on Mr. Bright for them—were the only bit of good legislation England had given to Ireland. On saying I knew Mr. Bright, they exclaimed, "Oh, then, indeed, when you next see him give him the blessings of three Irish priests for his good work; he has done more than any other man for the country."

Then we drove, in the long evening, about eighteen miles to Killybegs, hoping to obtain some rest; but here, at half-past nine or ten that night, we were asked to meet the Relief Committee, then sitting, and heard from them the most serious tale of distress we had yet listened to.

25th.—The Relief Committee of Killybegs consisted of all the clergy in the town—rector, priest, and Presbyterian minister, and also tradesmen. They appeared thoroughly in earnest. Out of 600 families in the parish, they had 450 cases on their books, say 2,000 persons out of 3,100 at a weekly cost of £70 to £80. The greater part are holders of small portions of land, from 15s. to £3 or £4 rental, scattered over the wild mountain district round Killybegs. Many formerly gained something of a livelihood by fishing, but the fish have nearly all left the

Bay: where cod and ling abounded a few years ago they are now scarce; and mackerel have disappeared, so that the combined loss of fish and potatoes really leaves them destitute. Doubting the necessity for so many being relieved, we called the attention of the Committee to the very large number of families on their lists; but after many inquiries, and subsequent visits to families assisted, I cannot say that it is larger than is proper; at any rate, one-half of the population about Killybegs needs help. The fact is, the small farmers, paying from 15s. to £3, £4, or £5 rent, are permanently on the verge of want, and usually in debt for one year's meal, though the rents are fairly paid. During the past three years the bad crops and the failure of potatoes have plunged them deeper and deeper into debt, so that many a man owes £30 or £40 or more to the shopkeepers. This year the shopkeepers, alarmed by the total failure of the potato, have declined to give more credit, leaving the majority of the small farmers without any resources. There is no employment for the people, and the extreme dampness of the climate and the want of proper drainage, prevent, in many cases, their being able to cultivate the land at present. I was very glad to hear that cultivation all round Killybegs was fully as forward as usual. This, I think, is in part owing to the wise resolution of the "Relief Committee," "that no relief should be given to able-bodied men except for work done—on their own lands or elsewhere." We were glad to hear that a new road was being surveyed in the neighbourhood, which would give some employment.

In the meantime, it is absolutely necessary that they should be assisted, and it is unhesitatingly said that had it not been for the Duchess of Marlborough's Fund, which gives assistance here, many would have died. It becomes a very serious question whether the assistance needed can continue until the new crop of potatoes is grown and fit for use.

We called this morning upon Mr. Brooks, the Chairman of the Duchess of Marlborough's Relief Committee for the large Union of Glenties. Mr. Brooks lives in a house beautifully situated at the head of one of the numerous inlets of the lovely Donegal Bay, and is agent for several of the

proprietors in the district. He mentioned one property, with a rental of about £8,000 a-year, in which the rents did not average £5 each, and, in this parish, the rents of a portion of the same property did not average £3. Many of the rents due last November were not paid; but the landlords do not appear to evict any tenants. The value of the Tenant Right on these petty holdings is enormous, and it was curious to hear how completely Mr. Brooks recognised this right when speaking of the tenants "*as selling their farms*"—just as we should in England when speaking of the fee-simple. He told me that in ordinary times the tenants "sold their farms" (*i.e.*, their tenant right in the farms) for from £30 to £100, according to their size and rental. And in the after part of the day, a man who pays £5 12s. 6d. a-year told me that he had given £125 for the tenant right upon the twenty-two acres he held!

Another curious fact in connection with these little farmers on the West Coast, is their intimate connection with the United States. I was told that there was hardly a family in the district who had not one or more members in America, and that from thence the funds came for the purchase of the tenant right. From the general poverty of the times this value is just now very much reduced; men who have given £30 to £100 would now not be able to sell at all, or only for a small sum. The man who gave the £125 for the tenant right told me he had earned the money in America in seven years, and that he could not obtain half this sum now for the tenant right. "But," he added, with emotion, "this is my last year here; it's no use, a man may as well lie down and die—we are beaten—everything is against us; there are no roads you see to the land—the bit of turf from the bog (about a cartload) takes me two days to carry upon my back; I shall take my wife and family away to Ameriky again." When I asked him why he had come back before, and bought the farm, he replied, with bitterness, "*Nature binds a man to his own counthrey*—but I can't stand it any longer." What true pathos and sentiment there is in these men!

In the afternoon we walked with a guide into the mountain farms around, ordering the carriage to meet us on the road to

Kilcar and Carrick, where we intended to stop for the night. The afternoon was wet and blustering, and the moorland farms looked dreary enough; however we pursued our way up one boggy path and down another, or over tracks of wild country, from one little district or townland to another, calling upon many tenants, whom our guide knew to be destitute, and who are on the Relief List. Here are a few specimens:—

(1.) John Kearney—has "two cows' grasses," pays £3 16s. 8d., and county cess on the valuation at 2s. 9d. in the £. The poor-rate is 2s. 6d., but his valuation being below £4 he does not pay any. He could have sold his tenant right "for threescore of pounds, but now it is not worth five." He seemed to have no stock of any kind, except six or seven fowls, which gave a few eggs worth 6d. a dozen, and the cat which, like the people, is invariably found crouching round the fire. He had two daughters, fine grown-up girls, doing nothing whatever! We advised them to go into service, telling them what good situations they could obtain.

(2.) Patrick Burns holds four cows' grasses, pays £6 a-year, and owes 9s. 6d. county cess. "Has neither cow, nor calf, nor ewe, nor lamb, nor baste that treads the earth;" "only ten fowls which left a few eggs." He owes three years' rent. His son had gone to America; he sent him the first 30s. he earned, leaving himself only two dollars. Then he sent £3, but he had not heard of him since November. "Its all truth, yer honour." He had a loom and was sitting at it as we entered, but there was neither woof nor warp, he was only mechanically moving the frame backwards and forwards. Then he told us how, one after another, his family had died, and how he had gradually got lower and lower, and that had it not been for the meal given away he would have had nothing to eat. But, added the daughter, we must not grumble." It is touching to hear how patiently they bear their want. Another family, six or eight in number, cowering round the fire—very poor—"had neither cow, nor calf, nor lamb, nor ewe, nor aught that walks the earth." "Only the cat," I said, which caused them all to laugh; "Yes, we must keep that."

Other families, some with the father or other member of the

family ill, were also visited. The willingness of these people to send their children to school was strikingly shown, when we offered to give them help in this way and a little clothing to allow of their going backwards and forwards. These cases where the head of the family was ill or unable to work, as in that of a man who had lost his leg, would undoubtedly be relieved by the Poor Law in England, but the Poor Law here is in fact inoperative as regards out-door relief. The guardians do not incline to tax themselves, it seems. The children in these cottages are many of them very pretty; one of them, Catherine McBriarty was a singularly fine child, and most desirous to go to school. Though we saw no starvation, so common here in 1847, we could not feel sufficiently thankful that the aid given by the Funds had arrived in time to avert anything like the terrible suffering and death of that year. As we were leaving these mountain lands to return to the high road, a woman, apparently well-to-do, called us back to see her daughter, who was ill. She opened a little door, and in a miserable room half filled with potatoes (the only good ones we had seen), was a poor delicate-looking bedridden woman, partially paralysed, whose husband had gone to America and "forgotten her," as she said, and who was now, with two or three children, wholly dependent upon her mother. The room was dark and wholly unfitted for a human being, yet here the poor woman had to lie "from month's end to month's end," dependent upon others. We gave in this, as in some other cases, a little help, which was most gratefully received; but in no case except this was there the slightest approach to begging. Always a simple pleasant welcome was given us, some offering us their hand, others a seat, as we entered, and all treating us with the simple well-bred courtesy which is so marked a feature in the character of the true Irish peasant.

It was growing dusk as we reached the high road, and whilst waiting at a "National School" our carriage passed us unnoticed, and, but for the kindness of a man whom we had been talking to, might have gone on for miles. As it was, we had a walk of half-a-mile before we overtook it, and were heartily glad of shelter, as the rain fell heavily. In passing

through Kilcar we thought the people looked more destitute and emaciated than any we had seen, but as it was late we deferred our visit. A drive of ten miles through a very cold and miserable country brought us to our destination—Carrick Bridge.

26th—Carrick Bridge, Glencolumbkill.—After a very stormy night, the rain still falling made a walk rather difficult among the cottages in this neighbourhood and towards Tielin on the coast. The population in this district have been largely dependent upon fishing, and as this and the potatoes have both failed, their circumstances are deplorable. The district of Glencolumbkill is about ten miles square, and inhabited by a small farmer and cottier population, whose rents vary from 15s. to £2 or £3, or, in a few instances, amount to £5 or even £10 —the average of the whole parish, I was informed, not exceeding 35s. The cottages are even less suited for human habitation than those we visited yesterday at Killybegs. Four rough stone walls, often without any plaster, covered with thatch, 12ft. by 15ft. or 18ft., constitute the home of a family of five, of ten, or twelve persons. The floors are the stone of the rocky hill-side upon which the dwelling is built, and the smoke from the peat fire on the hearth, after filling the house, finds it final exit either by the door, or the hole in the roof which serves for a chimney. There is usually one small window; but as you stoop to enter the low door the blinding smoke for some time prevents you from seeing the inmates, who are usually cowering over the peat or ling embers. When you have become sufficiently accustomed to the dim interior light, you find, perhaps, in addition to the family, that a cow is lying in one corner, and that there may be a loom, at which some native cloth is made, or heaps of fishing-nets—now useless, alas!—and gradually, as you further explore the recesses, you see the miserable heap of rags which constitutes the bed, on which, it may be, a hen is quietly laying her egg! Or perhaps you find some old crone, the grandmother of the family, worn and dirty, whom you hardly distinguish from the heap of rags on which she is lying. In a few we found the women busily engaged around the little window, embroidering handkerchiefs, or beautifully-worked

fronts for babies' frocks, for the Belfast market, at which work they earned the magnificent sum of 1d. per diem. Imagine such work at such a price, under such circumstances—smoke, dirt, semi-darkness, cows, hens, men, women, and children around them in a space of 12ft. by 15ft. or 18ft.—and who can say that Irish women will not work if work is given them? Large quantities of fish were caught here a few years ago, but the fish seem to have left the coast, and the large curing-house erected by a Belfast firm is closed. Hence destitution is so general that 600 out of the 800 families in the district are upon the Relief list, receiving per week in each family at the rate of half a stone of meal per head. This costs about £100 a-week, and it is thought will have to be continued at the same, if not at an increasing rate, for five or six months, until the potatoes are ready. When one contemplates the wide area over which this relief must extend, the prospect is indeed a most serious one. In fact, wherever the cottier or small farmer, at a rent of £5 a-year or under, exists, there also exist destitution and want. The normal condition of this very large class in the West of Ireland is one which is at the best scarcely above want. I fear there is hardly a population in any part of Europe whose external condition is less favourable; and yet the people generally are healthy, and the children are handsome and well formed.

In the afternoon to the village of Glencolumbkill, a wild drive of six or seven miles, rendered still more so by the rain, snow, and heavy squalls of wind. The views on the coast, with the huge waves of the Atlantic dashing up the sides of the rocky cliffs many hundred feet in height, were magnificent. A turn in the road brought us to the house of Dr. Thompson, the Protestant rector of Glencolumbkill, who is working most zealously for the people. On the road and around his house we saw a number of men very busily at work in spite of the rain. They received either 9d. a-day wages, or 6d. where the families received an allowance of meal. Dr. Thompson represented to us the great willingness of these men to work. "They will crowd for it at 6d. a-day." When they came up for their small pay we saw them receive it with the greatest thankfulness.

Dr. T. calculates that but for the relief given eighty per cent. of those around him would be wanting food. There is no wool left, so that the people cannot spin or prepare yarn for their coarse woollen fabrics. Hence, in part, that fearful want of clothing for the children and of bedding or blankets. The poor-rate here is 2s. 6d. in the £, and the county cess (collected from the smallest holdings) 3s. 9d. to 4s. in the £. Dr. Thompson doubts the advantage of the present small-farm system. In looking over the County cess collector's book, I noticed that whilst in one parish about one-sixth of the valuations were £4 or over, in others a much smaller number were as high. Hence the actual number of tenants paying the poor-rate is very small—probably only the chief landlord, the Protestant and Catholic clergymen, and a few of the larger farmers. Here is a list of annual valuations for the poor-rate taken from a page in the collector's book :—

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
2	1	0	0	15	0	1	5	0
1	0	0	1	10	0	1	5	0
0	15	0	1	10	0	0	5	0
1	5	0	1	10	0	3	10	0
2	0	0	1	0	0	1	15	0
0	15	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
1	5	0	0	15	0	0	5	0

On returning to Carrick Bridge we met in the hotel an inspector of the constabulary, who offered to give any information in his power. He thinks the relief is very well administered, and spoke of the great length of time he feared it would have to be continued, and the great strain it was upon the very few living in the district, and who are able to attend to it. He doubted whether it would be possible for these to continue their work for the six months it would probably be needed. Father Kelly, the Roman Catholic priest at Carrick, is working very hard, and gave us many instances of actual distress. He mentioned two crazy women, mother and daughter, who lived in the most fearful state of destitution. They thought everything was bewitched, and had pulled off and burned the roof the cabin, and gradually pulled down the walls to look for the witch. They were now left with only a

heap of stones behind them, and with no covering over their heads. They had no fire except that kept up from fuel supplied by the neighbours. They had no bed, and were not able to lie down in the small space left for them amongst the stones. In this condition they had lived more than a year. Some funds were supplied by a son in the police. Where are the Poor Law administrators? one asks in vain. Father Kelly said he believed many people would have died had it not been for the Relief Funds. Mr. Musgrave, a Belfast merchant, who purchased and owns most of this property, and built the good hotel we are staying at, is giving some work, making roads, &c.

27*th.*—Left early for Kilcar. Called on the Rev. Patrick Logue, whom we found almost overwhelmed with the amount of work and extent of distress. Kilcar we think is, as a whole, the most destitute parish we have seen. The faces of the people are more like the "Famine" faces than those in any other place; 500 families, out of 650 in the parish, are receiving relief, and others are begging to be put on, and will need to be, he fears. "Many are looking for it. They have no seed—some ate all their potatoes as they dug them up. Average holdings are about one acre of arable, with some 'cows' grasses.' Many families lying on the bare stone floor, with hardly any bedding—he had bought some blankets himself—a grant of blankets would be very useful indeed; clothing for the children to enable them to go to school much needed. The fishermen had no boats and no tackle; little work was given (except the making of one road) and there was no harbour to protect the boats or fishermen. Much work might be done if means were forthcoming; at the best of times they cannot *live* on their present small holdings, but there is plenty of waste land which wants cultivating and which they ought to have, as the land is for the people." He thinks this much better than going to America, though quite admitting the present holdings to be insufficient. Father Logue has no one in his parish except the Dispensary doctor to help him or consult with; the burden is terrible; scarlet fever is prevalent, two died in one house, and many are ill; some other fever cases. In the whole

parish only two cases in which out-door relief was given by the guardians. As an instance of poverty he mentioned seeing a poor woman bringing up salt water from the beach to boil her meal in so as to give it a salt flavour. We offered 100 blankets, which he said would be most valuable.

From Kilcar we returned to Killybegs, and took the opportunity of calling at St. Catharine's, upon the Protestant rector, who is a member of the Relief Committee. He thinks there are too many cases on the list. He is not able to attend often, and our previous visit made us think the list a fair one. We arranged with his daughter that she should form a little Committee of ladies in connection with the Dublin Ladies' Committee for knitting, and with Mr. Rogers to attend to the distribution of 100 blankets, to be sent from Dublin for the most infirm and destitute.

From Killybegs we drove to Ardara, over a better class of country. By the way we stopped at a National School; only five grown-up boys—a pupil-teacher's class—were there. We heard them read part of "Goldsmith's Deserted Village." One boy especially was very intelligent; quite a politician. He had no doubt the farms would be better cultivated if the farmers owned the lands.

At Ardara we met Mr. Brennan, secretary to the Relief Fund Committee, and with him the priest's curate. They informed us that 450 families out of 1,100 were on the list; £45 to £50 needed weekly; local collection, £70 to £80; no resident proprietor; Mr. Murray Stewart, living in Scotland, the sole proprietor; nothing done by him to employ or help the people; four-fifths of the tenants under £4 annual rating; are likely to have about £600 expended on roads under presentment in two baronies; parish very wide, extending over twelve miles; two Protestant and two Roman Catholic clergymen working on committee; clothing for children much needed, also blankets. Called at the Protestant clergyman's, Mr. Crawford, but he was from home. We saw his wife, who stated that clothing was much needed, and that she would be very glad of help in the way of wool and knitting. We promised 100 blankets.

Then on to Glenties, a poor town with a poor inn. In 1846 Glenties was in a terrible plight—people dying by hundreds, and the poorhouse a pesthouse. Four hundred and fifty families, out of about 1,200, are now receiving help.

28*th.*—Met the Clerk of the Union at the workhouse. There are 162 inmates, of whom only two men and five women are able-bodied. Last year there were 145 inmates. The total number receiving *out*-door relief in the union is 124 persons, being an increase of 63 over last year. The population of the union of Glenties is (or was in 1871) 38,000, and the total valuation is £20,280. The number of holdings above one acre is 6,333, giving little more than £3 annual value per holding for the whole union; whilst the acreage value per holding under cultivation last year (1879) was—of oats and barley an acre and a-quarter, and of potatoes not an acre and a-half! This union extends from Killybegs to Dunglow, a wide area of not less than fifty miles by twenty, and is undoubtedly the poorest and most distressed union in Donegal. It includes Killybegs, Kilcar, Carrick, Glencolumbkill, Ardara, Glenties, and Dunglow. The Clerk of the Union estimated that there could not be less than half the population, probably more, now receiving help in the union from the Relief Funds. This would give about 20,000 persons—say, 4,000 families—who may require help until the potato crop is ripe in August or September—that is, unless labour be given by the employment of the people in improving the land, and making roads, harbours, &c. This union has set a good example to others in Donegal by applying to the extent of about £6,000 for works of this kind. Under the recent Act the guardians have also purchased for distribution 300 tons of Scotch Champion potatoes, at a cost of £3,125. No one is to have more than 4 cwt., costing £2, about enough for one rood of ground. The above quantity is, at this rate, sufficient for 1,500 tenants. As the Clerk said, "If the people have no seed-potatoes and oats supplied, the prospect is simply awful: famine worse than in 1847 will then come." In 1847, 36,000 persons

were employed on the Relief Works, and nearly 2,000 were in the workhouse and in other auxiliary buildings. This workhouse was then in a horrible state, the people lying on the bare floor, with only one rug to six or seven persons, and the death-rate most fearful; many were even leaving the house, preferring to die outside rather than within its plague-stricken walls. And here again let me say, and it appears probable, and the opinion is confirmed by many with whom we have conversed, that had it not been for the timely relief given by the Duchess of Marlborough's and other Funds, the people in these impoverished districts must ere this have been dying on all sides. All honour, then, to those who, foreseeing the impending crisis, gave the warning cry in time. That which, next to the seed question, impresses us most deeply is the fact that, unless some vigorous out-door relief system be adopted, the supplying of food by the Relief Committee must be continued for a long time. Is it possible for private funds, or for volunteer associations, committees, individuals, whether in Dublin or in the distressed districts, who are now labouring night and day for the succour of the people, to continue for five or six months longer their self-denying labours ?

At Glenties we were informed by a clerk in the Bank that the amounts on deposit were not less than usual, and that they did not appear to be doing much less business ! He thought it quite possible that one or two, having small deposits, might be receiving relief. They regard such deposits as almost sacred, and will even borrow money for a short time rather than touch them. Of course such persons are abusing the charity, and on detection their relief would be stopped ; but the difficulty of making a perfect selection is indeed great, when all alike are so very poor, and so intensely close about their money matters— "fearing to appear to be doing well lest their rents should be raised." In this union of Glenties, the yearly valuation of which is only £20,280, there are more than 8,000 "ratings," or holdings, including those under one acre. Probably not 1,000 of these are at £4 each, or above the amount which constitutes a rate-

payer. The poor-rate on all ratings below £4 is collected from the landlord.*

A thriving well-to-do man in the town spoke very strongly of the injustice of raising the rents upon those who had reclaimed land. He gave his own case as an instance. Some years ago he had taken a plot of bog; had drained, fenced, cultivated it, turning the wilderness into a tidy little farm. For this land he had been paying £2 a-year; but some little time after he had brought it into cultivation his rent was raised, and now, although the landlord had not expended a shilling on it, he was paying—as he said, almost with tears—nearly four times the original rent. We hear the present system complained of on all sides, both by the poor little tenant and the well-to-do. He thought "fixity of tenure" would make a very great difference. The little farmer "needed example, teaching, encouragement, and to know that the rents would not be raised for improvements."

Around Glenties there is a large amount of stocking and glove knitting, and there is an extensive warehouse in the town, where the people obtain the yarn they knit, generally receiving at the rate of 1s. per dozen pairs of socks. In some cases it may be more, in others less; as a woman said that at Dunglow, where the same firm have a depôt, she received 2s. 9d. for two dozen pairs. The woollen gloves, with coloured plaid backs, so much worn at present in England, are made here by thousands: 3s. per dozen pairs is paid. The reason for the low price is that the hand-made have to compete with the machine-made; yet low as is the pittance the women gladly earn it. As we drove in the dull wet evening to Gweedore, we saw women, five, six, or seven miles from that place, returning

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* As showing the poverty of the farmers, we were informed that, at the last fair at Glenties—

Pigs of the value of £360,
Beasts „ £80,
Sheep „ £30 to £40,

changed hands. In ordinary years, as much as £3,000 to £4,000 worth would have been brought to market. This confirms the figures obtained from Gweedore.

with their small earnings, and with fresh supplies of yarn for another week's or fortnight's work.

At Dunglow, twenty miles from Glenties, where we stopped for the horses to bait, we saw crowds of women, none of whom looked to be in want, waiting at the depôt for the supply of yarn.

We were heartily glad when, at the close of a drive of nearly forty miles over this wild tract of land, the lights of the Gweedore Hotel came in sight. The little farms lying among the granite rocks look as if they had been pelted with enormous stones, the huge masses or boulders of granite being scattered over them in all directions. The labour exerted by the people in reclaiming their little patches must have been enormous. Could they have done more if they had been their own? Some were narrow strips of land, a few yards in width, extending nearly a quarter of a mile, and carefully fenced with stones taken from the land. At Gweedore we had the pleasure of finding Howard Hodgkin, who had arrived a few hours before from England.

I must not omit to mention that in a very wild, exposed position on the road, we met Major Gaskell, one of the inspectors of the Duchess of Marlborough's Fund, who was returning from a visit to the Island of Arran. He took shelter in our carriage from the biting wind, and we had nearly an hour's talk. His inquiries had extended over most of the ground we had seen, and we were pleased to find that his conclusions coincided with ours, save that we thought Killybegs, which we had carefully examined, needed more help than it had received. We were glad to hear him say that he would make an additional grant. He is much impressed at the thought of the probable long continuance of the need for supplies, and the great want of bed clothing or blankets among the people.

29*th* was spent at Gweedore; busy with letters to Committee. H. T. M. met at Bunbeg the Rev. R. Carson, Secretary of the Relief Committee, and Mr. McKeown, who is also a member of the Committee.

In the evening we had an interview with the indefatigable parish priest of the district of Gweedore, who resides at Derry-

beg, about three miles distant. Like the other members of the Committee seen in the morning, he spoke in very strong terms of the cruel nature of the distress pervading his district. Out of about 1,000 families, 600 are now receiving food, and, before summer, 200 more will need help. The holdings are extremely small: hardly any one is rated at £4. Rents very low. On one estate a list of seventy-six tenants was shown me, sixteen of whom paid 15s. a-year, forty-nine between 10s. and 15s., and ten from 5s. to 9s. Many of these are "new cuts," *i.e.*, tenants recently settled, who hold quantities of bog-land varying from one or two, to ten or fifteen acres partially reclaimed. I was sorry to hear that the process of subdivision was going forward on Captain Hill's and other estates. Some holdings are valued as low as 2s. 6d., making the amount collected for the county-rate 1½d., and many pay from 3d. to 6d.

In addition to the failure of the potato crop, the men, who go *en masse* to Scotland for the harvest, had returned last year without any earnings, and some had even to borrow money both for going and returning. On the average, two men or boys from each family go in this way. In ordinary years, a sum of about £8,000, averaging £8 for each family, is the result of this movement. This pays both the rent and the debt at the store for the previous year's supplies, which it is, unfortunately, the custom to owe. In ordinary years the younger boys and girls also go to other parts of Ulster, "The Laggan," (as it is called), on hire for the summer months, and the wages they bring back amount to nearly £8,000. Last year both resources failed. Thus this parish alone, containing about 6,000 persons, was poorer by £16,000 than in ordinary years. The seed question is considered of the utmost importance, and if seed be not supplied the consequences will be terrible.

We met here the inspector of the constabulary, who spoke in the highest terms of the conduct of the people in his district. There is little or no crime, very little drunkenness, and great chastity among the women. Probably the Ulster tenant-right has an influence in preventing agrarian outrages. He spoke of the multiform duties performed by the police, and of the education which the men needed to enable them to know

and to carry out the law in relation to those duties. The population in this parish appears to be increasing, and, owing to the demand, the holdings have in some cases unfortunately been subdivided. It may have been an exceptional case, but, as an instance of the extraordinary sum paid for the good-will or tenant-right, we had pointed out to us a plot of ground the rent of which was 7s. 6d. a-year, for the tenant-right of which £90 had been paid. Another plot, rented at 10s., had been sold for £80. The average price for tenant-right of the small holdings is from £30 to £40.

VISIT TO MEENACLADDY.

March 1st.—That "March comes in like a lion" sometimes is abundantly proved by the violent storm—tempest, in fact—of wind, rain, hail, and snow, which is sweeping over this wild country. Errigal and other portions of the mountain range are covered with snow. As we had arranged last evening to meet the Roman Catholic clergyman, and visit with him some districts which were stated to be in great want, we set off after breakfast for Derrybeg, calling at Bunbeg, the commercial centre of the district. The great store and mill here were erected by the late Lord George Hill, whose noble exertions for the people on his estate stand out in bright contrast with the apathy of surrounding proprietors. At the store we found a large trade doing in eggs—many people bringing in two, three, or half-a-dozen, which were either sold or exchanged for the articles needed, at the rate of 7½d. per dozen; a higher rate than was given near Killybegs, where it was only 5d. or 6d. The weekly export of eggs from this store alone is about 740 dozen—realising £12 per week. This sum has to be divided among many hundreds of small cottiers or farmers, who never eat eggs themselves. It is only the very poorest who have no hens. About 1,000 pairs per month of socks and stockings of very fine quality are also made here, chiefly we were informed for the London market, the yarn being given out as at Glenties. The work is paid for at a higher rate than there, as the quality is so much better.

About £10 per week thus earned is, as in the other case, distributed among hundreds of persons. Mr. McKeown, who rents the mill and store, is an active member of the Relief Committee. He stated that he had over £4,000 owing to him, for meal or other articles, by the little cottiers and farmers around, the whole of which he had no doubt would be repaid if good times came again. His relatives—who are working hard for the poor at Burtonport, a few miles distant—had £10,000 owing them for meal alone, which they had allowed the people to have on credit. The credit system is indeed universal here. At all times most of the people are in debt to the store-keeper, who is the little banker of the district, and no doubt charges "full rates" for his small loans.

Leaving Bunbeg, where we had a little shelter, we encountered the full force of the blast as we made our way over the wild roads by Derrybeg (where we picked up Father McFadden) to the townlands of Meenacladdy. This townland stretches over a wide extent of wet bog-land, bounded on the west by a wild rocky coast, against which the waves of the Atlantic were dashing half-way up the cliffs in huge masses of foam; on the other side the bog-land extends towards the mountains of Donegal, whose slopes were covered with the snow recently fallen. Imagine, over this wild waste, little dwellings scattered at wide intervals, some of rough stone and some of mere peat sods, scarcely distinguishable from the surrounding surface; add to this the blinding squalls of sleet or snow which swept over it, and some idea may be gained of the district we explored. A few of the dwellings were, of course, on the road-side, but the access to many was over the wet bog where there is no road. I doubt not we must have presented an amusing picture, as, with the priest at our head as guide, his long coat flying in the wind, we jumped from sod to sod to avoid deep holes of mud, or over ditches filled with water, not without failures in our unwonted attempts. Of the destitution and misery found in these bog-dwellings, I feel, after a lapse of twenty-four hours, that I can hardly bring myself to write. It is not merely the unusual distress of to-day, arising from the causes which I have enumerated, but the every-day life, the normal condition of hundreds, nay thousands, of families on the west

coast of Donegal, and of many other parts of the west of Ireland, which oppresses me. But on this normal condition—this every-day contest with existence and hardships—I must not dwell here. The question involves considerations and issues too vast for any hasty notes. But let me put down, if I can, the condition of a few of the dwellings we entered.

(1.) A turf dwelling, near the road, which my friends, who were not acquainted with the West, could not believe was a human habitation. The end of the house towards the road was not more than four or five feet high, but, as the ground sank rapidly on the other side, you were able to find an entrance through a low doorway. Within, at first, all appeared dark, the peat smoke which filled the room blinding us. When a little accustomed to the smoke, we saw, by the light which strayed in through the opening in the roof where the smoke ought to have gone out, but did not, a woman and several children crouched around a small fire. There was neither chair nor table in the place; probably one small stool was all they possessed in this way. The bedstead was covered with a little ragged coverlid, beneath which some straw was spread on the wooden frame; the children, or others who could not find room upon it, lay down on the bare rock or earth of the floor, in the thin clothes they wear all day, with a little straw or hay beneath them. The family had no resources left; had it not been for the "meal" they must have starved. The man, who seemed an industrious fellow, was working on the bog, in spite of the weather, seeking to cultivate a little ground for the coming season. He had "no baste left. neither cow nor sheep, only three or four fowls." He had been to Scotland for the harvest last autumn, but had come back without earnings, and now, in debt for meal and rent, he was beaten.

(2.) A widow and family of five children; a stone-built dwelling, but without any article of furniture except the bedstead and little cradle. There was more light in this house than in the other, and this perhaps made the bareness and wretchedness even more evident. There were even no fowls left to provide the few pence for the salt or other trifling article to eat with the weekly allowance of meal.

The woman, whose husband had been dead a few months, looked ill and weak, and was suffering from ophthalmia. In her arms was her last infant, a thin and sickly one, with hunger in its face, crying, no doubt, for the nourishment which the allowance of meal could not give. The only clothing on this and three other very young children consisted of small calico shirts, given them by the priest, which barely covered the upper part of their bodies, and showed how thin and poorly nourished they were. Why is not such a family cared for by the Poor Law? may again well be asked. But, as no outdoor relief is yet given, miserable and suffering as she was, the poor woman could not bear to give up her house and "bit of land," hoping to hold it on for "better days," when her children might take it.* Since the husband's death the neighbours had helped her to crop it; and what a miserable "bit" of land it was—covered with weeds and almost drowned with water, a rood or two reclaimed from the bog by past years of labour.

(3.) A small turf cabin, ten by twelve. One very decent-looking young woman alone in it; barely room to stand upright; all around wild, uncultivated bog, on a patch of which her brother was turning over a few sods, hoping against hope, as it seemed, to prepare a plot for the coming season. They had no resources, no means; no help but the meal.

(4). A small stone dwelling, with a large family, grandfather and grandmother, married son and daughter, with many children. In addition to the family were some fowls and a cow. The old man, of "fivescore," very thin, almost bent double, was sitting over the fire, and beside him, on a miserable bed, was the old dame, almost needing, as the priest thought, his final ministrations. Among the family was a fine strong-looking lad of eighteen, who only wished he had means enough to get out to America. They had a few potatoes left, the size of

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* This poor woman, and many other tenants whose rents are unpaid, have, subsequently to our visit, been served with processes (County Court summonses) for non-payment of rent due for one or two years, but it is satisfactory to add that no evictions have taken place. "Benjamin S. J. B. Joule, of Manchester, Gentleman," is the plaintiff.

walnuts, but this was all there was; no work, and but for the meal they must starve. They would gladly work if they had it, but there is none, except on their own lands, which were as forward as usual.

(5.) Another large family. Father, mother, and children, and some neighbours, all, excepting a woman who was knitting, crouching in idleness around the fire. In the single bed was an old woman, the mother of a former wife, suffering from distressing asthma, whom the family kindly cared for. They slept on a little hay or straw on the stone floor. Here again the same sad, sad story. Nothing left, no work; must starve but for the "meal." One more instance out of many and I must stop. "Do you see yon cabin on the bog?" said the priest. For some time, though gradually becoming accustomed to these bog dwellings, we could not make it out, but at length we saw the smoke issuing from what appeared to be a small heap of turf sods. Again scrambling across the bog, we found the worst of even these miserable dwellings; worse, if worse could be, than the bog-holes of Erris, with which I was familiar in 1847. Imagine an old man and an old woman living in a hole scooped out of the bog nearly three feet below the surface, and not more than six feet square. There was no door and no chimney, and the rain was finding its way into the hut through the only opening, about three feet high, which gave egress both to the smoke and to the dwellers in the hut.

As we returned to a little cluster of houses on the road nearly the whole grown-up male population and many children surrounded us. They were all in want; all told the same story; no work; no earnings last year; and now what is to become of them? If work is not provided, food must be given to keep them alive, and seed potatoes, too, to allow of their cropping their miserable lands.

There was a more depressed tone among these people than I had before seen. Even in the houses of the few who were rather better off we found the same hopeless tone creeping over them. This was shown in a house in which we took shelter on our return to a point where our conveyance was in waiting. What a house it was!—what an interior for a Teniers!

A single room, probably twenty-four by fourteen feet, containing, in addition to the large family of sons and daughters, four cows and a pony, a dog and poultry. But this man was in debt, and had no means of living unless by selling his cattle, which are now much reduced in price. Probably £3 would be all he could obtain for the cow, and we were told that from 7s. to 10s. each was all that could be obtained for the little sheep they have here.

Information subsequently obtained shows that there are thirty-seven small tenants in this townland of Meenacladdy whose total rental is £88 a-year.

Twenty-seven of these have 144 acres (thirty-six cows' grasses), for which they pay £55 a-year, in sums varying from 15s. to £3—the greater number paying about £2 a-year, and only one as much as £4.

The quantity of land held by each varies from half a cow's grass" to two cows' grasses, and is usually one and a half. The cow's grass is about four statute acres. It will thus be seen that these little holdings vary from two to eight acres, English. The quantity under cultivation rarely exceeding half these quantities, sometimes even less; the remainder being either grass or uncultivated. The annual valuation for the Poor Law for this 144 acres is £44 5s.

The ten remaining tenants have what are called "New Cuts," *i.e.*, land more recently taken from the bog, amounting to eighty-eight acres, for which they pay 10s. to 36s. each, or £13 in the total. These do not appear to be valued for the poor-rate. The greater portion of this,—held in four, six, or twelve acre lots,—is unreclaimed bog, accounting for the very low rental, about 3s. per acre. Some tenants have not planted more than four cwts. of potatoes and six stones of oats this year. In addition, the whole of the thirty-seven tenants have grazing rights over 465 acres, upon which large numbers, both of cattle and sheep, have been fed in ordinary times.

By returns furnished to me it appears that in "the good times" the quantity of stock thus fed in the townland was extraordinarily large, amounting to 248 head of cattle, including a few ponies, and 920 sheep!—the cattle varying from two to ten, and, in rare cases, fifteen to eighteen per tenant, and the sheep from ten to fifty, and, in one or two cases eighty to one hundred per tenant.

Nothing can show more strongly the loss sustained and the present extreme poverty of the district than a comparison of the foregoing

figures with the following, viz., that there are now only sixty-nine head of cattle and 127 sheep remaining, as against 248 and 920 respectively! I give the particulars in the Appendix.

The "New Cuts" being taken from the bog or mountain-land over which the old tenants have been accustomed to graze their flocks, a strong objection is felt to the practice, which diminishes their rights whilst adding a little to the rental of the estates. In this instance it will be seen that one-fifth (eighty-eight acres) of the mountain-land has thus been gradually taken from the village rights. The extraordinary diminution in the amount of stock held cannot fairly be attributed to this cause; but whilst having some effect, must have arisen from losses in the wet season, and the gradual reduction in the stocks caused by sales to pay debts, purchase food, &c., in the three past years. Both the large amount of stock stated to have been held in past good years and the very great diminution must, I think, be exceptional. My informant, who obtained these returns for me, says:—

"It is a very startling document, in my mind. The people have been wonderfully pulled down in circumstances in the lapse of a few years. Some years ago the inhabitants of Gweedore generally, as well as those of Meenacladdy, enjoyed very extensive rights of grazing on the adjoining mountains and moorlands. This right or privilege begat a remarkable thrift in the way of providing stock. The young folks who had been at hire, and the men who had gone to England or elsewhere, put their earnings to buy sheep or cattle. The yearly increase in the stock, the profits from wool and its manufacture, and the profits from buying young cattle, grazing them for a season or two, and then disposing of them at a considerable advantage, constituted the happiness and prosperity of those simple peasant people. The land was never remarkably fruitful, and *the arable* possessions of the people *were never sufficient to give them a subsistence.* These rights of grazing have been gradually lessened or taken from them by the landlords. "New Cuts" have been made, and tenants for them obtained, against the counsel of all who had the interest of the people at heart, and the people have been gradually compressed into very small limits, and thus they have fallen from a state of comparative comfort to a state of abject poverty. This is true of every part of the whole territory of Gweedore, as well as of Meenacladdy, and I take it to explain the otherwise, to me, inexplicable document I enclose."

In some portions of this barony presentments for small relief works have been passed, but none in this particular district. We encouraged the priest to start some useful labour on roads, &c., at once, to employ some of the people, and left him £50 for this purpose, feeling satisfied that this was the best way of helping them, and of breaking through the listless depression, amounting almost to despair, which seemed settling over them. It seems scarcely needful to add that this property belongs to a non-resident proprietor. We were told that he had given no assistance to his wretched tenantry.

We visited the National School in the village (Meenacladdy) —twenty children in attendance—the inclement day keeping some away. As we entered a class of girls was reading with remarkable correctness. Some of the children were very poorly clad, and we were told that the want of clothing prevented the attendance of many. There are four schools in the Gweedore district, for which a grant of bread, as given at Carrick Bridge, would be a great boon. Where all are so poor there cannot be any danger of those receiving help who do not need it.*

2nd.—Machery, near Dunglow, was visited by H. T. M. and H. H. It is a small hamlet on the sea-coast, where the Rectory is situate, four miles away from the church, which is at Dunglow. It contains forty-five families, of whom forty are on the relief list, receiving a regular distribution of meal at the usual rate of half-a-stone per head per week.

The cabins are fully up to the average, and tolerably tidy; bedding and clothing are better than in the most distressed places we had visited (*e.g.* Teelin and Meenacladdy). The people had a more hearty and vigorous appearance, as if they had not been reduced so low as in some other places before the relief came. They were, however, all very poor, and are now completely dependent on the "meal." They own less live stock than in any place we had seen. Their holdings are exceedingly small, many have no land, their chief employment being the making of kelp. Large quantities of sea-weed were stacked or spread

* On representations being made to the Duchess of Marlborough this and further aid was most kindly given.

along the walls, and the beach presented a lively appearance, with numbers of the people watching or gathering the seaweed, which after the heavy storms of the last few days was being fetched by the incoming tide. The seaweed is chiefly collected during the winter, but cannot be turned into money until the summer, when it is dry and ready for burning. The price is now extremely low, so that it brings in but little.

A little in-shore fishing is carried on. Coracles are the boats employed, and during the stormy winter many of these frail craft had been damaged and rendered useless. One poor man had just been up to the Rectory to beg for some *brown paper* to mend his boat with. A more enterprising man, the Rector told us, had built for himself a good wooden boat, and had done extremely well ever since, and was much better off than his neighbours. The harbour, or bay, is safe and sheltered, and the Rector (Rev. S. E. Burns) thought that if funds could be got for a few good boats, which could be built by the men* themselves, it would be of great and permanent benefit to them.

The women are excellent knitters. Mrs. Burns had given them a better class of stockings to do for her than the Glenties firm give out, and paid them 6d. a pair for making. A new rectory has been built, and some work is likely to be given in wall-building, &c., round the rectory garden and ground.

Near this place (Maghery) some Glebe lands had been nominally sold to the tenants at nineteen years' purchase. The history of this transaction, which has been much discussed, appears to be that a man in the neighbourhood, who had some money, came forward and offered to lend, at 4 per cent., to the tenants who had the right of pre-emption, the money needed to buy the land, saying that he could get it from the Commissioners. He afterwards told them he could not so get it and must charge them 10 per cent. They then signed agreements with the Commissioners to buy, which were accepted. The money-lender then brought round a deed for them to sign, making over to him all their rights of pre-emption, which he handed to the Commissioners, and they conveyed the whole to him. The Rector had written on behalf

* Assistance was subsequently given, and three boats built by the men.

of the tenants—stating that they were entirely ignorant of the contents of the deed, but no redress could now be obtained. The unfortunate men, therefore, are in no sense proprietors, but merely the tenants of the money-lender, with agreements to pay him 10 per cent. on the purchase-money, or more than double their old rents, which they are now quite unable to pay and have not paid.

The difficulty arises from the provision of the Act, which obliges purchasers of holdings under £50 to pay down the whole purchase-money, and of lots between £50 and £100, half the value, whilst larger purchasers need only pay down one-third of the purchase-money. Whether wisely or not, this almost debars the very small holder from purchasing his holding, or throws him into the hands of a money lender.

GWEEDORE TO DUNFANAGHY.

3rd.—We drove through a wild country, chiefly moorland, running up to Errigal and Muckish, the highest points of the Donegal Highlands. Reached Glen Gortahork, where another priest, of the name of McFadden, resides. It is a lovely situation, overlooking an arm of the sea. He was from home, but his sister, Miss McFadden, was quite willing to employ the women with knitting. Visited the National School; 190 present—boys and girls—very much crowded; want biscuits. At Cross Roads, Falcarragh, we met almost the only resident proprietor on the coast since leaving the town of Donegal, Mr. Wybrandt Olpherts, of Ballyconnell, whom I remembered calling upon with William Forster in 1847. He kindly invited us to lunch at his pleasant house. Met the priest afterwards, and the other members of the Relief Committee. Dispersed into three parties, and in this way visited over thirty families in a very poor district, "Nixon's Land." This was bought some years ago by a clergyman, who is non-resident. The rents were much raised, and the right of pasturage on the mountain lands much curtailed. Tenants, much exasperated, shot at him. "He had some teeth extracted," as the people say; no sympathy with the landlord.

Rents very high, and cabins, many of them most wretched. Great want of clothing and bedding. Numbers of grown-up girls wanting employment. Cabins too filthy to describe. Children sleeping on the floor; could not go to school for rags. Nothing to eat but the "meal." Some not on the list appealed to be put on it. Even the most wretched of these cabins, with land, would, however, fetch £20 for the tenant-right. In this district of Cloghaneely, 380 families were being relieved; 200 more ought to have relief if there were funds in hand. £35 to £40 a-week needed.

Lands divided to an extraordinary extent. On some strips not wide enough for the cabins to be built straight, they had to be placed edgeways. These strips of land were nearly a quarter of a mile long. Poor-rate 2s. 3d. in the £. My guide was Mr. Wilkinson, Clerk to Petty Sessions, and agent for the "Iron ore diggings"—an oxide of iron found in the soil here, and used for purifying gas in London and Liverpool; 8,000 tons, costing here about £3,000, are dug yearly, and 200 persons are employed. 2s. to 3s. or more per ton are paid to the landlord for mineral rights, and about 7s. to the tenants, which includes carting to the harbour.

Here, as elsewhere, the people are greatly in debt. "The land alone will not keep the people." "They are too thick on the ground," said the priest, one of the few who advocated emigration. He thinks emigration absolutely needed. As in other places, the people go to Scotland, and the girls and boys to the "Laggan," for work during the summer, often bringing home £10 each. Clothing, and a little help to send the men off as in ordinary years, much wanted. Mr. Olpherts insisted strongly upon the need for seed-potatoes. He had pressed hard for money on this account from the Dublin Funds. He thought unfavourably of the peasant-proprietor scheme, whilst the priest was very strongly in favour of it. He was sure the people would improve; mentioned some little farms, bought from the Church Commissioners, which were doing exceedingly well; "eleven stacks of oats grown where only four were before." A man cannot bring up his family on less than ten or fifteen acres, as there is no employment to be had. Let me again

notice the terrible want of clothing in this neighbourhood; families of six or more (some of nine) in rags, and without bedding. I must not omit to mention one house where the floor was sanded and looked tidy and swept. On my remarking it, the man replied, "Yes, we like to be clane." They were fairly well to do; a large family with many idle girls, and they were gradually eating up supplies. Few potatoes left, and only a few pigs seen in the whole district.

The approach to Dunfanaghy is quite pleasing, from the improved character of the farming and buildings. Mr. Stewart, of Ards, is the proprietor. Mr. Murphy, who is a great authority on land questions, is his agent. Landlord non-resident, and, excepting the agent's salary, the rents (about £8,000 a-year) for the most part go away from the district. The old inn (Stewart's Arms) has not improved; dirty bedrooms, and on asking for fires the girl said, "Gentlemen say it's better without, as they do smoke so." How well I remember the damp peat, and their "smoking so" in 1847!

Met Dr. Murphy, who has charge of the dispensary, from whom I learned that the area of the Union is ten by fifteen miles; population 6,000. 1,727 persons (343 families) are on the Relief sheets. More will have to be added, chiefly small farmers, whose farms are generally larger than those we have seen, say £6 rentals; real distress among these, and, although the crop of potatoes was good, many of them have eaten it, consuming even what was needed for seed, and now they are selling their cattle to enable them to obtain food and pay rent. Mr. Ramsay, a tradesman, confirmed this; "people needing help, and much in debt." "The whole stock and household goods together belonging to the *small* farmers in this parish would not be equal to their debts." This union has adopted the "Seed Potato Act," but it is thought they will buy a cheaper class of potatoes than the Champions. The landlords are poor, and not able to help their tenants. Local subscriptions to the extent of £28 had been raised in Dunfanaghy. There is a general absence of actual sickness, but a low condition and breaking out of skin disease, betokening low diet, &c. The people immediately around the town of Dunfanaghy are fairly well to do; and it is

the country districts lying towards Muckish and Creeslough which are so much in want. Dr. M. offered to take us there next morning, as he had to visit that portion of his district, and see patients at the Creeslough Dispensary. The Irish dispensary system is very valuable, and absolutely necessary, as the medical men could not visit the scattered cottages. Dr. M. thinks some would have died of starvation if no relief had been given. About one-fourth would require help in purchasing seed-potatoes. Half a barrel of seed would plant two or three roods, say ten cwt. for half an acre.

4th.—We regretted not having seen the Glebe lands bought by small proprietors which were mentioned to us yesterday, and thought it desirable for H. H. to go back to Falcarragh and see them,* also to inspect a village below Muckish on Lord Leitrim's property. So he retraced his steps thither, while we joined the Doctor on his rounds. In the first portion of our drive, the land was well cultivated, and in better-sized farms. Passed Mr. Stewart's (of Ards) demesne and house; a fine situation, superior farm buildings, everything in good order under Mr. Murphy; the owner does not reside there; the shooting and two or three rooms in the house let in summer at the rate of £500 a-year; the rabbits yield another £500. There is a very large quantity of bog wood about here, chiefly pine, which is very useful for fires. Mr. Murphy has planted a large number of trees on the estate, which it was a pleasure to see. Planting is very rare here. Why is this so? Leaving the more cultivated district, we found much destitution. The people, as we were told, were very poor, and were eating up their resources. Some are cottiers, *i.e.* people who have a house and garden or small plot, say half to one acre, and no more,—but they are chiefly small farmers. Want of clothing here, as elsewhere, very great. One very sad case may be quoted, a small farmer with about fifteen acres, a Protestant, who had been in good circumstances. A year or two ago the family were well dressed; children at school; and the older ones in the church choir. Now, the man is miserably dressed, and his

* *See* article on Peasant Proprietors in August No. of *The Nineteenth Century.*

family, six or eight children, in rags. They crowded around a miserable fire, cooking the stirabout and Indian meal cakes; all more or less affected with skin disease, very bad, and infectious, the result of low diet; all looked thin, pale, and wretched, and evidently wanted nourishment. "It's no use prescribing," said the doctor; "it's nourishing food they want. What's to be done?" "Well," said the man, "I've sold the bullock to pay the rent, and the bit of corn for meal, and even the goose the wife sold for some little thing; and I've only the wee bit cow and little calf left and the pony to till the land. What can I do? I suppose," he added, in a desponding tone, "I must sell them also, and go into the workhouse." A little help enabled the doctor to prescribe some mutton broth and a change of food to oaten bread for a few weeks to come. It is most painful to see cases of this kind, and for one seen there are probably hundreds unseen. Dr. Murphy is a great favourite, and in one cabin to all his questions the old woman replied—"Yes, dear; yes, Doctor, dear." Some women came out of their doors as we drove up the wild country road, evidently wanting to see him, and he stopped most kindly and prescribed for several, so as to save them walking a mile or more to the dispensary at Creeslough; but it was nourishment, not medicine, the people needed. Here we found a number of persons, all simple cases, wanting advice. We called on some very poor, wretched people, in the village, as bad almost as any we had seen. Here our conveyance was waiting, and, after promising some help for the Clothing Fund, we took leave of Dr. M., wishing him the success which, in every way, he well deserves. A few miles further, after a very long pull uphill through a wild pass, the country changed to bog, and looked miserable enough. One cabin which I entered looked most desolate and tumble-down—almost a ruin. In it were three little children standing round the fire. This *seemed* a very bad case, the desolate hut on the miserable waste, with scarcely an article of furniture, and the bedding of the worst. Presently the woman entered, and I found, spite of the misery around, that her husband was a caretaker for Lord Leitrim, earning 18s. a week, but living at Milford, which cost him 10s.; whilst she had the 8s. to live on!

At Kilmacrenan, a miserable village, we called for a few minutes on the parish priest, McBride, an old, feeble man. He told us there were 137 on the relief list out of 320. "As bad or worse than 1847, I think," he said. "Some families with fifteen to twenty acres almost starving, and more will come in; no work to be had, and no money in hand for relief."

Nearing Letterkenny, the aspect of the country changed, and we found ourselves in a well-cultivated district of fair-sized farms, very pleasant to see after the miserable Glenties and Rosses. The town, also, looked fairly clean, and much improved since 1847. Haggarty's hotel is very good; a number of gentlemen connected with the projected Letterkenny Railway were dining there. They were annoyed with Lord Redesdale for throwing out the bill last year on the ground of its being a narrow-gauge line, and thus leaving Letterkenny without railway communication. Probably in a poor country like this a cheap narrow-gauge is more suited for its wants than a wider one would be. The employment which would have been given if the Railway Bill had been passed would be invaluable at this time. We called on Dr. Logue, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Raphoe, the Chairman of the County Donegal Relief Committee, a superior, energetic man, who is devoting himself to the administration of the Fund. This Committee is chiefly in connection with the Mansion House Fund, but has also received large sums from the United States. They distribute the funds over nearly all Donegal, granting about £1,500 a-week. In addition to this, large sums, probably amounting to another £1,000, are granted to certain districts from the Duchess of Marlborough's Committee and other sources, making £2,500 a week for Donegal alone. With Dr. Logue we talked over what we had seen during our journey, in which he seemed much interested, and kindly listened to one or two suggestions we made in reference to the administration of relief.

Dr. Logue considered that £4,000 per week was required in Donegal to keep the people in fair health, for the half-stone of meal allowed scarcely keeps a man above starvation point, and men cannot work on this alone. He said that in Donegal County they had over 70,000 persons on their lists. What an army

to feed! Clothing and bedding were also most sadly wanted. The people had not been able to buy any for two or three years, hence they were in a wretched condition, and he strongly pressed for good old clothing for the men, women, and children. Speaking of the loans made by the Government to owners of land he thought they ought to have been granted to tenants also. "The tenants would have willingly borrowed at 1 per cent. (as the landlords have) for the drainage and improvement of their farms. This, he said, was an important point, and would have given labour to many, and should have been attended to."

5th.—After some deliberation it was arranged that H. T. M. and H. H. should visit Fannet and Rathmullen, while I made other inquiries at Letterkenny. They therefore left after breakfast, and I called on the Secretary of the Central Relief Association, a tradesman, and with him went through the lists of all the parishes* that were receiving assistance—forty-one in all—with

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* Donegal (Co.)

Parishes.	*Families.*	*Persons.*
Mevagh	452 ...	2345
Glenvar } Rathmullen }	266 ...	1460
Fannet	300 ...	1500
Milford, &c.	270 ...	1350
Conwell, Letterkenny	500 ...	2500
Church Hill, &c.	520 ...	2750
Lettermacaward	497 ...	2519
Upper Temple Crone (Dunglow) ...	400 ...	2000
Lower Temple Crone and Arranmore	1100 ...	5866
Gweedore	600 ...	3000
Cloghanely and Tory Island ...	500 ...	2500
Dunfanaghy	318 ...	1555
Ramelton	230 ...	1160
Stranorlar	220 ...	1010
Convoy	300 ...	1500
Donegal	332 ...	1660
Killymard	190 ...	950
Inver, Mount Charles	420 ...	2500
Killaghtee (Dunkaverly)	321 ...	1290
Carried forward	7,736 ...	39,415

a total of 14,392 families, 72,864 persons. He agreed with me in thinking that perhaps one-fifth might be deducted, leaving, say, 12,000 families, or 60,000 persons, who were actually needing help in Donegal alone. The cost of this, reckoning the allowance of the half-stone of meal at 6d., and five persons to a family, gives 2s. 6d. a week for each family. That is, £1,500 needed weekly, or £6,000 per month for probably six months to come, from the Central Fund alone. It is a tremendous question, especially when the numbers are multiplied by ten for the other distressed counties in Ireland.

Afterwards, by appointment, I called on Dr. Logue again, He

Parishes.	*Families.*	*Persons.*
Brought forward	7736	39415
Killybegs	424	2150
Kilcar	517	2500
Glencolumbkill	570	2850
Ardara	430	2150
Glenties	216	1075
Fintown (Glenties)	300	1500
Kiltevogue	180	900
Ballintra, Drumkeen, &c.	219	1095
Pettigo and Belleek	260	1117
Ballyshannon	549	3117
Bundoran	320	1600
Kilmacrenan	240	1230
Fahan	93	460
Culdaff and Glengad	510	2500
Clonmany	340	1765
Moville	160	800
Burl	83	415
Carndonagh	168	900
Malin	200	1000
Buncrana	250	1250
Burnfoot	250	1250
Donaghmore	350	1750
41 *Sub-Committees in the County.*	14,392	72,864
One-fifth *too much*, say	2,392	14,500
	12,000	60,000

received me very cordially, and I said, if he could allow me the time, I wished to ask his opinion upon the all-important question of "remedial measures" for Ireland; adding that what weighed upon me was the thought of the *normal* condition of the people, of which this distress was only an exaggeration. He entered very fully into it, and we had a most interesting conversation, for an hour or more, which may be summed up as follows:—"The great want of the people is employment—they are most willing and grateful for it. There are great natural advantages in the country never developed. There is good water-power, which would turn any number of mills, but no use is made of it. There is any quantity of waste land wanting draining and reclamation, and any number of hands to do it. The Government did not attend to any of these points; the French system of looking after the people was needed, taking large works into their hands for the good of the people, and lending them money for improvements on the security of the lands. The true way was to remove, 'to scatter' the people, from the spots too thickly peopled, and, after making the larger improvements needed, to place them on good-sized farms, not less than fifteen or twenty acres. A man can live on this quantity, not grow rich, but on fifty acres he can become rich. They wanted security of tenure, or, best of all, to place the people in the position of peasant proprietors. He knew France well, and was always surprised when he returned from France to notice the contrast in the two modes of Government—the interest in and care for the people in France. The English Government never steps in for the help of the mass of the people." "It is a 'tax gatherer only.' Englishmen do not feel safe here, but in reality they are perfectly so, for the Irish people, *if properly treated*, are most kindly and grateful. They might be scattered over Ireland, as in many counties there are large tracts of land wanting cultivation. The English Government does not realise the value of a well-to-do contented people *here;* they spend any quantity of money over Zulu or Caffre wars,—a small portion of which, if spent in Ireland, would purchase, and drain, and reclaim thousands of acres, and give homes to a well-to-do people, and all would be repaid, too, by the people, in the course of years. The Government does not see the

importance of this, though it is so much better than the subjugation of millions of savage people in Afghanistan or Zululand. The Government of Lord Beaconsfield neglect the golden opportunity at home and would willingly pay all that was needed to transport the whole of the Irish people to America. The employment which would be given in reclaiming the land and afterwards in cultivating it, would almost solve the question of Irish distress. Even the lending of money to the tenants for improvement of land, as at present held, would at once give employment to thousands; for he had noticed a great difference in the way that many men had set to work to reclaim and drain the land since the Irish Land Act had been passed. The Land Act has borne good fruit in this way—land has been improved by many tenants from the sense of greater security for any improvements they effected. If the public good required that the lands now uncultivated should be taken and allowed to be cultivated for the benefit of the people, it ought to be done; how important to make a thoroughly contented people at home, in place of sending them to America. 'Emigration is the only cure English people think of;' but it is the short-sighted policy of idleness; and what have you when they do emigrate? In place of a contented people of eight or nine millions in Ireland, you have a discontented Irish population in America, who, if a war broke out between the two countries, would fight against England by thousands, for no other pay than their food. The English people say the objection to emigration is raised by the Church, because we do not wish to lose the people. It is said because the priests are paid by the people (the pay is 4s. per family yearly), therefore, they object to their leaving. But that is not the reason. We see that there is ample room at home for them, and we see that it is often an injury to them to go to America. Those who go to America lose their simplicity in the great towns, and the women are injured and ruined; and the priests, who cannot follow them in the large towns, write to us here and say, 'Do not let them come.' Then we see that those who return are much injured, their simple ideas are gone, and we think it better that they should retain their simple virtues here, even in poverty,

rather than go away. Then, again, why should Britain lose all these people? She does not even take the trouble to colonise her own dependencies. It is more important to consult the welfare of the nation than the happiness of the individual."

He was sure "that the people would work their land more fully if they had security, or fixity of tenure, *or, best of all, Mr. Bright's plan*—but it would require time. He thought there might be periodic valuations, if fixity of tenure was given. The landlord had a right to the true increase in the value of the land, but not to the result of the tenant's improvements. He knew several instances of men doing well who had so bought land. An instance about six miles off was mentioned, where he had noticed the men draining and reclaiming land. If Mr. Bright and his friends were in power they would soon cause a different feeling in Ireland, and govern it with justice. Mr. Bright understood the wants of Ireland. Clanship was still strong among the people; any landlord who treated the people rightly could soon establish himself as the head of a clan: although the people hardly recognised the feeling, still it was there, deeply seated."

"Nothing was so galling to Irishmen as to have to take to London every application for an improvement; for instance, the railway from Letterkenny to Derry, which was so much needed, was thrown out by some English lord in Parliament because it was the narrow gauge. Personally he was opposed to the narrow gauge, but if the people in the district could not find the money for the other, it was much better to have this than none." Speaking of the absence of drunkenness, he said, "The church last Sunday was full of *men* who had signed the pledge for a year and came to renew it, and the women were also doing the same. The people in this place," he added, "are very sober; I hardly know a drunkard, and the women are very chaste." This confirms the statement made to us whilst at Dunfanaghy, that illegitimacy was very rare, and that if a case occurred the father of the child was looked upon as worse than the woman, and even had to leave the district in consequence.

Afterwards — Boyd, J.P., and the Rev. R. E. Baillie, members of the Relief Committee, called. They well remembered the

old Quaker work. Mr. Boyd remembered William Forster with much pleasure. Money for seed potatoes and clothing very much needed in places. The guardians had that day adopted the Seed Potato Act. There were 43 inmates more in the Union House than last year. *No out-door relief is given.*

5th and 6th March.—H. T. M. and H. H. drove from Letterkenny to Milford. The well-farmed lands of Mr. Stewart, of Ards, were as recognisable as those nearer Dunfanaghy. From Milford the road skirts along the shores of Mulroy Bay, which are well-wooded and most picturesque. There are very few small holdings or cabins to be seen. The scene of Lord Leitrim's murder was passed, at a spot where the road is densely wooded on one side, and a few furze bushes afford shelter on the other, and a short abruptly steep hill necessitated a car going at a walking pace. The Mulroy also is here within a few yards of the road, and the assassins' boat lay ready for them when the deed was done. Some few miles further, parties of labourers employed by the present Earl, at 10d. until lately, but now at 1s. per day, were seen draining and road-making. For some of these works, money has been borrowed under the recent Irish Relief Act. Passing Lord Leitrim's seat of Manor Vaughan, beautifully situated on the shores of the bay, the village of Carrickgast is reached. The houses are mostly of a superior class, and poverty is not obvious. We found the parish priest, Father Daly, in wretched quarters, a mile out of the village. He told us that 490 families out of 700 were receiving relief; that Lord Leitrim was employing 160 men at 1s. a-day; that they did not consider this enough to support large families, and that they therefore gave relief in addition at the rate of a half stone of meal per head per week for every member of a family in excess of three; families of three or under received none. The holdings in the poorest parts of his parish, extending from Carrickgart to Creeslough, are from two to five acres of arable land. Rents are 25 per cent. over the Poor Law valuation.

We visited a number of cabins; from some of which the inhabitants had been capriciously evicted by the late lord. The present Lord Leitrim has permitted the people to return, and it is felt to be an act of great kindness on his part by priest and

people; but to us it appeared of doubtful future benefit, to permit people to return to the cabins which had been unroofed and ruined by the late lord, and to lands which had fallen out of cultivation, and to give no help at the same time to restore either (except, we believe, the gift of a few fir poles for the roofs). The rents, too, are, it is said, to be higher than those paid before; yet such is the extraordinary attachment of the people to their homesteads that they are returning and patching up their miserable dwellings as best they may. The cabins, reconstructed to their own taste by the people, were absolutely windowless and quite dark. One elderly woman, who had been in service at Carrickgart, had come back alone to her ruined homestead, and out of the stones had constructed herself a hovel, in which she was living. It was doorless and windowless, and the size of a pigsty. The distress is great among the people in this townland, and they are all receiving relief. Clothing is very deficient, bedding *nil*. Relief in this district began February 9th. This Union (Milford) has adopted the Seed Act, and notices of a very clear and practical character have been sent out on the subject.

We heard a curious instance of the late Lord Leitrim's capricious, arbitrary treatment of his tenants: In passing by a tenant's holding Lord L. noticed that a good new cabin had been built, in place of the miserable hovel. He stopped and asked how it was that he had not been consulted, and at once ordered his bailiff to pull the chimney down and partly unroof it, and the man was compelled to leave it and live in the old hovel again.

Leaving Carrickgart we crossed the Mulroy into the Fannet, staying for the night at Kindrum. No distress is to be found in the district southwards through Tamney to Carrickgele. The land is good, and the holdings of fair size. Crossing the mountains eastward, a poorer district is found, called Glenva, where we had been told considerable distress existed. We went into some cabins, conversed with the people, and, as far as we could, observed their condition. We should consider it to be very superior to that in the worst districts we have seen. Most had stock, and some stacks of hay or oats left; the houses were better, the stables or cow-sheds being separate. The very

arge heaps of good stable manure struck us as proving the quantity of stock; most had one or more horses each, and all the land is ploughed, not "delved." The holdings are chiefly from four to five acres of good arable land, with considerable mountain pasturage in addition—the rents of such holdings £3 10s. to £4 10s. Landlords, Mr. Nolan, Mr. Sinclair, Lord Leitrim, and others.

In three townlands, said to be a fair average—

Of 30 families, 6 were *not* receiving relief.
,, 21 ,, 4 ,, ,,
,, 13 ,, None.

What specially struck us here was the grumbling dissatisfied spirit of those we spoke to, and the idea that *all* should receive almost as a matter of right; that the allowance was insufficient, &c.—a spirit widely different from that found where the distress is really acute.

We should think this district, though a poor one, needs careful oversight of its lists. The man who prepared the lists and was acting for the Committee was so little above his neighbours in position and circumstances that he could not act with independence. Clothing was generally good and substantial, and few bare feet were seen. The country improves southward, and decidedly so as Rathmullen is approached. The Rector of Tamney, Mr. Lindsey, reported great distress among the very small holders in the extreme north of Fannet towards the lighthouse. We could not visit this district.

Londonderry, March 9th.—The appearance of the country between Letterkenny and this place is in striking contrast to any parts we have previously seen; good-sized, well-cultivated farms, chiefly twenty to sixty acres in extent, with a larger proportion of stacks remaining about the homesteads than could be found in many English counties. Much correspondence requiring attention, we have remained here two or three days. During this time my friends visited some of the Glebe lands purchased by small proprietors near Strabane. The report of this visit, as well as that of H. H. on the Glebe lands near Falcarrah, I intend to give in a connected form when we have visited other Glebe lands near Omagh. Just before leaving Londonderry, we heard

the startling news of the dissolution of Parliament. Here, to my great regret, my nephew left me, home matters requiring his attention.

Omagh, 10th.—Our object in visiting this place has been to inspect the Glebe lands sold by the Commissioners under the Church Temporalities Act, around this town. I have been much assisted in these inquiries by the particulars furnished me by Mr. Murrough O'Brien, of Dublin, who takes a deep interest in the question of Peasant Proprietorship.

[The account of the visits paid to the Peasant Proprietors around this place, as well as of those previously seen, will appear as a separate article in the August number of the *Nineteenth Century*, and to this I must refer any of my readers who ma take an interest in this important subject.]

CHAPTER II.

CONNAUGHT.

Cavan, March 11th.—In the coffee-room the all-absorbing question of the Tenure of Land was under discussion.

A commercial traveller said that, owing to the depression in trade, not more than half the usual number of travellers were now engaged in the West of Ireland. He gave the experience of his own family as an illustration of the need for "fixity of tenure," or greater security for improvements effected by tenants. His father, who formerly resided in Ulster, had built a corn-mill on land belonging to one of the London companies. When the lease expired, the rent was raised, probably not very highly; but again he built, adding, this time, a flax-mill. Unfortunately for him, the rent was again raised, and the property sold by the company. The purchaser also raised the rent. Aggravated by the sense of injury done him in having to pay so dearly for his own improvements, the landlords having done nothing, he, though considerably advanced in life, determined to give up his holding and emigrate to America. He accordingly advertised his tenant-right in the property for sale, for which he expected to obtain £600. The agent for the owner, in order to oblige a person whom he wished to favour as the future tenant, gave out at the sale that the rent would in future be raised very considerably, and thus he destroyed or lessened the value of the tenant-right to such an extent that the seller only realised a very small sum. This stung the old tenant to the quick, and, aggravated by the fact that, after all, the rent was not raised, he and his wife, like so many others, left their native land with the bitterest animosity in their minds. It was satisfactory to hear that they had done well in America—"much better than they could have done had they remained." What seems strange to an Englishman is that a tenant-at-will, or a tenant, with a

short lease even, should be willing to expend large sums on permanent improvements, on so slender a protection as the Ulster Tenant-right appears to have been. Another man in the room stated that his father was a Donegal tenant-farmer, who had reclaimed a considerable amount of land (30 Irish acres), for which he had paid £10 a-year on a lease, and expected to have to pay £45 a-year on re-valuation. This he deemed a great hardship, as the whole of the buildings and improvements had been effected by the tenant. It is difficult, without further knowledge, to form any sound conclusions from such instances; but they show how keenly alive the minds of the people are to the land question. Nor is this to be wondered at when we consider the enormous proportion of the population who are engaged in agriculture, and which leads so constantly to the expression—"The land ought to belong to the people;"—not without payment of rent) but this rent a fixed one, much like our copyholds in England. A land agent with whom we had some conversation complained that the tenants did all in their power to appear poor. "They lived in filth. They came to the rent audit in their worst clothes. They paid the rent in sixpences or shillings to give the appearance of having collected it with great difficulty, changing their bank notes into coin on arriving at the town. They offered half the amount, having all the time the whole sum in their pockets," &c., &c.

I have been told over and over again that the dread of having an increased rent to pay constantly prevents improvements in the land. On the other hand, I am frequently told that this is an imaginary fear, and that the thing is rarely done. Be this as it may, the above instances go to prove how very real the fear is, and that it operates to a most mischievous extent. It is, I am persuaded, very largely at the root of the wretched cultivation so common here, and the cause of much of the bitterness of feeling existing between landlords and tenants.

"I met a little farmer," said one of the party, "who was returning from England with £11 for his summer's earnings, who told me that he would never go to England for wages if he was free to stay and reclaim the mountain-land he held in addition to the small quantity of arable land cultivated." "Free that

is from the fear of having to pay an increased rent for improvements solely effected by himself.

Carrick-on-Shannon.—Here, in the terrible famine winter of 1846-7, I joined my much-honoured friend the late William Forster, whose deep sympathy with suffering led him, regardless alike of years, his feeble health, or the inclement season, to undertake his memorable visit to the West of Ireland, extending over several months. Quite apart from the great difficulties of travelling and the wretched accommodation of that period, the overwhelming sufferings and the mortality of the people, and the want of means at hand for their prevention, were most distressing to his sensitive nature.

Contrast this town with its aspect in 1847. It is market day, and the streets are filled with well-dressed men and women, who buy and sell their little produce, and give to the passing visitor no idea of want or misery. In 1847, the streets were haunted by famine-stricken men, women, and children, imploring food in vain. Especially do I recall the children, with their death-like faces and their "drum-stick" arms, so thin that they looked as if they might snap in two if you took hold of them. In the overcrowded workhouse dirt, disorder, and death reigned. There were no organised committees for administering relief. Look now at the workhouse, not full, and all its inmates in perfect order and cleanliness, well fed and well cared for. Not that there is no want or destitution now, but well-organised committees in connection with the great Dublin Funds, whose monthly grants amount to many hundreds of pounds, are in constant session ministering, as some think with too liberal a hand, to the wants of the suffering population. Some outdoor relief is also given by the guardians. Ladies' Committees, too, are at work, giving employment in knitting and sewing to many poor women who would otherwise be idle.

Nor is this all. In addition to the ordinary duties of the guardians, the very onerous task of carrying out the details of the "Seed Potato Act," which has just come into operation, tells very heavily upon the chairman and other members of the Board. Large placards were posted on the walls giving a short clear abstract of the Act and the needful instructions to the small

ratepayers who can claim its benefits. The workhouse was besieged by numerous applicants, and, though late in the afternoon, the Board was still sitting, and only adjourned for a short time to return to their work, which lasted to a late hour in the evening. The chairman, Mr. C. B. Whyte, who owns large estates in the town and neighbourhood, is also District Chairman of the Duchess of Marlborough's Committee, and in this double position is devoting the greater portion of his time to the work of administering relief. With him we met Captain Spaight, recently appointed Local Government Inspector. Both agreed in the absolute necessity for giving relief, and said that without the money distributed by the Dublin Funds "many would have starved." The farmers around Carrick, and generally along the banks of the Shannon, have suffered most severely during the last season from the overflowing of the river. The loss could not be estimated at less than £50,000, much of which might have been saved by proper arrangements regarding the drainage of the Shannon.

In the evening we had a call from the Protestant clergyman, who spoke of the severity of the distress in some districts around, although the town was better off. He thought the action of the Relief Committees had done much to allay the bitter feeling and agitation among the people. The value of such work as that of Mr. C. B. Whyte cannot be too highly estimated. It is an instance of the untold benefit which results from a good resident landlord.

From Carrick we drove across the county of Roscommon to Castlerea. On our way we visited several small towns and villages, and entered many cottages of the poor. We had been led to hope that the want of assistance was not so great in this county as in some others; but it seemed to us that the destitution was as severe in some portions of it as in any we had seen; want of work, want of food, of clothing, of bedding. Many of the cottages were most filthy, and devoid of anything which could be called furniture. The small farmers especially have suffered from loss of stock, many of them having been small dairy farmers, and compelled at a low price to part with their cows, for rent or food. At Ballinameen we were told by Father Carlos that, out of

1,000 families, 660 were receiving relief either from the Duchess of Marlborough's Fund or the Mansion House Fund.

Castlerea is a neat and improving town, and happily has a resident landlord, whose finely-wooded park and grounds, in close proximity to the town, give an air of comfort and well-being which it is refreshing to see. From the clergyman we heard that, whilst in the town no special want existed, many of the outlying parishes in the Union were in real want, and had no work or food except that obtained from the Funds; 200 out of 600 families were receiving help. Here, as elsewhere, clothing and blankets were much needed, and we had the pleasure of being able to give some aid for this object from the funds at our disposal.

Castlerea to Ballyhaunis, March 14th.—As a whole, this district is much better than those we have recently seen. In many places the farms were larger, and we met great numbers of men with donkeys or ponies laden with potatoes or cabbage plants and other produce, which they were taking to market. After leaving Mr. Sandford's estate we came upon the properties of the O'Connor Don and Lord Dillon. The tenants of the former spoke most highly of their landlord, whose lands, they said, were not highly rented. On some of these lands we noticed the great labour which had been expended by the tenants in the erection of fences formed from the great stones which had been removed from their fields; one fence was especially remarked for the extreme neatness and regularity of the work. We entered into conversation with an old man standing near, whose ragged clothing and general aspect gave the appearance of great poverty. He told us that he had once farmed this land, but, growing old, he had made it over to his son-in-law, in whose family he now lived. He had given this man's wife and two other daughters £40 each as their dowries, and now he had nothing left, and was dependent upon them. The practice of giving dowries is very common, even among the poor, with whom marriage is quite an affair of bargain. £100 or £150 was named to us as sums by no means uncommonly paid on such occasions.

At Knock a great crowd, evidently fully convinced of the reality of the apparitions and cures, was assembled in and

around the church. The serious air of the people in the church was striking. The property around chiefly belongs to Lord Dillon, who is a non-resident landlord, and draws a very large sum yearly from the county. The head constable informed us that the tenants were well disposed, and had nearly all paid their rents, having had a liberal abatement of 6s. in the pound They had no ill-feeling against their landlords here.

At the Ballyhaunis Station a number of men, who looked far from cured, were waiting for the train, though all thought themselves the better for their visit to Knock. The station-master told me that the number of persons who visited the church both from England and Scotland was very large—362 tickets, of 15s. each in the last, and 382 in the present week, had been taken in this way. He added, "When warm weather comes the people will be here by thousands." At the station I noticed that large quantities of potatoes were being sent away to Dublin and other places. The high prices tempt farmers of the better class who have any stock left to sell it. The desire which is so general for a change of seed may induce some of the very small farmers also to sell their own little store and purchase the "Champions" from the Union; and we noticed in the town crowds of men with ponies or donkeys waiting around the depôts from whence the Union supplies were being distributed. The quantity of eggs sent from this and other districts to Dublin or Belfast is very great; fifty large boxes per week, containing 7 or 8 cwt., are sent from Ballyhaunis.

Westport—March, 1880.—Owing to the indisposition of my companion I have remained here for two weeks, making excursions of a day or two and returning again to my quarters. In this way I have investigated a larger number of those places in Mayo than I intended within easy reach of Westport, though prevented from extending my journey to some which are more distant. Part of one day was devoted to visiting Louisburgh and Kilgever, which I had the advantage of doing in the company of Mr. H. A. Robinson, one of the additional Inspectors of the Local Government Board.

Louisburgh, about ten miles from Westport, is a poor, dirty-looking little town, though the handsome, newly-erected

Roman Catholic chapel, seems to indicate some wealth in or around it. Here I found that 520 out of 800 families in the parish were receiving relief. The village of Kilgever had been specially reported upon as requiring help. A relieving officer had been recently appointed to look after it, and with him we went round this miserable-looking place. As he also held the office of sub-bailiff, the man was very familar with the people, who were quite friendly with him in spite of his visits in another character at other times. The houses are built in a very irregular "higgledy-piggledy" manner among the rocks which stand out from the surrounding bog. The heaps of manure which were piled about the doorway were sometimes almost as large as the cabins themselves, and were in process of being removed to the land. Men, women, and children were most industriously at work, but the result to the visitor was anything but agreeable, and the cottages were in a filthy state from the passing to and fro of the people and the cattle. Even the relieving officer thought it needful to caution the people that they were liable to be summoned for so glaring an infraction of sanitary laws. It is a terrible thought that these huge heaps had all been taken from the single rooms, each of which formed a common stye for men, women, children, horses, cows, pigs and poultry!

No wonder that in one or two cases I thought that I was entering a very filthy cow-house rather than a human dwelling. The only satisfaction is that the very size of the heaps indicated a greater degree of prosperity formerly, and gave promise for future crops. *Formerly*, I say, for the people now are most of them undoubtedly in grievous want of food, clothing, and bedding. Some of them inquired very anxiously about the seed potatoes obtainable under the recent Act, whilst others were planting their own miserable little stunted potatoes, from which it would be as hopeless to expect a good and healthy crop as a fine race of men from Cretins. As we returned in the evening we saw, in places where the road approached the shore of the bay, hundreds of people of all ages and sexes most laboriously at work bringing in the weed, the women carrying huge loads upon their backs, which the men spread upon the lands. It would be impossible to

witness a scene of greater industry than was being enacted by these "lazy Irish."

On one occasion I attended by invitation the meeting of the Duchess of Marlborough's Committee for the union of Westport, Lord John Browne chairman. The intimation had just been received from the Committee in Dublin that it was intended to withdraw the grants of food as early as possible. This caused much alarm, and a very strongly-worded minute, prepared by the chairman, protesting against the withdrawal of food grants, was unanimously passed. As the total number now receiving relief in this union amounts to some thousands it was no matter of surprise that this alarm should be felt. I was struck by the chairman's strong denunciation, on the ground of the demoralising effect, of all outdoor relief from the rates which it was suggested might be given in place of the relief from Dublin. Why the money subscribed by those at a distance should, when gratuitously given, be less injurious to the recipients, than money collected from the ratepayers, it is difficult to understand!

At another time, in company with Dr. Johnson, I visited a village in his dispensary district, a few miles from Westport. From peculiar circumstances this village had not been as well attended to as others, and the people were represented as being in a state of great destitution. The village was a very scattered one. A few of the houses were near the rough mountain road by which you approach the spot; but the valley in which the greater number were situated, was only reached by walking some distance over the adjacent hilly land or bog, which shuts them out of view from the road. Here, without any regular way of approach, so far as I could see, was a cluster of about twenty houses, into most of which we entered. It would only be to repeat over again the same story of wretchedness and want with which, alas, I have become so familiar; but it is a familiarity which only makes me feel more deeply, and burns into my heart the sense of how hard the lot is of hundreds, nay, thousands, of the families of these little Irish farmers. The lands, lying low, were swampy and full of water; the large main drain, which ought to have taken the water away to the sea,

was choked up. The owner lives away and does nothing, probably is not able to do anything. Few rents had been paid; some said they owed one, or one and a-half year's, others more; the lands were highly rented, and very few persons had either money or stock left.

This estate is one which, I fear, is a sample of many small ones, which have been sold by the Encumbered Estates Court. It was purchased some years ago by a mere speculator, who sent down a valuer for the purpose of raising the rents to the highest point. "He doubled them," it is said, but probably raised them from 50 to 80 per cent. This was done without any regard to the question of the improvements or reclamations of the tenants It was merely looked at as a question of the letting-value of each little farm, without considering the tenant at all. When done, the estate, with its nominally largely-increased rental, was again sold at a large profit, and the rack-rented tenants have grown poorer and poorer, until the calamities of last year have brought them to the utmost verge of poverty. No rents having been paid, processes were served, or, rather attempted to be served, a few weeks ago. Fifty or sixty police constables were collected to protect the process-server. The people hearing of it, assembled from all sides by hundreds, and by sheer force of numbers, kept the police at bay, whilst the villagers closed up their doorways with timber, or brushwood, or with the near-at-hand manure heaps. The result was that the police had to retire without effecting their object. I heard afterwards that some processes had been served by the bailiff, and a little rent paid.

Many of the families were seven, eight, or ten in number, and the small weekly allowance of two stones of Indian meal per family was hardly enough to support life. The children especially, looked thin and wan. Poor as these people are, their kindness one to another is always striking. Of this we saw an instance in a very small hut in which a poor "daft" woman lived alone, supported chiefly by her neighbours. The hut was not more than six or seven feet square, and had recently been very neatly re-thatched by two of her neighbours.

Leaving this part of the village, we proceeded to another group of houses at some distance, and found that the poor people,

mistaking us for the bailiffs, had commenced defending themselves against the invader by barricading their doors, and were busily at work, forking up the manure-heaps, or other articles, to bar the entrances to their homes! When they found out their mistake, and that it was their good friend the Doctor who had come to see them, they seemed heartily ashamed, and could not apologise sufficiently, and the doors which a few minutes before they were ready to defend against all comers were thrown wide open, with a hearty "You're welcome, sir!" I subsequently obtained particulars of the rental and poor-law valuation of thirty-five of these small tenant farmers. These are given in the Appendix, and will be found to vary from £2 10s. to £17; nine of them being £5 or under, twenty-one from £5 5s. to £10 10s., and four above. The total rental of the thirty-five little farms amounted to £268 18s., whilst the Poor Law valuation was £168 12s. It is extremely difficult to obtain any exact data as to acreage. Probably those rented under £6 would represent one "cow's grass," three to four acres arable, whilst others would have two to three cows' grasses, according to rental. These rates are very much higher than on many other estates. These villagers had also the right of grazing over a considerable extent of mountain land. The tenants had among them forty-eight head of cattle, "big and little," and four sheep—the selling value of which would probably not be more than about £160. In ordinary times they had about 127 head of cattle and thirty sheep, worth, probably, £500 or £600.

From funds placed in my hands, food and clothing were forwarded for the most destitute, and children whose rags had kept them from school were again able to attend.*

I also paid a visit to Newport, where I met the Relief Com-

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* The figures since forwarded to me show that the cost of supporting fifty-six families in this and an adjacent village, on a weekly supply of Indian meal at the rate of one stone for adults and half a stone for younger children, does not exceed the sum of £9 10s. per week, or £38 per month, for the 294 persons in the said families. In other words, 1d. per head per diem, 7d. per head per week, or 2s. 4d. per month: under thirty shillings a year! Can life be supported in India or in any other portion of the world for less? Some of them, no doubt, had a little milk in addition.

mittee, consisting of the Protestant, Catholic, and Presbyterian clergymen, and the Doctor, who were working together most harmoniously and zealously for the poor of this large district. Nearly 1,000 families out of 5,400 in the Union of Newport were receiving assistance from the Duchess of Marlborough's Fund; and, in addition, large numbers had help from the Mansion House Fund. It is almost impossible to ascertain the numbers relieved by the latter Fund, as the grants are sent to each parish instead of to the chairman of the Union as is done by the former. The Union of Newport is heavily in debt, and the collection of the rates is much in arrears. Rates are high, about 3s. 6d. in the £. At Newport, as elsewhere, the amount of work thrown upon the very few residents is enormous, and the strain is now much added to by the preparation of the lists, and the distribution of seed potatoes and oats to the numerous applicants, whether in connection with the Union supply, or those granted to the poorer tenants from the Dublin Fund. In addition to the injury caused by the withdrawal of income, the injustice committed by non-resident landlords, who thus evade all their duties in a time of extreme need, is often adverted to; and I have heard resident proprietors most seriously urge the infliction of a heavy fine for non-residence.

Towards the end of this week I went to Achill Island, a tedious drive of forty miles. Passing again through Newport, the road traverses some very wild country, especially in the neighbourhood of Mulranny, on the shores of Clew Bay. The situation of Mulranny is lovely, and in England would make the owner a fortune as a watering-place. The country for some miles round is covered with huge stones, amidst which, surrounded by high walls, the little plots of cultivated land extend.

The owner of this stony soil was giving some employment on his own estate. Many of the people were very poor, and out of 276 families, 200 (=1,080 persons) were receiving assistance from the two funds. Here and elsewhere in Mayo, so far as I have seen, I must bear testimony to the great industry and labour of the people. At this moment, men, women, and children are hard at work on the little plots of land, or carrying up, for

manure, heavy loads of seaweed, which, happily, is very plentiful. I have thought once or twice, as I have seen them thus labouring, that had it been in France I should have said, "See here what peasant proprietorship does!"

To speak of the people as idle when they have anything to do seems, therefore, unjust. When I say so to my Irish friends, they smile at my credulity and say, "Oh, yes, it is spasmodic." Then when I reply, "See how they work at our English harvest, and take every penny back with them," they say again, "Oh, yes, wait till they get home, and then you will see them doing nothing but sitting over the fire, and amusing themselves with fiddling, &c. And when I say, "Is it not because there is no employment for them?" I am told that I do not understand the people; had I lived among them as long as they have, I should know better. Of course, I do not for a moment profess to think these people perfect, or without many faults, but it seems just to give them their due.

Whilst the horses were waiting at Mulranny, I met a group of twelve strong, hearty-looking girls, on their way to Scotland for work. They had come from the farther side of Achill, and were making for Westport—a walk of about forty miles—to take the steamer, which was to sail next morning. They seemed very cheerful, and, like the Scotch women, were saving their boots by carrying them in their hands instead of wearing them on their feet.

The population of the Island of Achill is estimated at 6,500, of whom 4,500 are on the relief lists, receiving fortnightly a very small allowance of meal (two stones) for each family. The annual valuation for the poor law is about £1,300, and is probably not half the actual rental of the island. The poor-rate is 3s. in the £. I was most hospitably entertained here by my friend Mr. Pike whose house, surrounded by trees planted by himself, is an oasis in the midst of a treeless waste. Young trees, recently sown or planted, are growing well up the mountain slopes around, showing that it only needs attention to clothe these barren wastes with valuable forests of timber. How much this important work is neglected may be understood when I say that the nearest trees in any quantity which I had seen were those around

Newport, thirty miles distant. Mr. Pike is giving work to over 100 men on his estate, who earn each from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per diem. I was much struck by the hearty, pleasant way in which, wherever we drove, the tenants met or received their landlord. He had a kindly greeting for each, whether man, woman, or child. His estate is 14,000 acres in extent, of which a little fringe, chiefly on the sea-coast, can only be said to be cultivated, giving three to five acres of arable ground each to the 400 little tenants, whose rents vary from £3 to £5. In addition to the cultivated land, each village has the right of stray over a large extent of mountain land for the cattle: for this they pay a small sum per head in addition to the rents mentioned above. As compared with the rents charged in many other places, these seem very moderate. Moderate as they are, the people holding land under these favourable conditions cannot live on the little holdings without some paid labour; and the whole able-bodied male population of Achill, I was informed, migrate annually to Scotland for work. Last year, as in other districts, their earnings largely failed, and this and the failure of crops have brought them down to great poverty, and left them deeply in debt to the shopkeeper for the previous year's supplies. Hence the very large number I have mentioned who are receiving relief in the island. The usual rate of interest charged here by the "gombeen" men is 20 to 50 per cent.!

A few figures with which I was furnished, showing the rentals and amount of stock held by entire village communities, have considerable interest and value for those looking at the economic questions involved in these small holdings:—

Village No. 1.—Forty-seven tenants, whose total rental is £130 a-year, holding 180 to 200 acres of arable land, had 96 cows and young beasts, 138 sheep, and 13 ponies. The grazing on the mountain for the stock, at 3s. per head for cows and 1s. for sheep, adds £23 to the gross rental, making about £3 per holding.

Village No. 2.—Ninety tenants, whose rental is £240, holding about 360 to 400 acres of arable land, had 204 cows and young beasts, 234 sheep, and 23 ponies;

to this the same rate, say £40 a year per head for the grazing stock, must be added, or a little over £3 per holding.

The amount of stock owned by these small tenants will strike a large farmer with surprise, and certainly does not favour the idea that small holdings are incompatible with the keeping of stock. But the serious question still remains, Can these small holdings support the families upon them?

No. 1.—200 acres of arable, with an indefinite quantity of mountain land, has to support 250 persons.

No. 2.—400 acres, and its proportion of mountain land, has to support 450 or more persons.

Is it possible that two English farms of 200 and 400 acres each could together support 700 persons?

As regards the arable land, I was informed that from one and a half to two acres are usually sown with oats on each holding and the same quantity with potatoes, in addition to a little cabbage and turnip. Each farm has also one and a half to two acres of grass or fallow. As regards the amount of mountain or bog land, the quantity is not easily ascertained. The expression, the average of "three sums" per tenant, conveys very little information to an Englishman. Village No. 1 had, I was informed, a range over 2,500 acres!

I was driven over to the Protestant settlement, and told that the smaller farmers on that property were equally indigent and in equal need of assistance. In addition to the employment given by Mr. Pike, he and his family are doing much to relieve the distress. The benefit thus rendered by one resident family is inestimable, and I heard nothing on this estate of the bitter feeling and hostility to landlords, or refusal to pay rents, so common elsewhere.

Leaving the island and coming on the mainland again to the estate of a non-resident landlord, where the people, in addition to being in great destitution, had no one to look up to for employment or help or guidance, I was once more painfully impressed with the grievous injury resulting from the non-resident system. That there are non-residents whose agents make up, or are permitted to make up, for the loss of the presence of the owner is doubtless true; but they are, I fear, very

rare, and usually the business of the agent is simply to receive or enforce the payment of rents.

Near Mulranny, whilst going slowly uphill, a young man walking on the road gathered me a branch of the Mediterranean heath, whose blossoms redeemed by their beauty the barrenness around. The heath brought back for a moment the remembrance of its lovely home by the blue waters of the Riviera. How came it to stray so far away?

The man belonged to the rather better class of farmers, and told me that, in consequence of his father's death, he had left a situation in Lancashire where he had lived for three years. His father had been able to keep thirteen cows, but the bad times had obliged them to sell, and now they had only one left. He pointed out to me the lands he was cultivating, complaining bitterly of the injury resulting from the divisions into small allotments, which were scattered about over the whole townland —a bit here, and another there—saying that it was very difficult to cultivate properly under these circumstances, and that it led to endless quarrels, as often the only access for one tenant was over another tenant's land. His great desire was to emigrate to America, but want of funds prevented him, as it prevented so many others, from doing so.

A car, with two well-dressed young fellows, who were going out to America, passed by us from the town, and in the road a woman, whose bright shawl and dress suggested a Spanish peasant woman, was standing with her arms in the air, chanting or crooning a mournful ditty over the departure of her brother. I also saw a young fellow of twenty, from a similar cause weeping like a beaten child, and crouching at a doorstep by his mother, who was trying to console him. In a doorway opposite a little girl stood with sympathetic tears running down her face.

In addition to the sea-weed so extensively used in this district, I noticed in some farms where this was not to be had, that the practice of burning the spongy top soil was largely in vogue. The small fields were covered with heaps of this earth, to which a lighted peat had been applied, filling the country with dense smoke, out of which the figures of men, women and children, strangely loomed. This is said to impoverish the land.

Near Newport I spent a few hours most pleasantly at the sea-side residence of my friend Mr. Jonathan Pim. If every Irish landlord would improve his estate and give the facilities and inducement to his tenants to cultivate their lands which he has done, the cry of Irish Distress would no more be heard, and content and well-being would take the place of the social disorder and wretchedness which now abound in these Western Districts. Why is it that the true exercise of the functions and responsibilities which belong to land-owning is so rare in Ireland, whilst, as a rule, it is universal in England?

Whilst at Westport I heard that severe distress existed in some villages situated in a mountainous district about fifteen miles from Ballinrobe. I accordingly drove to Ballinrobe, and met there Mr. Robinson, the Local Government Inspector, together with the Poor Law Guardian and the Dispensary Doctor of these villages. Though prevented myself from proceeding, these gentlemen, accompanied by the Chairman of the Ballinrobe Union (a large resident proprietor), visited the district. From their report I give the following particulars. A drive of some distance, a row of seven miles across Loch Mask, and a walk or ride on ponies of five miles more, were necessary in order to reach the spot.

The three villages together contain about 100 families, paying from £2 to £3 a year each for their lands. There were no pigs left, and very few cows or sheep. The people were many of them without food, and in a most destitute condition as regards clothing. The medical officer of the district had obtained for them a small sum of money in the winter, in answer to an appeal for help in the papers, which was now all expended. Many of the children were seriously suffering from want of nourishment.

Some of the children who attended the Monks' School at the monastery, were also fed, and quite recently, through the representations of Mr. Robinson, a little out-door relief had been given by the relieving officer. This relief had been very strongly objected to when the cases were brought under the notice of the board, and it was partly to satisfy himself of the need for this remarkable departure from the usual practice of the board to

refuse all outdoor relief, that the chairman of the Union offered to join the party. It is satisfactory to know that this visit satisfied him with the action of the officer in giving out-door relief, and led him, at the next meeting of the board, to advocate its continuance; and further, that several of the children who were suffering most from want of food were temporarily removed to the workhouse to be well fed. In order to afford further immediate assistance to the people, I left a sum of money to be applied in giving employment to the able-bodied, assisting the sick, and giving a meal daily to the children who attended the school. Through the agency of the Dublin Ladies' Committee a supply of clothing was also sent.

At Ballinrobe the workhouse seemed converted for the time being into a storehouse for the seed potatoes and oats, and in the yards around numbers of men were waiting with little carts, and ponies, and asses, to carry away the quantities sold to them under the provisions of the Seed Potatoes Act.

The amount borrowed in this way for the supply of seed varies in every union, according to the liberal or illiberal views of the guardians, and sometimes without much reference to the actual number needing assistance. Hence the allowance to tenants varies in every union from a fair and liberal quantity to a very scanty one. In some unions, from the fear that the union would not have the amount repaid by the poorer class of tenants, strong objections have been felt, and I fear acted on, to allowing any tenants under £4 rating to have seed allotted to them. This, it is needless to say, is a most injurious and short-sighted practice, for if the lands are not sown, the tenants will inevitably require to be fed next year. Many of the poorer class have been assisted by the forethought early exhibited by the Duchess of Marlborough's Committee, who devoted £30,000 to the purchase and gratuitous distribution of seed potatoes and oats. This seed was received with deep thankfulness by the recipients. "The people do not know how to be grateful enough to the Duchess," said a policeman to me, who had been assisting in keeping order at the distribution. "They were praying for her all down the road as they went home with their little loads."

The number of inmates in the workhouse at Ballinrobe was 271, being nine more than last year, and 122 were receiving out-door relief compared with 61 last year. In the various electoral divisions of the union the poor-rate varies from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 6d. What a contrast this is to the terrible famine years of 1846 and 1847, when the deaths in the workhouse were sometimes at the rate of 150 a week; and it was not unusual to find twelve or more infants lying dead by their mothers in the morning, as I was informed by the present clerk of the union who was also its clerk in those years. No less that 53,500 persons were on the lists of the union for relief for longer or shorter periods; and, in addition to the large grants made by the Treasury and the Relief Associations, amounting to many thousand pounds, the poor-rates rose to an unprecedented sum. The expenditure for the year ending March, 1848, was £31,452.

Doubtless there are some portions of this union needing help; but as a whole it is one which ought to a large extent, I think, under a liberal administration of the Poor Law, to bear the stress of its own poverty. The annual valuation of the union is £60,000, with a population of 31,000. The union of Westport is as a whole much poorer: it has a population of 25,000, with an annual valuation of £31,000. Newport is still worse, the population being 16,000 and the annual valuation £13,000, and the poor-rate 3s. to 3s. 6d. in the £.

Other days were devoted to visiting Ballina and Killala, in North Mayo.

At Ballina I had interviews and much interesting conversation with many gentlemen connected with the Relief Committees, including the Roman Catholic bishop, Chairman of the Mansion House Committee, who informed me that in the diocese of Killala, containing more than twenty parishes, partly in Mayo and partly in Sligo, out of a population of 80,000, 34,000 were on the Relief lists of the Mansion House Committee. From this and the Duchess of Marlborough's Fund large grants had been obtained, which have been sufficient to prevent actual starvation. But the want of clothing and bed-covering is extreme.

In the Union-house, at Ballina, there may still be seen

furniture stamped with the initials S. G., recalling the days of the famine of 1848, when the late Samuel Gurney visited the then bankrupt union, and saved the furniture from seizure by advancing £500, the money needed to pay out the bailiffs.

Killala is a poor, miserable, neglected-looking little town, with a fine round tower and the ruins of an abbey. It is beautifully situated on a bay. Killala is one of the oldest sees in Ireland. The people were all very busily seeking to obtain the seed potatoes—"Champions;" crowds were in the town waiting their turn. Here and elsewhere the seed is given out at the workhouse, by order of the guardians, and owing to the number of ponies, donkeys, carts, &c., waiting for their supplies, the yards around the workhouse had the aspect of a fair.

It was two o'clock when I reached the town. Archdeacon Jackson was just coming from morning service (it being Good Friday), and had to go at once to the Union-house to superintend the giving out of seed potatoes. As regards clothing, he described the state of the country as beyond description. His wife had gone through the houses in Killala, and could hardly have believed they were so wretched. The people sleeping on wisps of hay or straw, with a guano bag over them; children in a most wretched state; the want of fuel is also very great, and the people, in the absence of peat for firing, are cutting the heather. Living altogether on small supplies of Indian meal is injurious to the people. The projected pier at Lacken would be a great boon; it would at once give employment to a large number of unskilled labourers. I offered clothing, and promised £50 for the pier, per Sir C. K. Gore, Ballina. In the neighbouring villages of Lacken and Kilcomen nearly every one needed help, "not fifteen families who did not require it."

Sir C. K. Gore has a large estate in the neighbourhood of Ballina, and it seemed to me that the fact of there being a resident owner was at once perceptible. The large farm adjoining the beautiful park and ground gives a considerable amount of regular employment. In addition, a number of men are employed in draining—earning 1s. per day each, for which they work willingly. Sir C. K. Gore has returned his tenants 15 per cent. of their rents, which he estimated at half the loss. Most of the rents

were paid. In addition, the tenants are enabled to purchase meal at a low price, and few, if any, of his tenants were on the Relief lists. Col. Knox, the District Chairman of the Duchess of Marlborough's Committee, is also working most zealously around Killala.

At Ballina I had the opportunity of seeing a large number of the Roman Catholic clergy from other parts of North Mayo and Sligo. Their reports of the destitution and want of clothing were most serious. Some assistance in money as well as blankets and clothing was given.

Around Westport there are several other poor parishes or electoral divisions, to which some attention was given. Kilmaclasser is one of these, and as we found Archdeacon Cather felt much interest in it, and that his daughter was very desirous to afford some further help to the sick and infirm, as well as to give work and clothing to the half-naked women and children, we thought we could not do better than place some money at their disposal. Augagower is another parish to which some assistance was given through Father Stephens, who is working very hard for his people.

CHAPTER III.

GALWAY.

March 29th.—My friend being well enough to return home, I left Westport, which had been our head-quarters for a fortnight, and drove by Leenane to Letterfrack, Co. Galway. Part of the journey lay through a property which presented a general air of slovenliness, and gave the false impression that the owner must be on the verge of bankruptcy. One finds it hard to believe that men possessed of property will continue to hold their estates without some attempt at improvement. If they have neither the will nor the heart to exercise the *beneficent* rights of ownership, why not dispose of their estates? No English landlord would for very shame retain an estate in such a condition. Let us imagine that one-fifth of the rental was spent yearly in draining and fencing, and that general "putting the estate in order" which is the delight of an Englishman. What a benefit it would be to the neighbourhood!—affording to the unemployed thousands around the work which they now travel to England to seek for. The wealth Ireland produces would, if a fair proportion was spent in the country, establish a fund to draw from in times of depression—an insurance fund, in fact,—against both poverty and agitation. Employment is the great want of these Western districts. If the owners of the soil do not give that employment which may fairly be expected from them as proprietors, or if they do not allow their tenants the security they need for the proper cultivation and reclamation of their holdings, it cannot but raise questions for public consideration. The promotion of the general weal of the country is of paramount importance, and the Government is imperatively called on to devise the best and most effective means of putting an end to a state of things which is injurious alike to the best interests of both landlord and tenant, and which is fatal to the well-being of the whole community.

Arthur Young, who wrote in 1778, after showing Irish landlords how to obtain 6 per cent. by the improvement of their land, says, "Yet, in spite of such facts, do the trifling, inattentive, negligent owners of Irish mountains leave them, as they received them from their ancestors, in the possession of grouse and foxes. Shame on such spiritless conduct!"—Young's "Irish Tour," p. 512.

Shortly before reaching Leenane I inspected Glanagimla, an exceedingly poor little village, containing about sixty families. I did so in company with Dr. Johnston (who was visiting his patients in this district). The rental of the holdings, many of them extremely small, varies from £1 to £5, and the total rental of the village is not more than £130 a-year. So far as I could learn, there were not more than twenty-five cows in the whole village. Many of the people were evicted years ago from an estate on the opposite side of the lake, and allowed to settle here. I visited many of their houses, and found the most marked evidence of destitution: bedding, clothing, furniture—all of the most scanty description. Having so little stock they were very short of manure, and the price here paid for seaweed, so largely used elsewhere, made it doubtful whether any beneficial return would be obtained from it when the land was planted. The cultivation of the lands in this village was much behindhand, the seed-potatoes promised by the Union or the Duchess of Marlborough's committee had not arrived, and it was not to be wondered at that the people were downhearted. I promised a small sum of money to give employment to some of the many idle men in the construction of a pier. In summer, the salmon-fishing gives employment to a number of them.

The rents were much in arrear, but the owner of the village is acting with much forbearance towards his tenants, and had also assisted them in the purchase of meal at a low price. In addition to property of his own, this gentleman rents a large tract of land, and has a flock of 2,500 sheep and a large herd of cattle. He has a neighbour, however, who rents a tract of country said to be 30,000 acres in extent.

At Letterfrack I looked with much interest at the house built in 1849, by my friend the late James Ellis. The trees which

he planted in great numbers have nearly surrounded the house, and hide from the passer-by the view of the garden in which my friend so delighted. The land around did not look so well cared for as when last I saw it under his management, and in portions of the grass land which he reclaimed the rushes seemed to be gradually resuming their sway. When James Ellis went to Letterfrack, the police-barracks, one or two houses and a few cottages were the only buildings in the place; now it is a thriving-looking little town. He combined in his character the qualities which always seem to me needed to govern Ireland and cure its maladies—justice, kindliness, firmness, industry. His belief that the exercise of these qualities would benefit Ireland, led him in rather advanced life to leave his comfortable home in Yorkshire, and settle in what was then regarded as an almost unknown country. Here he and his wife lived for many years, until ill-health compelled them to return to England, not however before they had effected an entire change in the aspect of the property, and exercised a moral influence in the district, the effects of which are distinctly recognised and felt to this day. I had not been long in the village before I heard this:—"The people still pray for good Mr. Ellis. He is always called good Mr. Ellis. Yes, he was a true friend to the poor; but he never gave anything to the men who could work, unless they did something for it. He employed the people in reclaiming the land, or he would set them to pick up the stones to build walls, or the children to gather flowers or roots for his friends. He was always teaching them the great lesson of work." "To this day," said Mr. Mitchell Henry's steward, "I can tell Mr. Ellis's boys; those he brought up are the best labourers I now have, and the best of the old men, too, all learned to work under him. He was the man for improving Ireland."

The extensive reclamation of land made by Mr. Mitchell Henry, M.P., at Kylemore, in this neighbourhood, has attracted much attention; and as the question of reclamation is one which is of great importance in view of any remedial measures for the country, I devoted a day to visiting the estate. Mr. Mitchell Henry, to whom I had an introduction, was from home, but his intelligent steward, Mr. McAllister, most obligingly accompanied

me over the whole estate, and gave me information on every point I desired. To those who are acquainted with Connemara it is needless to speak of the beautiful situation of the Castle on the borders of the Kylemore Lake, or of the timber and well laid-out gardens which surround it, so striking by contrast to the wildness of the country around. Compared with many Irish properties the estate is not large; it was doubtless purchased because of its beauty as a residence, and the valuable fishing in the Lake.

There are thirteen townlands, containing about 13,000 acres,* a large portion of which is mountain land. This accounts for the small annual valuation, amounting to but £740.

The nature of some of the mountain land may be judged of by the fact that one townland of 300 acres is valued at 1s. 9d.! and another townland of 100 acres is valued at 7d. It was no doubt a question of how many goats would graze on the mountain which decided this value. At the foot of these mountain slopes there is a considerable valley, in which the land which has been reclaimed, or in process of reclamation, is situate. Upwards of 600 acres have been brought into cultivation, and about 60 acres are now added yearly. The portion reclaimed near the Castle is very deep bog, so thick that cuttings nine or ten feet in depth had been made for the chief drainage. The principal drain in this part is utilised as a small canal for the conveyance of peat, or stones for the road, or lime and other materials for the land. Into this the smaller drains run. The peat dug out of the drains was stacked for fuel, and the sub-soil

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* In 1841 the population of the thirteen townlands was 1,368, with 231 families; in 1851, after the decimation of the "Famine," it was 565, with 106 families; since which time there has been a steady growth, and in 1871 it was 1,061, with 152 families. The extraordinary diminution in the famine years is most marked. As we were returning from our visit to the more distant farms, we picked up an old man of eighty, who had walked some miles, and he pointed out the roadside graves of many who had been found dead, and buried where found in those dreadful days. He pointed out the remains of a village the whole population of which had been swept away. Sometimes a whole family had been found dead, and the house thrown down upon them was the family tomb.

of limestone is used chiefly to mix with the peat soil. The subsidence in the ground after cutting these drains was remarkable, being often several feet. Some of the land which was bog last year had, after drainage, been ploughed or dug up into ridges, planted with potatoes, and was expected to produce about six tons to the acre. The manure used was chiefly super-phosphate, at three hundredweight to the acre. In addition to potatoes the ground which had been longer reclaimed was said to produce excellent crops of oats, as well as turnips, &c. Some of the ground had been laid down in grass, either permanently or for a time. In the permanent grass I noticed a tendency again to grow rushes.

As to the cost of the reclamation the steward thought that £10 per acre would cover the drainage ; there is then the paring of the ground, the liming, and ploughing and digging to be added, nor must the heavy cost of making roads be overlooked. From first to last the cost cannot be much, if at all, less than £20 per acre.* It would, however, be unfair to regard this as a proof of the actual cost of reclamation of land under other, or in all, circumstances. Here the object is the improvement of the estate adjoining the residence, into the cost of which the owner probably does not look more minutely than into that of the plantations which have been, or are, in course of formation in other parts of the estate. The farm buildings and dairy are on a large scale, admirably arranged. A large number of milch cows are kept, chiefly Kerry, Ayrshire, and other small breeds. Alderneys do not answer well. In covered stalls a large number of calves are reared, and a number of beasts are constantly being fatted. The whole of the beasts are fed under cover, no manure being made in yards, as it usually is in England and other places. There is excellent machinery, and everything is on the most complete scale. About 300 head of cattle, and 1,000 sheep are grazed. In addition to the dairy cows and young stock reared, a number of old cows and bulls are purchased lean from the farmers around, and fed up for the markets.

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* Mr. M. Henry has kindly informed me that he thinks this estimate too high, and that it is nearer £16 per acre.

At a distance from the house there are two other farms—about 150 acres each—with well-appointed buildings and sheds and neat farm-houses. Here much the same course has been pursued; but as the land has been longer reclaimed, and some of it is of better quality, they had more the appearance of ordinary well-cultivated, well-appointed farms than the other lands. The letting value of these farms would probably be from 15s. to 20s. per acre. Two light Alderney bullocks were used in ploughing and harrowing, and answered much better than horses. Wages were about 1s. 6d. and 2s. a day. The employment given must be of the greatest value to the neighbourhood. I was informed that, in various ways, £1,000 had been paid in the past three months for labour.

Whilst in Connaught I had heard several times that the tails of a number of Mr. Mitchell Henry's cows had been cut off. I was glad to find that the statement was not confirmed. But the houses of a number of tenants who had paid their rents had been slightly injured as a mark of displeasure from those who had combined not to pay theirs. These I noticed in passing. There are about 150 small tenants on the estate, and they certainly are not highly rented. Mr. Mitchell Henry is assisting some of the tenants to drain their own lands, and paying them wages for the work done. It is deeply disappointing that tenants who are so liberally treated by their landlord, and to whom so much work is given, should be found combining together to refuse their rents. Whilst it may be hoped that the number is small who are acting in this way, no more striking proof can be given of the injury resulting from the extreme doctrines which have of late been so widely taught in some quarters.

One farm or townland on the estate, of 470 acres (80 acres of which were arable, and the remainder mountain or bog land), was let for £45 a-year, on a long lease, to five tenants. The arable land for each tenant varied from thirteen to twenty-six acres. One of the tenants to whom I spoke said he had ten beasts and thirty sheep. He seemed a very industrious man, and was busy planting Champion potatoes. I was told that all these tenants had reclaimed a considerable quantity of land, adding year by year to the arable land. What more could be desired?

The steward had no doubt this would be the result generally in Ireland if the tenants felt assured that they would not have to pay increased rents for making improvements, or for taking larger quantities of land into cultivation.

Notwithstanding the amount of work given at Kylemore, I was surprised to find that 600 out of 750 families in the district which includes Kylemore were upon the Relief lists. That this number, spite of very great poverty in certain townlands (as Renvyle, for instance), is larger than it ought to be, must, I think, be clear. Unhappily there is no united action here on the part of Catholics and Protestants such as I found in every other place I have yet visited, but a bitter feeling of hostility, which I am told prevails more or less throughout the west of the County of Galway, and which has led to much difficulty and controversy in connection with the Dublin Funds.

April 1st, 1880.—Drove over a very wild, stony, desolate region, covered for many miles with boulders and large granite slabs and stones along the shores of little bays, and near which were scattered many villages and houses scarcely discernible at times from the huge rocks against which they are sheltered. It seems incredible that any sustenance can be gained at all amidst this wilderness of rock, rivalling Petra in its barrenness, and which, at any rate, would seem only to afford food for goats; and yet here, in some places, a large population exists. Not less remarkable is the price which they pay for their miserable holdings. Around Errismore, we went into many cottages with the most filthy exteriors and entrances, but with a little space swept clean around the fire. In one, a woman who had a clean face, I thought must have been in England, and, on my inquiring, she said, "Yes;" and where? "In York, your honour." They were extremely poor. Some families had a little store of potatoes and others none; in one house—where there was a very good-looking woman, in ill-health, and a handsome merry daughter—they were just pulling out their hidden store of potatoes. *They had not tasted a potato for months*, and these the woman had been saving, as she thought "the great famine was coming again." Thanks to the meal given away this had been averted. On one estate we found that the rents, which previously seemed high,

had been raised 4s. in the pound about two years ago. Thus holdings which gave 1½ to 2½ acres of oats and about as much of potatoes, with a wild mountain run for a cow, calf or pony, had been raised from £5 5s. to £6 6s. For the seaweed they had to pay 1s. per load for all above four little horse loads. Some paid more rent, others less. When the kelp trade was good these people might earn sufficient to enable them to live; but it is impossible now that iodine is made more cheaply from Peruvian earth, which very much lessens the demand for kelp, or even causes its manufacture to cease in some places. In past times £10,000 to £20,000 a year was paid along the Galway coast for kelp, the making of which much benefited those who had seaside holdings, and helped to keep up the rents. Anyone who will look on the map of Galway, at the district south-east of Clifden, will be struck with the numberless small lakes and little inlets of the sea, which seem to have almost as large an area as the land. These are all surrounded by the huge stones which I have described in this "Region of Desolation."

At Roundstone, a little town very pleasantly situated on a bay opposite the Island of Inishnee, there is a fairly comfortable hostelry, which with its small bed-rooms, opening out of the sitting-room, and wooden trough beds, reminded me of an Alpine inn. Here Mr. Brady, the able and indefatigable Fishery Inspector, was holding an inquiry concerning the proposed pier in the bay, which would be of great value, and give much work to the people. I had a long talk with him about other piers, especially those at Killala and Lacken. Great difficulty exists in obtaining from the authorities a speedy settlement, and an order for the payment of the money after the details are arranged. Many works which, at this moment especially, would be of the greatest value in giving employment, might now be in progress but for these vexatious delays. Here, too, I met with a parish priest who has charge of some extremely isolated hamlets situate among the Connemara mountains,—so remote that the relieving officer had never heard of the place, and the people there were equally innocent of the existence of the Union-house or of the Board of Guardians! Mr. Robinson visited

them some weeks ago and found them very much in want,—a people who *had nothing but four bare walls* for their houses, and laid down on straw or heather with the cattle in their hovels. Could the external conditions of human existence be worse? These little mountain farmers usually had four or five cows or young beasts and twenty or thirty sheep each, and were paying £6 to £8 a-year each for their holdings, with large wild mountain ranges for their cattle. The Glendalough Hotel, which we reached about dusk, is beautifully situated, and a favourite resort of anglers, of whom we found several who had fished with little success.

April 2nd, 1880.—Left early for a long day's journey, partly along the well-known Connemara road from Clifden to Oughterard, from which we turned off at right angles, passing through a district, if possible, more inhospitable looking even than some parts seen yesterday. At length, after a slow progress of over twenty miles, we arrived at Rosmuck, a village on the shores of an inland bay. The priest was from home, but expected shortly. He and the dispensary doctor are the only people in a very large district who could in any way attend to the people. Mr. Robinson, who accompanied me, was well known here as in all the remote corners of his district, and had not long ago been obliged to sleep on the floor of the vestry, on a shake-down provided by the hospitable priest. After hunting up the recently-appointed Relieving Officer, a rough boat was at last manned by five men with three oars, to row us over the inlet to the little village of Camus. I wish I could produce that rocky coast and wild miserable village, or rather introduce it into England for a while, so that English people might realise how, in these remote places, so many thousands of people are living. Half-a-mile away, and I will venture to say no one would think it possible that any human being could live or even find foothold on this rock-strewn shore; but, by degrees, you see the little "smokes" arising, and here and there little dark strips of land, which show that the ground is being prepared for the potatoes they *hope* to obtain, for they have none left to plant. Then you see peering above the rocks little dark heads of men, women,

and children, who, attracted by the unusual sight, come out of their cabins to reconnoitre. As you walk among them on landing, they watch you with curious eyes: they do not beg, and cannot answer your inquiries, for most do not understand, and few can talk, English. They are a race of wild people, poorly clad, and living with the cattle in their houses, often lying on the damp ground on hay like them. No distribution of meal had taken place last week, and several families were sitting round small quantities of the smallest (old) potatoes I ever saw, and with nothing else to eat with them. In one house which I entered three children, under one covering, ill with fever, were lying on the ground: others also were ill.

For these miserable places among the rocks they were each paying from £4 to £8 a-year. This would seem incredible at any time. No wonder that none had paid their rent last year. I heard that the agent had talked about evicting them, but I think had deferred his intention. We gave a little money to the most destitute, which was gratefully received. Then we had rather a long row back, for we had walked two miles or more from the landing-place, and the tide being against us compelled the boatmen to take a long détour through the rocky channel of the inlet.

On our return to Rosmuck we met with Father Kane, who is looking well after his people, but has not had much help so far. Out of 365 families in his parish, not more than fifteen were able to support themselves. I left him a sum of money to assist in giving a little work, or in helping some of the sick.

April 3rd.—At Oughterard I have been glad to have a quiet day. Visited the workhouse, and had a call from the clergyman and Mr. I. P. O'Fflaertie, the Secretary of the Duchess of Marlborough's Fund. I regret to find that there are so many needing help here. I had hoped this was a better district, but want turns up everywhere. The poverty of the Electoral Division of Camus, which we visited yesterday, may be judged of by the fact that the annual valuation for the Poor Law is only £236, for an area of 8,857 acres (the poor-rate is 4s. 6d. in the £), and for the townland of 839 acres the annual valuation is £3 10s. Out of the 365 families in the parish there are not fifteen who do not

now require help. The township of Camus has fifty-six houses. Another division in Galway, Kilcommen, has 14,843 acres, and is only valued at £161 = 2¾d. per acre. The whole of the Union of Oughterard is valued at £15,000, with a population of 19,000, and has an area of 172,696 acres. Mr. Berridge, who purchased from the Law Life Assurance Company a large portion of the Martin estate, is the largest owner. Camus and Rosmuck belong to him. He is non-resident, and, so far as I could hear, does nothing for his tenants. We were travelling nearly the whole of yesterday through his neglected estate. I had a long conversation with a police-constable in charge here. He thinks the agitation is quieting down, and that the people do not care about Davitt and his followers, from whose advice no benefit has resulted; but they are very warm supporters of Parnell. He thought the people who could pay their rents had generally paid. He spoke very strongly about the extent of the distress around Oughterard, and said that in November last he had been engaged in collecting the returns of the stock and crops in the country for the Government, and that he had been extremely unwilling to accept the statements made to him of the great reduction in the number and quantity of the stock or other crops; but he had tested them in several ways, and felt quite sure that the statements were correct. He thought the usually well-to-do farmers felt the strain very severely, and that it would be wrong to compel them to sell all their stock before allowing them "the meal."

I parted here with Mr. H. A. Robinson the Local Government Inspector for this district, whom I have been fortunate enough to have as a companion for the last few days. His deep interest in his work, and intimate acquaintance with the country and the condition of the people, have been of great service to me. As he has been attacked on various occasions as being too young for the important service he is engaged in, I think it due to him to say that I consider any Government is to be congratulated which can obtain at this moment the services of a young man who undertakes with so much zeal and ability the very onerous duties which fall upon him. It needs young men to bear both the physical and mental strain which the work of

supervising the Unions of this extensive district in Mayo and Galway involve.

I had hoped to have been able to extend my journey to other portions of Galway as well as to the south-west coast; but after six weeks' constant travelling I do not find myself equal to the task.

Monkstown, Dublin, April 10th.—The great and unexpected political change which has swept over the country since I commenced this journey has brought with it many minor changes, and amongst these, one which men of all shades of politics cannot fail to regret—the retirement of the Duchess of Marlborough from the post to which she has with equal wisdom and liberality devoted herself. As we recall the prescient letter, issued in the closing days of last year, which, like the storm-signal, foretold the coming disaster, and the various steps which have been taken to avert it, whether in the formation or oversight of the local committees, the distribution of grants, or the subsequent partial withdrawal of food grants and their substitution for the all-important supply of seed-potatoes,—it is impossible for me as a witness to withhold my humble tribute of admiration and regard. In a short interview which I had with the Duchess of Marlborough she expressed her unabated interest in the work, and her deep regret in not being able to carry it on to its close, and informed me that she had already made arrangements for placing the remaining funds in the hands of trustees so that they should be usefully disposed of.

During the earlier portion of my visit an estimate which I made that 600,000 persons were either needing or in receipt of some amount of relief in the seventeen Western counties which form the "scheduled districts," was objected to as being much in excess of the actual numbers. Subsequent information and the experience of the Dublin Committee seem to prove that this number was below the actual figures, and that the actual numbers cannot have fallen far short of one million out of the population of 2½ millions in the districts named.

As the actual demand for help is as great now (April) in most of these district as it was during the winter, and the prospect of its becoming less, until the recently-sown crops are

ready for use, must mainly depend on causes of which it is difficult to estimate the value, it cannot be a matter of surprise that the members of the Mansion House Committee are deeply impressed with the increased responsibility of their position arising from the inadequacy of their Fund to meet any increased demand which the withdrawal of the other Fund may throw upon them.

Their operations have throughout extended over a wider area than the Duchess of Marlbrough's Fund, and the necessity of gradually withdrawing from the wider area, and confining their assistance to the more impoverished unions, has strongly claimed the consideration of some members of the Mansion House Committee. The contrast between the comparative wealth or poverty of unions receiving assistance within the scheduled districts, has often struck me as demanding more consideration than it appears to have received.

In meeting the Committee of the Mansion House Fund, I ventured to call attention to this subject, and to the importance, as it seemed to me, of carefully reducing, or even withdrawing, the grants, in some unions which might be called wealthy in comparison with others, whose need was so extreme as almost to amount to famine. Especially in the face of what I feel assured must be the long continuance of the demand for help, does it seem important that the gradually lessening resources should be husbanded with strict care. Being requested to put in writing the data upon which my remarks were based, I addressed a letter to the Committee, after my return to England, and which I give in Appendix No. 3.

The great difficulty in carrying out the suggestions made, of wholly withdrawing from the (comparatively) richer unions, within the distressed districts, is much increased by the system adopted in Ireland of levying the poor-rate upon each electoral division, according to the actual needs and expenditure of such electoral division, instead of upon the whole union, as in England. Thus it happens that the poorest parish is the one which is most heavily rated to the poor; and thus, in comparatively rich unions, districts exist which need help equally with those in unions which are much poorer as a whole. In any future changes in the poor law in Ireland it would, I

feel persuaded, be a great advantage to assess the whole union, or even the county, equally for the relief of the poor. The difference in the rate collected in the various electoral districts of the same unions varies in some cases from 6d. to 1s. 6d. or 2s., and in others from 10d. to 4s. in the £, and even in one case from 2s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. in the £.

The last amount is no doubt most unusual, and probably arose from the very low valuation of the electoral division—which in this case was about £240—whilst the actual rental must have been double or treble this sum.

For various reasons it appears very important that there should be a re-valuation of land in Ireland, for the purposes of taxation. The present valuation goes back to 1846-8, and is usually much below the present value, and in many cases appears to have very little relation to it. The result is injurious in many ways—thus I have frequently come upon instances where the tenement valuation is not half, and in some extreme cases not one-fourth the letting value or rental, and it certainly is more often than not 25 per cent. below. Hence in part, arises the idea common among the tenants of Ireland that their rents are unduly high, and from being so very much higher than the poor-law or "tenement valuation," that they ought to be brought down to its level. As a rule I should not be disposed to consider the rents unfairly high—that they are so in some cases may well be believed;—but the variation in price for apparently the same quantity and quality of land in different districts is so great that it is very difficult to form an accurate opinion on this important subject. There is one other aspect of this question which deserves attention, as being an Imperial one. The income-tax in Ireland being assessed upon the old valuation (tenement valuation) of 1846-8, and not, as in England, upon the actual rental, it would appear that Ireland pays an income-tax upon about two-thirds only of the rental actually derived from land, whilst England pays the tax on the actual rentals In this way it is estimated that the landed interest of Ireland escapes the payment of the income-tax upon a sum which is computed at not less than four millions and a quarter! The figures are, present valuation, £13,769,000, which would be raised

to £18,000,000 if the re-valuation approached more nearly to the present value or actual rental. Looking at it in this light, it is not surprising that I have heard strong objections advanced to any re-valuation! But there is also another point of view from which the low valuation acts injuriously, in giving the impression that the poor or other rates are much higher than they are in England. Raise the annual valuation of a union, or electoral division to its true position relatively to an English union, and the rates which look so high to-day, of 3s. or 3s. 6d. in the £, would drop to 2s. or 2s. 6d., and much less in some cases.

The remarks which have been suggested in connection with the difficulties felt to exist on the part of the Mansion House Committee in effecting any very exact selection of the districts most needing relief, must not be allowed to divert attention from the beneficent results of the operations of this and other Funds. No words are, I believe, too strong to express the boon which they have conferred upon the country. But for the timely succour given, the suffering and mortality would have been terrible indeed. For, surprising as it may appear, the increased expenditure under the Poor Law does not give evidence of the severity of the strain, although a number variously estimated at from half to one million persons have been assisted by the private charity of the Funds, at a cost of nearly a quarter of a million, for the past three or four months.*

Nor is it, I believe, possible to overstate the actual need of the thousands of small farmers and cottiers, who have thus been enabled to tide over a period of acute poverty, arising, not merely from a loss of crops—the money value of which is estimated at over £10,000,000, and of which one-half is considered to represent the loss in potatoes alone†—but also from the almost entire failure of money wages usually earned in

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* Now fully half-a-million—June, 1880.

† In the admirable summary prepared by the Registrar-General, Dr. Grimshaw, the actual figures are :—Depreciation in money-value of crops in Ireland in 1879, as compared with 1878, 10,014,788 ; of which the loss on potatoes alone amounts to £4,238,484, the crop being estimated at 22,273,520 cwts., as against a ten years' average of 60,000,000 cwts.

England or Scotland by those who annually visit England or Scotland in search of the work they cannot obtain at home. This latter loss, which falls almost exclusively upon the smallest enants, cannot be less than a million, and may be much more. England then, as well as Ireland, owes a deep debt of gratitude to the Dublin Committees for the zeal and earnestness which has been displayed in the faithful administration of the funds entrusted to them.

How heartily these efforts have been seconded by the numerous local Committees or individuals in the distressed districts the reader of the foregoing pages will have seen, showing with what assiduity the resident gentry and clergy of all denominations have, in a vast majority of instances, united in the careful administration of the grants or supplies placed at their disposal: and whilst it may seem invidious to refer to any class in particular, it is only just to point out that where a population is so largely Roman Catholic, the brunt of the burden has, in many places, necessarily devolved upon their clergy, who, often single-handed, have had to sustain that burden alone. I willing avail myself of this opportunity for expressing my grateful sense of the kindness and hospitality which have been shown me, and the ready manner in which facilities have everywhere been given me in the prosecution of my inquiries.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF CONNAUGHT.

It would seem impossible for anyone to travel for some weeks through the distressed districts of the West of Ireland without frequently asking why it is that a condition of society should exist there which is so unsatisfactory to all parties concerned, and which differs so widely from anything that can be found in other portions of the United Kingdom. It cannot be denied that this condition is one which vitally affects the well-being, not of Ireland only, but of the whole United Kingdom. In the attempt to answer this question for myself, I venture to offer some considerations upon the causes to which, as it seems to me, this unhealthy condition may chiefly be traced, and also upon the various remedies which have been or are proposed for its benefit.

These considerations will form a fitting close to these notes.

There is a very marked change in the political and social atmosphere of the counties of Mayo and Galway when compared with Donegal. In the latter, with rare exceptions, there was little agitation or openly expressed bitterness towards landlords, and the number of police is small, and their duties not very harassing. In the former it is entirely the reverse, agitators and agitation are rife, and an almost military occupation exists.

The return of Mr. Parnell from America was signalised by a general illumination in the town, and even in remote villages and hamlets, where the police supposed no strong political feeling existed. In the towns, speeches more or less violent were made on the Sunday evening after his return, and bands and tar barrels caused a great stir among the people. At Ballinrobe a drunken orator commended Charles Stuart Parnell, as "the *only honest* man in Ireland;" and at Westport several speakers

addressed a large and excited audience from the window of our hotel.

But this is of slight moment compared with the deep-seated sense of discontent which pervades many districts of Mayo and Galway. At Westport the agent for the largest proprietor, who also acts for others, rarely if ever leaves his house unless guarded by two policemen armed with double-barrelled guns loaded with slugs; and his son, who is equally protected, is thought to be a special object for vengeance. This is in consequence of his having shot a man who was one of a party that fired upon his father and himself whilst driving on the road. At Ballinrobe, again, I noticed two armed policemen walking up and down the town together. "That is how we do it in Mayo," said the gentleman, a large landed proprietor, who was with me; "those men are following some bailiff up and down the town from house to house." If it were not for the police, I was told on one occasion, the people would rise in some districts against the landlords, or rather their agents; for the bitter feeling is generally against some agent who is supposed to carry out his duties with little consideration for the tenant and much for the landlord. In Mayo alone I was told there are 800 to 1,000 armed policemen, and as many more in the County of Galway, stationed there to protect the land, or rather the lives of the landowners.

It is very difficult for an Englishman to realise such a condition of affairs, or to conceive it possible in an English county. Take Norfolk, for instance, which has nearly the same area as Mayo—1,356,000 acres in the former against 1,376,000 in the latter—whilst the population of Norfolk, 438,000, is not far from double that of Mayo with its 246,000. Leaving Norwich, Yarmouth, Lowestoft, &c., out of consideration, let us imagine that in every small town or village of 300 to 5,000 people of that agricultural county companies of armed men were stationed in barracks, varying in number from five to fifty, whose duty it was, by day and by night, on foot and on horseback, to patrol the country; 800 to 1,000 men are thus employed in Mayo, while 236 rural police constables suffice for nearly double the population in Norfolk. What would dull Swaffham, Wal-

sham, Fakenham, or peaceful breezy Cromer think of such semi-military occupation? Let us also imagine that, here and there, in some wild and out-of-the-way place, you find a "hut" temporary barracks) erected for a handful of men, marking, like the cross in the old highwaymen times, the scene of some recent outrage or attempted murder. Further, to complete the picture, let us remember that there are men, yes, and even a woman, it is said, who dare not cross the street of the town, or pay a visit, without the terrible penalty of an armed following.

Mayo was one of the proclaimed districts, and has been the centre of the great wave of anti-rent agitation which last autumn swept across the country and which has been productive of so much evil fruit. The districts around Claremorris and Swinford seems especially disturbed, and it may be noted that there is hardly a resident landlord in these districts, and that therefore the people are more left to themselves than in the case where a good resident landlord exists. Here, too, the misery of the population has been very marked, and the absence of men of independent position or judgment is most seriously felt in the administration of the Poor Law. The difference in the disaffected state of the people in North and South Mayo further illustrates this. In *South* Mayo, from Westport eastward, the chief landlords are nearly all non-residents—five or more—whose total rentals taken out of the county cannot be less than eighty thousand a year.* Captain Knox, at Ballinrobe, is an honourable exception to this, and he, as Chairman of the Union, and also of the Relief Committee, is working hard in that district. It is in South Mayo that the great seat of disturbance exists, and where, as I have noticed, the largest body of police is quartered, and where there are many men who dare not stir out of their houses without their escort. In North Mayo a less hostile spirit as a rule exists. Many of the landlords are resident, and exercise a

* In Connaught 427 owners of 1,111,000 acres, the annual value of which is £283,000, are non-resident; whilst 925 proprietors with 1,750,000 acres, of an annual value of £632,000, are resident, or partly resident, in the province. In Ulster 517 owners of 1,400,000 acres of land, with an annual value of £778,000, are absentees, whilst 1,259, having 2,100,000 acres, and an annual value of £1,355,000, are resident.

beneficial influence over their poorer neighbours and tenants. Sir C. K. Gore, Colonel Knox, and others, are instances of this. Nor must it be overlooked, in reference to the disaffected condition of Mayo, that it was in this county that the greatest number of evictions occurred in 1846-50; thousands were thus turned out of house and home, and the records of the Famine year have left a tale of suffering and sorrow which will not be soon forgotten.*

The attempted process-servings in this and the adjoining county have frequently been resisted by force. Fifty or sixty policemen have had to encounter large mobs of people, men and women, and have been compelled to retire from the scene. I have referred to one village which I visited, about three miles from Westport, which had been the scene of one of these encounters. In this instance, I believe, there had been little, if any, *withholding* of rent, it was absolute poverty which prevented payment, for many of the people had pawned their shawls and clothing, and were, so far as we could see, without other food than that supplied by the "Committee." So far as I know, none of these persons have been apprehended for interfering with the police in the execution of their duty; but in the neighbourhood of Castlebar, the "Kilvine Rioters," both men and women, were convicted at the Castlebar Assizes, for violently resisting the police, whilst we were at Westport. The sentences were intentionally very heavy, viz.,—three men were imprisoned for twelve months, with hard labour; one for nine, three for six months; two women were sentenced for six months, with hard labour, others three months, with hard labour; two little boys to two months; and others, men and women, to three, six and twelve months. And it is thought that these sentences have had a deterring effect in other cases, as we heard of processes being served on Lord Sligo's and other pro-

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* The Census (in round numbers) of the population of Connaught shows the following remarkable figures :—

	Inhabited Houses.	*Population.*
1841	243,000	1,418,000
1851	169,000	1,100,000
1861	163,000	913,000
1871	153,000	846,000

perties around Westport without difficulty. The families of the "Kilvine Rioters" are now supported by the Land League.

Nor is the county of Galway less disaffected. I have heard from several residents statements of the alarm and agitation through which they passed last winter. Many were in fear of their lives, or of having their houses burned down; and, as I have before said, it is thought by some that an agrarian revolution would have taken place had it not been for the constabulary. The Carraroe * and Maam Riots of last winter, in which hundreds or thousands of people resisted the police who were protecting the process-servers, are too well known to need recounting. I met one of the inspectors of police who was present, who told me he thought if they had not charged at the moment they did that the people would have closed in upon the handful of police and by sheer force of numbers disarmed and trodden them down. As it was, thirty men and women were more or less injured by the bayonet, and several police, one of whom had hot coals thrown, not upon his head, but down his back. That this deep-seated disaffection is only partially quenched may be learned by the fact that within a few days a little yacht was burned down to the water's edge for some offence given by the owner, and to-day the Inspector of Police, who had luncheon at the hotel, was engaged upon an inquiry into a case of reported shooting at a man *last evening*,† within half a mile of this town (Oughterard). The Inspector himself took a loaded pistol out of his pocket before sitting down, which he said he always carried with him.

It cannot be doubted that this is sufficient evidence of a very serious state of society, which under the evil influence of certain men can at any moment be fanned into a flame. It is thought that many of the outrages are not committed by the poorest people, though the resistance to the police in process-serving is often undoubtedly so. The murderous attack upon the agent and his son, already referred to, which resulted in the death of one of the would-be murderers, arose in connection with a grazing farm of considerable size near Ballycroy, the lease of

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* See P.S., page 114.

† Written at Oughterard.

which fell in. The original rent of £10 was advanced to £32, and the owner of the lease declining to pay he was ejected. Such is the statement, and hence he induced persons to lie in wait for the agent with the deliberate intention of killing him. Such attacks, if they can be reached, ought to be punished most severely. A gentleman who visited the spot with the police the day after the affair, found the places where the men had spent the previous night in the heather, and two or three empty whisky bottles, cartridges, &c., &c.

Whilst condemning to the utmost such atrocious crimes, the question still remains to be solved, How can they be prevented? "Put more police in the county," is the answer of some; "erect a hut for four or five policemen where an outrage occurs and charge them on the district itself, so that it may *feel* the inconvenience;" a useful reminder no doubt, but certainly not a remedy.

"It is very hard to have to pay the police tax. See, Sir, I have to pay 6s.;" said a woman to me one day, "a man had better be quiet and pay his rent." So far good, but the murderers are never found, and a reward of £500 for conviction or £200 and free pardon for information of accomplices have produced no result in the above case. Law is in fact set aside, and agrarian crime respected and unpunished. The agrarian outrages in Connaught alone have increased four-fold in the past year, and are probably more numerous at this time in this province than in the whole of the three other provinces of Ireland together. And what is even more serious is the fact that not more than one in five of the offenders are discovered or punished. This applies solely to offences connected with the land, for as regards other crimes they are less frequent than in England, and as readily punished. And still the question remains, How can this almost universally disaffected tone be changed into one of content and loyalty?

From all I have heard the position seems to me *one of the greatest gravity*. It is, whoever may have said it, "the question of the day," and I cannot believe that any Government can long exist without having it forced upon them. It seems, therefore, essential to the right government of the people to know really what they consider their grievance, and, if it be a real one, to see in what way it may best be remedied; but if there be no real

cause for complaint, then the disorder should be put down with the firmest hand. Society is imperilled at the present moment, and the demoralisation which leads men to sympathise with murder and murderers cannot but be viewed with alarm and with the deepest thoughtfulness. That the *Land Question*—whatever this may mean—is, in the minds of nine-tenths of the people, the cause and centre of it, cannot be doubted. Talk to whom you will—except it may be a few of the owners of land—and you find but one answer. "The land is for the people, and they must have *fixity of tenure*, and the power to enjoy the fruit of their labour." "*Fixity of Tenure*," let me say, is much more advocated than *Peasant Proprietorship*. It is clearly seen that a poor tenantry have not as a rule the two capitals required both to purchase and to farm the land, and they would be content, if a clear simple law of fixity could be arranged, to leave the landlords with the fee, having tenants under certain fixed conditions with an assured fixity of tenure. "What is wanted," said the Bishop of K—— to me, "is to have a Government valuation of all lands made upon the basis of the value of all agricultural produce for the past seven or ten years, such valuation to be absolute for say a period of ten years or more, and at the end of this time to have a re-valuation based upon the results of the past period, and rents either raised or lowered accordingly, but without any reference to individual improvements." Others say, make a valuation to-day on the above basis which shall be fixed for ever. This would seem to me unfair to the landlords, *unless* under the expectation that the rents would rise in value on account of their *being paid with regularity upon a property improving each year by the industry of those most concerned*, so that the estate, instead of selling as it now does in Ireland at twenty to twenty-two years' purchase on the rental, would bring thirty to thirty-five years' purchase as it now does in England.

That a landlord would in many cases absolutely object to this, as reducing him to the position of a holder of rent-charge, with no power over the portion of his estate let to tenants, except so far as non-payment of rent or non-fulfilment of certain conditions gave him power, I can well understand. On the other hand there are landlords who, feeling very strongly the present position of their

property, would, I believe, welcome any well-arranged system which would ensure peace and contentment. One very serious objection, so far as I can see, to the carrying out of this plan is the danger of driving away the good landlords who are now in the country. This would in every respect be a calamity. Others say, that the passing of the Land Act has, in fact, made the tenants masters of the position, and that they are indifferent as to future legislation. There are also points relating to subletting and subdivision which must be most carefully and jealously guarded. For no one can doubt that the minute subdivision of land with *no other source of income* to the holder of the small plots is one of the great evils which surround the land question. And in connection with this part of the subject it is of *the utmost importance to realise the fact that farms under* ten, fifteen, or twenty acres of land, according to its quality, are too small to support a family. It matters not whether a man has fixity of tenure, or being a peasant proprietor has no rent to pay, he cannot, unless he has some other source of income, live and bring up a family on the small farms under ten or fifteen acres of land which form so large a proportion of the holdings in the West of Ireland.

This table shows these numbers very clearly, and also the remarkable changes produced by the famine and still going on in Connaught and Ulster. The totals are, in round numbers—

		Under 5 acres.	5 *to* 15 *acres.*	15 *to* 30 *acres.*	*Above 30 acres.*	*Total Holdings.*
Connaught Farms	1841	100,250	45,400	5,800	4,360	155,800
	1851	24,730	49,200	28,800	20,100	123,000
	1871	24,550	50,050	32,700	22,270	129,600
	1878	22,425	48,350	33,470	29,300	126,500
Ulster Farms	1841	102,200	99,600	25,200	9,650	236,700
	1851	36,650	85,170	57,600	37,800	217,300
	1871	36,930	73,600	56,800	41,070	208,500
	1878	35,400	69,200	56,200	42,080	203,060

And in considering this very large number of small occupiers —70,775 out of 126,500 in Connaught holding under fifteen acres—the most serious difficulties at once present themselves, the remedies for the removal of which must be taken into consideration.

The fact that there are Unions in the West in which the annual value—according to the valuation for the purpose of taxation—does not average more than £4 to £5 per holding for the *whole* Union, will give some idea of the large number of small tenants in such districts. On one estate of £10,000 a-year, in Donegal, the agent informed me that the average rents were not more than £5 per holding, and in the part of the estate in which we then were, not more than £3.

The question of how to deal with these small holdings is undoubtedly a problem of extreme difficulty. That they are, in many sea-coast districts of the West, so thickly clustered together, where the stony nature of the land appears to forbid any improved cultivation of the soil, adds materially to this difficulty. Without employment as labourers, and without additional land to cultivate, the only remedy appears to be emigration, or migration to other districts of Ireland. That both means might be properly employed for lessening the burden upon the land in many places, and so leaving larger holdings for those who remain, admits of no doubt. Both should, I think, be encouraged.

It is well known that the Roman Catholic clergy have, as a rule, strongly objected to emigration. A large number of those with whom I have conversed are, however, now convinced that it is a remedy which is absolutely needed. "Why," as the Bishop of K—— said to me, "should we object, if they can obtain one acre of good land in America, which is worth twenty in this country?" Nor must we overlook the circumstance that in America a man, if unable to purchase land, is certain to find employment. On the other hand the "scattering" of the people, *i.e.* the placing them upon grazing or uncultivated land, to be reclaimed in part at the expense of the State, is the favourite doctrine of many. "It is not, as you English say, because we object to losing our pay with our flocks that we object to emigration, but it is because we see that the women lose their morality and the men sink down lower and lower in the great American towns that, as their clergy, we object to emigration; and if you saw the letters we have from our brethren in the United States you would not wonder at our

strong objection.* It is only the resource of an indolent and unpatriotic Government that brings emigration forward as a cure for our present evils, whilst all the time there are millions of acres of waste land which only need the employment of the wasted labour which abounds, to make it fruitful, and give the needful means of living to our people."

There is much force in this remark, for in what civilised country of the world do we see so much uncultivated, undrained land lying waste, apparently courting cultivation; and, on the other hand, so much bone and sinew lying idle, waiting for employment? That the two elements might to some extent profitably be brought together admits of no doubt, but the important question whether any large scheme for the reclamation of bog lands, such as has often been advocated, could be profitably effected, demands fuller investigation.

The reclamations of land in Galway and other places show that this is possible; but the cost at which they have been effected makes it doubtful whether such a scheme would prove a commercial success.

But whilst the nature of the ground, or the closely-packed population, forbids any hope of permanently benefiting the population in certain districts except by emigration or the withdrawal to other parts of Ireland, there can be no doubt that there is a very large class of small holders of land who *rent, in addition to the cultivated* land they crop from year to year, larger quantities of mountainous or bog land, the quality of which is almost identical with that under cultivation, and which, if the holders felt assured that they could without increase of rent

* To this objection I have frequently urged the practicability and importance of making arrangements beforehand for the emigrants, so that on their departure from the seaport, as well as on the voyage, they might be cared for, and that, upon landing especially, they might at once be placed in good hands. Surely, with the wonderful power for organisation and the numerous Orders possessed by the Romish Church, it would be easy, without delay, to appoint efficient agents, whose duty it should be, on the landing of the emigrants in the New World, to give them information as to where work could be most readily obtained, or lands purchased to the greatest advantage.

or danger of disturbance bring it into cultivation, would be added to the arable land, and thus by degrees give them farms sufficiently large to maintain a family. Look at the evidence of this in the Peasant Proprietors, who have purchased their land under the Church Temporalities Act,* and at the instance of tenants on leases at Kylemore, p. 73.

And this I believe to be the true way by which tens of thousands of acres could by slow degrees be brought under cultivation, and thousands of little farms could be increased and made large enough to support the families which, on the smaller holdings, maintain at present a precarious existence in prosperous times, but when the harvest is bad or the potatoes fail, are obliged to look to the Poor Law or the Relief Committee for support.

But to give to the tenants the certainty that there would neither be increase of rent for improvements effected by themselves, nor danger of disturbance so long as rents are paid, brings me again to the much-debated question of—How can this be effected with justice to both landlord and tenant? The answer I must leave to abler hands to determine: but of one thing I am perfectly assured, that it is absolutely needful to face the questions which are involved in it, for the present relations between landlord and tenant are so strained that it is impossible to tell at any moment what may arise to snap them asunder. Unhappily, the words of the Commission of 1847, presided over by Lord Devon, still remain true, and are almost prophetic in their tone, where it says, "that the safety of the country and the respective interests of both classes call loudly for a cautious but *immediate* adjustment of the grave questions at issue. . . . In every district of the country we find that a widely-spread and daily increasing confusion exists; and it is impossible to reject the conclusion that, unless they be distinctly defined and respected, much social disorder and national inconvenience must *inevitably be the consequence.*"

It is extremely difficult for an Englishman to realise the intensity of feeling which exists on the land question in Ireland, and in looking for some of the causes which have led to this, we

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* See paper contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* for August, 1880.

shall find that it is due to a large extent to the overwhelming proportion of the population which is engaged in agriculture. To nine-tenths of the population of Connaught the possession of a bit of land is the sole means of existence. Of manufacture there is none; and (the majority of farms being too small to need hired labour) of agricultural labour there is very little. Take away from the tenant his little holding, and nothing is left to him but the workhouse. Except in some of the towns there is not even an unoccupied house which a man could hire if he obtained work apart from his holding. Hence the tenacity with which the holding is retained and defended. They are like shipwrecked sailors on a plank in the ocean; deprive them of the few inches by which they "hold on," and you deprive them of life. Deprive an Irishman of the few feet of land by which he "holds on," and you deprive him of all that makes life possible. For the workhouse—distasteful enough to an English labourer—is simply unendurable to an Irish peasant. That this is no mere sentiment is often impressed upon the visitor who enters the cabins of the people, where it is so common to find some infirm or aged person dependent on the kindness of the family for the miserable subsistence he obtains, and who in England would, without doubt, have been sent to the workhouse long before. Who would wish to lessen this kindly feeling, or break down the almost insurmountable repugnance to the workhouse?

The small amount of pauperism in Ireland when compared with England is very remarkable. In 1878, 85,000 persons were relieved in Ireland, at a cost of £990,000; whilst in England nearly *748,000* persons were relieved at a cost of *£7,688,000*. Taking the population of England at four times that of Ireland it will be seen that pauperism in Ireland is not half what it is in England, in proportion to the population, and is even 12 per cent. less than in Scotland.

But there is also another feeling which is still less understood in England, and which operates, if possible, with deeper intensity upon the mind of the Irish peasant. It is this, that the Irish peasant believes that he possesses an inalienable right to the soil; that the landlord is not the sole owner,

but that he has with the landlord a joint ownership—a "joint proprietorship,"* not simply in the little plot of land on which he has built his hut, but, jointly also, with other tenants, communal rights of stray, or grazing, over the mountain or bog-land of the townland. I am here speaking of those who may be regarded as the old and natural tenants of the soil, who have lived there for generations, and by whose industry whatever there is of cultivation in the land, whatever there is of building on the estate, has been effected. We have *no analogous condition of the land in England*, and to seek for it we must go back to the position of the original English copyholder. There we find that the "customs of the manor" grew up side by side with the growth of improvements, and fully protected the outlay and expenditure of the tenant and prevented any harsh or capricious action on the part of the lord.† In Ireland it has been otherwise. There have been no corresponding "customs of the manor." The improvements effected and the land reclaimed have, as a rule, been regarded by the landlord as a reason *ultimately* for an increase

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* *See* Report—Lord Devon's Commission.

† The following statement (prepared for me by a legal friend) shows how jealously the rights of the tenants have been guarded in England:—"In cases where litigation has arisen between a lord of a manor and a copyholder, in English manors, it has been the usual practice of the Courts to construe the customs of the manor strictly against the former. According to usual custom in manors which are called 'Fine Arbitrary' the lord is entitled to a fine upon the death of a tenant, or upon the alienation of the property by him; but the amount of such fine is never allowed to exceed two years' value of the premises to a single tenant, and after his death the lord must hold three Manor Courts at the customary intervals (usually not less than a year), and give notice of his claim at each, before he can take legal proceedings to enforce payment. In case of alienation the lord has (apart from special custom) no remedy for enforcing payment of the fine during the lifetime of the tenant who has disposed of his interest, unless the purchaser, for his own protection, seeks to be admitted as tenant in place of his vendor; but such purchaser, or any number of such purchasers from him, can, as against the lord, remain in undisturbed possession of the copyholds without making any payment by way of fine until their original vendor has died and the necessary three Courts have been subsequently held."

of rent. That there are many estates on which no raising of rents for improvements effected has taken place does not affect the argument or alter the fact that in many others these rights have been overlooked, or disregarded, and the rent raised to an extent more or less commensurate with improvements SOLELY brought about by the tenants. In Ulster the long-existing custom of "Tenant Right" has, to a considerable extent, protected the tenant, and caused—can we doubt?—to a large extent, the greater prosperity and tranquillity which are so evident in that province.*

That this tenant right has at length been legalised in Ulster, and an approach to it extended, by the Land Act of 1870, to the other provinces of Ireland, is well known. Of its operation in Connaught it is too soon to form a judgment, but doubtless it is felt by many landlords to have deprived them of the power of speedy eviction, and in other ways lessened their power over the tenant. On the other hand it is undoubtedly felt by many tenants to have given them a firmer hold of the land, and has, I was told, led to a considerable improvement in its cultivation.

Perhaps, apart from the wretched condition of the people and their dwellings in the West of Ireland, the fact which most impresses itself upon the mind of the traveller is, that nothing is made the best of, that the resources of the country are never really developed: muscle, energy, land, water, natural resources, beauty of scenery, all are more or less wasted for want of a wise and right direction and the use of capital and skill. The neglect and unwisdom of the owner, and the ignorance and supineness of the tenant, are everywhere patent.

You stop and exclaim with surprise, if you come upon a well-built cottage with a pretty garden (I am speaking of the West), such as is common in every English village; or make a note, if you see a well-drained, well-cultivated farm, which you would pass unnoticed in any English county. Still more are

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* This view is also taken in the Report of the Commission of 1847, presided over by Lord Devon, where it states "that the comparative tranquillity of the North of Ireland may mainly be attributed to the existence of the Ulster Tenant Right."

you struck with surprise, almost with astonishment, if on many large estates you find any trace of ownership beyond the park wall which surrounds the "demesne." Within its pale there may be that which is common in every estate in England, the sense of care and attention. Without, you step at once into a "beggar's land," and throughout its vast acres you may fail to discern any indication, whatever may be his wealth, that the owner is not as poor as the tenants appear to be.

You notice sites among the lovely mountain scenery which would make the fortunes of a dozen Scotch hotel keepers; or on the sea-coast situations so beautiful that you wonder that, in spite of the prevailing lethargy, no attempt has been made to create an Irish Barmouth or Llandudno. It cannot be doubted that Ireland possesses within itself the means of its own social regeneration. Still less can it be doubted that the bitter cry of distress, the political unrest and discord, the angry, defiant menace, the murderer's uplifted arm,—all spring from one and the same source. And that the source is poverty; poverty springing from want of employment; a want of employment arising from the undeveloped resources of the country, which await the magic touch of industry and capital.

And, as it seems to me, the pressing question still remains,—What further can legislation effect to promote this great and most desirable end so as to prevent, not merely the ever-recurring periods of distress arising from the failure of crops, but to raise and ameliorate the permanently miserable and disorganised condition of the people?

That plenty and contentment can be made to take the place of want and turbulence by mere Acts of Parliament; that social order and employment can spring up at the bidding of the statesman, however able and conscientious, it is idle to expect. The evils have been so long existing; the sore is so deeply seated, and has assumed so malignant a form, that even "heroic treatment" may fail to produce any immediate benefit. All that can fairly be expected of any Government is, as it seems to me, to lay down great principles of treatment which shall surely, although slowly, cure the maladies and build up a sound and healthy system.

Leaving metaphor, what, then, is there which can practically be done? It must seem empirical even to attempt to answer this most serious question, and if I do so it is with a deep consciousness of my own inability rightly to grapple with it.

Before doing so, let me say that I confine my remarks chiefly to the West of Ireland. With the East, with land let on ordinary terms, or on lease, as in England, I do not profess to deal. It is with the tens of thousands of small farmers always on the verge of want, whose condition is a blot upon our common humanity, and an excuse, if not a plea, for the wildest schemes proposed for its amelioration, that I propose to speak; those whose families have lived on the same lands for generations, who have reclaimed whatever land has been reclaimed, and cultivated whatever is cultivated, and built whatever is built of home or out-buildings, and among whom the present privation is rife, and borne, let me say, with a submission which is touching to witness.

CHAPTER V.

REMEDIES.

KEEPING before us the pressing question of what further can be hoped from legislation, it seems important, before making any suggestion as respects the future, to review the Remedial Measures which have already been applied.

Those who remember the Famine of 1847, or have made themselves acquainted with that period, will be well aware of the strenuous efforts which were then made to effect the passing of the Encumbered Estates Act, and can recall the high hopes which were then entertained of the benefits likely to result from its operation—efforts and hopes which were largely shared by the prominent members of the "Relief Committee of the Society of Friends." They strongly advocated the passing of this measure, and to a member of this Committee, who devoted a large share of legal knowledge and skill to the settlement of its principles and details, the first judgeship of the Encumbered Estates Court was offered and declined.

The Encumbered Estates Court undoubtedly effected a great and useful purpose during the first ten years of its existence in liberating a very large amount of property from insolvent owners. But many of those who took the most active part in its establishment must often have been conscious that, to a great extent, it has failed to secure all the benefits expected from it.

The reasons for this are, I think, not far to seek. Its promoters were occupied too exclusively with the idea that land, when liberated from insolvent ownership and sold to other proprietors, would necessarily fall into the hands of substantial owners, who would employ their capital in the development of its resources, and thus give the needed employment to the

people on the estates. Pursuing this single object, they fell into the fatal error of ignoring too much the tenants' interests in their holdings. It is notorious that the rights of the tenants were disregarded, and that this disregard was the occasion for grievous wrong in numerous instances, sometimes when the tenants were evicted without compensation to make room for new comers, and sometimes when the rents were raised by the new purchasers, with entire disregard to the peculiar position of the Irish tenant. It has often been noticed that the rack-rented estates are generally not the estates of old Irish proprietors, in which the rents are for the most part moderate in amount, but estates purchased under the Act by speculators, who have resold them, after increasing the rental enormously.

The promoters of the legislation of 1847-8 also committed another fatal mistake. They missed perhaps the widest opportunity which could ever have occurred of enabling the tenants themselves to become the owners of their own holdings, not only without injustice but probably to the great pecuniary benefit of the landowners whose estates were sold under the Act.

It is difficult to overestimate the benefit which would have resulted socially and economically, if this great opportunity had been made use of for raising up all over Ireland a proprietary of tens of thousands of larger or smaller farms owned and tilled by men who had the keenest interest in their improvement and further reclamation. If 6,000 proprietors have been added during the ten years in which the "Church Act" has been in operation, converting the purchasers, as a clergyman told me, from "agitators" into "Conservatives," what vastly larger results might have been effected through the more extensive sales under the Encumbered Estates Act during the thirty years which have elapsed since it was passed!

Hence came the necessity for further legislation. The Land Act of 1870 was needed to supply the two fundamental omissions of the Act of 1846-7.

(1.) As regards the rights of the tenants—the Act of 1870 recognised for the first time by law the long-ignored though persistently-maintained Ulster tenant-right. And also, in districts in which this valuable custom had not been so success-

fully upheld, the Act substituted for it, a recognition of the interest of the tenants by, firstly, giving them a right to the value of their improvements on the termination of their tenancy; and, secondly, by securing to them compensation for disturbance by their landlords in case of an ejectment from their holdings for any other reason than non-payment of rent.

(2.) As regards the lost opportunity of allowing the tenants to become purchasers of their holdings, tardy amends were made by the Bright Clauses of the Land Act, following the precedent set the year before, by the encouragement given in the "Church Temporalities Act" to the tenants of the Glebe lands to become purchasers of their holdings.

This legislation was no doubt highly beneficial, and it may well be asked, Is it not sufficient? Why disturb the settlement then made? Are not the disastrous effects of the famine merely exceptional, and when they have passed away would it not be wise to allow the landlord and tenant to adjust their position to the existing law? If the legislation of 1870 be upheld as final, and if the law be strictly enforced, will not the present agitation gradually die out?

The answer to this is to be found in the state of Ireland after the seven years, during which this policy has been avowedly pursued. Either the Act of 1870 was on wrong lines, or it requires still further adaptation to the needs of the case.

In the West of Ireland the tenants complain that the needed sense of security for their capital and labour is still wanting, and law and order are not yet maintained. Never at any time were the cries of "*fixity of tenure*" and "*no landlords*" so loudly uttered.

The question therefore remains and cannot be shirked: "What are the remedies?" Ought not Parliament to recognise whatever is substantially just and sound in principle in these demands, and thus, by other legal reforms, arrest a policy of wild revolution?

Over and over again I have heard the Land Act spoken of by landlords as an unjust and mischievous measure, and as being injurious to, if not destructive of, the rights of proprietorship, inasmuch as it has lessened the power of the landlord to evict

or otherwise deal summarily with his tenant. On the other hand, I have heard many others, belonging to or connected with the tenant class, who have spoken of its provisions as just and highly valuable, and as having already exercised an important influence in giving to the tiller of the soil a greater sense of security, and thus encouraging an improved and extended cultivation.

Opinions so strongly held and so diverse seem to indicate that, whether for good or evil, this Act has, in principle at least, gone to the very root of the question: and the testimony of both landlord and tenant shows that it has materially increased the security of the tenant. To the beneficent results of the other branch of the legislation of 1870, *i.e.* the experiment of peasant proprietorship, I have already referred in the foregoing pages, and have treated this subject more fully in an article in the August number of the *Nineteenth Century*. However limited the results may be, so far as they go it cannot be doubted that the position of the tenants of the Glebe lands who became owners has been improved. It is my belief that in a steady persistence on the lines adopted in the legislation of 1870, in both its branches, lies the only chance of reconciling the conflicting claims of landlord and tenant; although I am aware that to speak of the Land Act as a successful remedial measure is to many landowners, who regard its principles with abhorrence, equivalent to calling a poison wholesome food.

Firstly; as to the tenant right. The object of the Land Act of 1870 was, and the object still should be, to secure to the landlord and to the tenant their just rights, including their proper shares in the increased value which the industry and capital of the tenant may have given to the land.

The Land Act of 1870 recognised that the tenant had an interest in the land in which he had invested his labour and capital, as the Agricultural Holdings Act has also done in England. And if the Irish Act seems to give more than the English Act to the tenant the reason is, as has so often been pointed out in these pages, the almost universal practice of Irish landlords to let to the tenant the mere land, *leaving to him the erection of*

buildings and fences, the drainage and reclamation, and everything that is needful to convert it into a farm—a relation of tenant to landlord the very reverse of that which obtains in England.

The principle being thus conceded in the Irish and the English Acts, the lines of its further extension in practice alone are in question.

Nowhere are these lines better defined, or more clearly laid down, than in the Report of the Devon Commission in 1847 :—

"The LANDLORD has the undoubted right to the inherent qualities of the land, as well those that are latent and not yet called into productive activity as those that are already developed and made profitable; and this right must extend up to the highest state of production of which land is capable.

"Thus then the inherent qualities of the land are the distinctive property of the LANDLORD.

"The TENANTS' equitable right to a remuneration for his judiciously invested labour and capital is not likely to be disputed in the abstract. This property is undoubtedly his own. If it be employed on the estate of another person, and with that person's concurrence, it ought still to be respected and preserved to him. And if their intercourse or joint co-operation should for any reason terminate, it ought not to be without a just settlement of the account between them."

"Thus, then the labour and capital which a tenant may employ to call these qualities into activity are the equally distinct property of the TENANT."

How is it possible that the justice of this description of the points at issue can be doubted either on the part of landlord or tenant? How then does it happen that upon a question which is so largely one of mercantile consideration, any hesitancy should exist as to the principle? Is not the Irish landowner in great measure in the position of the merchant with the raw article to sell and the tenant in that of the manufacturer? Or in a position more analogous still to that of the owner of property

which contains coal or minerals, and which, not having himself the capital or skill to work, he leaves to lessees to develop? Looking at it in this aspect, can it be said that the relative position of the tenant to the landowner in Ireland is one which is conducive to the best interests of either; and can it be supposed that, if a similarly unsettled condition existed in any branch of either the mining or manufacturing interests in England, means would not soon be adopted to secure arrangements more to the benefit of both? It has sometimes seemed to me that the Irish landowner, looking too exclusively to that which he deems his *rights*, has shut his eyes to the evils which this exclusive view produces; so that while he condemns all legislative interference on the part of the State, he overlooks the evils which arise from the present relations of landlord and tenant, or attributes these evils to other causes; forgetting that in this mercantile transaction, as in all others, no permanently satisfactory relations can subsist which do not include equal regard to the interests of both parties.

Unhappily this condition of the West of Ireland is not merely one of recent occurrence. Famines or outbreaks of turbulence have too often called attention to it during the past fifty years. The almost unanimous verdict of both statesmen and writers has condemned the existing relations of landlord and tenant. No words can be more striking than those used in the Report of the Devon Commission, already quoted:—"The importance and absolute necessity of *securing* to the occupying tenant in Ireland some distinct mode of remuneration for the judicious permanent improvements that he may effect upon his farm is sustained by *a greater weight of concurrent evidence than any other subject which* has been brought under the investigation of the Commissioners." "The want of some measure of remuneration for tenants' improvements has been variously stated as productive, directly or indirectly, of most of the social evils of the country."

Nor less true and worthy of all consideration are the following words:—"It has been shown that the master evil, poverty, proceeds from the fact of occupiers of land withholding the investment of labour and capital from the ample and profitable

field for it which lies within their reach on the farms they occupy ; that this hesitation is attributable to the reasonable disinclination to invest labour or capital on the property of others, without a security that adequate remuneration shall be derived from the investment."

Though the agriculture of Ireland has been greatly improved since 1847, there are still many places to which the strong animadversion of the Devon Commissioners in their Report will apply, "that the characteristic tillage of the country is most barbarous and unprofitable, and that the introduction of the more profitable courses of cultivation must be impracticable until the *requisite preparatory* improvements of the soil shall have first taken place." After pointing out that the evidence before the Commissioners showed that this "requisite preparatory" improvement "offers the most profitable return for money or labour invested in it that can be imagined," the Report adds that, "so far as the small working farmer is concerned, these lucrative operations may be carried out *without the investment of money capital, but merely by the judicious application of time and labour of his family, which are now wasted, whilst he is complaining that employment cannot be had.*" Leaving the smaller class of farmers, the Report points out that even as far as regards the larger farmers, although they have "the same ample opportunity of employing labourers on similar works, with a certainty of the most profitable results, still often *no effort is made ;* " because, 1st, "The farmer is not certain of being permitted to reap a remunerating benefit from his exertions ; 2nd, Because, if a tenant-at-will, he may be immediately removed from the improved lands after having invested his labour or capital, without receiving any compensation for what he has done, or his rent may be immediately raised to the full value of the improvements thus effected."

If it is urged that such cases seldom occur, the Report replies "that it does not require many such to do infinite mischief in this respect ; a single instance in a large district would naturally paralyse exertions to an incalculable extent." After speaking of some evidence, adverse to the benefits resulting from land held on long leases, the Report adds : "These facts do not impugn

the broad and intelligible principle that before any man can be expected to invest wealth on his neighbour's property he ought to have distinct security as to the way in which that wealth is to be returned to him with reasonable profit. Many persons of the most upright intentions are surprised if a tenant should hesitate to expend large value in labour, &c., for improvements, which may require several years to draw back from the land, although the following year this outlay might *legally* be appropriated by the landlord. The world would be more surprised at the folly or indiscretion of a man, not being a tenant, who would place his money at the arbitrary control of another without either bond or security for its repayment. The evidence proves how unfortunate it is for *the proprietor's interest*, as well as *that of the tenant's*, that the closest mercantile calculations and rules have not been observed in the mutual dealings of these classes, and to the omission of them may be traced that derangement and these numerous adverse claims which surround the whole subject" (Report of Commission of 1847, p. 158).

It was to remedy this state of matters that the Act of 1870 was passed, and this Act is recognised in previous pages as having done much good.

Surely these clear statements of the Devon Commission embody principles which are of universal application, and in accepting them as a fair and just statement of the relative position of both landlord and tenant it may seriously be asked—first, whether there has been a *sufficient* recognition of the tenant's position which these principles require? Second, whether the neglect or unwillingness to recognise these principles has not, to a certain extent, been the cause of, or reason for, the present cry for "fixity of tenure," with or without a due recognition on the tenant's part of the rightful position of the landlord?

Whatever alterations may be needed in the Land Act to carry out these principles into practical operation, so as to secure the just rights of the tenant, are, in my opinion, the true and legitimate means of meeting the cry for "fixity of tenure."

Secondly, there remains the further, and to some extent, rival, cry of "no landlord;" the only possibly reasonable interpretation

of which must be the purchase by the tenant of the landlord's interest. From any other point of view it simply means robbery, and as such merits no hearing.

The results of past experiments in this direction are decidedly encouraging. Mine is not the only evidence which enables me to speak favourably of its general success, and the influence which the possession of land exercises upon the purchaser. We have the more important testimony of Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Murrough O'Brien, and others, who take a deep interest in the question. Hence I cannot hesitate to advocate as one of the remedies for the existing evils an extension of Peasant Proprietorship; not that the results prove it to be beneficial in all cases or circumstances, nor that I would pretend that it can be a panacea or universal remedy for Irish distress. It must not be forgotten that proprietorship, whether peasant or otherwise, necessarily involves possession of sufficient means to become a proprietor in addition to the requisite capital required for the cultivation of the land; and to place smaller or larger tenants in the position of heavily encumbered owners would only be to add to one of the evils with which Ireland is already afflicted, viz., the possession of land without the capital required for its proper cultivation.

But that the principle is applicable to the existing difficulty in tens of thousands of cases, it seems impossible to doubt. Why should not the hidden hoards and smaller or larger deposits in the banks for which the owner now receives a mere bagatelle of interest, be invested in the land? That the possession of land by thousands of owners would at once act as a stimulus to exertion, and, by so doing, would unlock capital and employ a large amount of labour, there seems every reason to believe. Whether looked upon from its commercial or social advantages, it seems, then, of the utmost consequence to promote Peasant Proprietorship. But in using the term "Peasant Proprietorship," I think it ought most distinctly to be recognised that the principle must not be confined to the smaller farms, as is so strongly advocated in some quarters. As a rule, neither the soil nor the climate of Ireland appear to allow of very small holdings being held beneficially in the absence of other employment.

It is quite possible that there are instances where the soil is exceptionally good, or the vicinity of a town enables the owner to cultivate as a market-gardener, in which a small holding may be made to support a family in comfort; but as a rule, and having regard to the extreme moisture of the climate of the West of Ireland, and the present imperfect cultivation and ignorance as to the best methods of cropping the land, this cannot be attained.

At the same time it is most important to recognise the great benefit which results to the small owner of land who has other employment, in being possessed of his own freehold, for from this small holding the thrifty and industrious man may rise to a larger one, and the mere possibility of this cannot but inspire him with hope and energy.

The lines on which it may be possible for the State further to aid the tenants to become purchasers of their holdings without injustice to the owners of land or any infringement of their rights have been so clearly laid down by Mr. Bright in his speeches that I need not enter into further detail on the subject.

EMIGRATION AND "SCATTERING."

It must, I think, be admitted there are a very large number of tenants in the West of Ireland for whose circumstances no land legislation of the nature adverted to can be considered a remedy. So far as I have been able to form an opinion the evidence is adverse to the idea that the occupancy of very small farms is, or can be made, *without other employment*, a benefit to the tenant. Such, for example, are the people whom I have described as existing on the stony wastes in the south-west of Galway. To the dwellers at Camus or Carraroe, with its five-and-twenty miles of alternate huts and boulders, neither peasant proprietorship nor "fixity of tenure" can be expected to prove remedial measures, and if it be objected that these are exceptional cases, it would not be difficult to bring forward many other localities of which, in varying degrees, the same might be said. For these the only available means of relief, in the absence of employment, appear to be "emigration" or "scattering." The latter remedy, the placing of the people upon a few of the

thousands of acres of unreclaimed land in other portions of the country, is one which sounds very tempting, and is entitled to very careful consideration on the part of those who may be called upon to legislate. The data upon which any judgment can be formed appear to me at present to be wanting. It may be sufficient to point out that it is a remedy which, when the drainage, reclamation, and the length of time over which it would be needful to support the families are taken into account, would be found to be very costly, and when effected would leave the tenant, or owner, in a poorer condition permanently than would have been the case if he had emigrated. There is also the important point in favour of emigration, that, apart from the facilities of obtaining land abroad, employment in a variety of trades can readily be obtained.

Whatever then may be the merits of "scattering," I cannot think at this moment that its claims can compete with emigration. It may be urged that the natural forces at work, now drawing thousands monthly to seek a livelihood in another land, are sufficiently powerful, and do not need any legislative interference to stimulate them. The misfortune is that not reaching down to the poorest they leave behind the weakest, and that whilst thousands of fairly well-to-do and able younger men and women are leaving their native country, those whose position most demands relief are left behind. That which seems to me to be needed is that under careful and systematic supervision *families* should be assisted to emigrate from overcrowded parts of Ireland, and that this oversight should not end in Ireland, but should be continued under the charge of properly qualified agents in Canada or elsewhere, whose object it should be to give assistance in the selection of land or in obtaining employment for the emigrants. The withdrawal of families from the crowded districts would have the double advantage of leaving more land for those who remain. Assistance to emigrants under "careful and systematic supervision" seems, then, to be one of the remedial measures for Ireland.

SALE AND TRANSFER OF LAND.

Most intimately connected with, if not underlying, all plans tending to increase the number of owners of the soil, is the necessity for "simplicity of legislation" in all matters affecting the sale and transfer of land. For, whilst the rich man may afford the luxury of a long bill of costs, the poor cannot; and it cannot be doubted that the expense and delay, as well as the uncertainty connected with the purchase or sale of land will continue to prove, as they do in this country, a constant bar to the free interchange of ownership. Whilst it may never be practicable to come down to the perfect simplicity of sale and transfer practised under the tenant-right system in Ulster, which consists merely in the seller's receipt for the purchase-money and the buyer's entry on the land, this simple plan is certainly a model which may well be aimed at. If this "selling of the land," as the Ulster tenants call it, was hedged in by all the vexatious delays and expense connected with the sale of land in fee, we cannot doubt that both the price of tenant-right would be reduced, and the number of transactions materially lessened. The reforms recommended by the Select Committee of 1879, in the "registration of titles," need careful consideration. Treat landed property, so far as practicable, as an every-day article of commerce, and can there be any uncertainty that the value will rise, and an immensely increased number of sales take place? "Free trade in land" must undoubtedly be regarded as one of the remedial measures demanded by a country almost wholly dependent upon the land.

Nor ought the cost of stamps and the other expenses of conveyancing to be overlooked. The loss to the revenue could be but small if the present stamp duty (of 10s. per cent.) were remitted or lessened in cases of purchases below £500. And with regard to legal charges it would be desirable (pending the establishment of some simple system of registration) that the Bill lately introduced by Lord Cairns, and having for its object the remuneration of solicitors in noncontentious matters, by a fixed percentage, should be passed into law as speedily as possible.

Questions of even greater importance arise in considering

the practice of the courts, and the duties payable to Government upon the devolution of land, whether under a will or an intestacy. It is important that in cases of intestacy the law of primogeniture should be abolished, and the descent of land assimilated to the rules regulating the distribution of personal estate; but more than this is needed. A simple and inexpensive process of administration should be placed within easy reach of the people, through the agency of the Civil Bill Courts (Ireland). Under an Act passed in 1873, a widow or children of an intestate whose personal estate does not exceed in value £100, and who reside more than three miles from the Court of Probate in Dublin, are entitled, upon payment of a few shillings, to obtain, through the registrar of the Civil Bill Court for the district in which the intestate resided, the necessary grant of administration, and the benefit of this Act has since been extended to the children of poor widows.

The advantages of a well-considered extension of this Act, both in England and Ireland, would be incalculable. Our English County Courts, under an Act passed in 1865, can deal with nearly all matters under the value of £500, upon which an application to the Court of Chancery would otherwise be necessary; and it would be merely an extension of this principle to give the Irish Civil Bill Courts a concurrent jurisdiction with the Court of Probate in Dublin in cases both of Probate and Administration up to the same amount (£500).

In Ireland also it would seem desirable to make provision that these small landowners, who necessarily have the faintest knowledge of the subject, shall be entitled to claim from the District Registrars the assistance they need, either to obtain Probate or Administration, as they can now obtain it under the Act of 1873, in cases of intestacy.

The fostering hand of Government might, with manifest advantage, be given in aiding the carrying out of light, cheap railways in the poorest districts of the West, so as to bring the produce within easier reach of a market.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion I venture to urge the paramount importance, on Imperial grounds, of dealing in a comprehensive spirit with the various questions at issue. Apart from Ireland, the whole course of legislation seems in danger of being obstructed. The much-needed attention of Parliament is diverted from the vast millions under our rule in India or the Colonies. Time cannot be given to the many important European questions which ever demand the most thoughtful attention. Purely English affairs are in danger of being overlooked. And why? In order to give way to a microscopic examination of Irish discontent, begotten of Irish want; in order to listen to the imperious demands for legislative interference and assistance which come to us from little more than one-half of the population of Ireland, a number barely exceeding three millions of people. For it is unjust not to recognise the fact that a large portion of the country is well-to-do and contented, and greatly increasing in wealth and population.

Can it be supposed that if this strong cry came to us from the same number of persons in England—the county of Yorkshire, for example—that remedial measures would not be at once attempted?

Amidst the general gloom and acknowledged difficulties which surround the Irish Question, may not the facts that the numbers to be dealt with are so comparatively small, and that, in looking back for a quarter of a century, we may discern a marked improvement even in the West of Ireland, be some encouragement to those who may be called on to attempt its solution?—a solution based upon the principles of justice, which shall, when the smoke of party politics has cleared away, be acknowledged by all parties to have built up the social edifice, and given order in the place of anarchy, and plenty in the place of want.

Nor less, to my own mind, is there ground for hope that this great end may be attained, from the circumstance that the important office of Chief Secretary for Ireland has been undertaken by one who, in addition to the distinguished abilities which have placed him in the front rank of English statesmen, brings

to the task the willingness to hear all sides of a question, true sympathy with humanity, and a deep sense of duty. It is an emergency so serious, that it becomes the duty of all well-wishers to their country, whether in or out of Parliament, to throw aside all mere party or class prejudice on the one hand, and, abstaining from all unreasonable demands on the other, strenuously to unite in applying remedies, which shall so promote the well-being of Ireland as to make it possible for her Union with England to be a source of strength and security, instead of one of weakness and danger. Then, and then only, can she take her true place in the Councils of the Nation, and become, in something more than name, an integral portion of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

P.S.—*2nd Edition.*—A friend, who is agent for several properties in Yorkshire, and also farms over 1,200 acres of land, writing from Galway, under date of July 29, of the Spiddal and Carraroe district, where the disturbances connected with process-serving referred to at page 88 occurred, says: "For poverty and filth this district exceeds anything I had seen or imagined in Ireland; these poor creatures have nothing out of which to make a subsistence but the few acres of land brought into cultivation by themselves from among the stones and rocks which abound everywhere. I only saw one little plot of ground in which it would be possible to work a plough. It is not possible to bring much, if any, more land into cultivation *here*, the wonder is that any could be found to cultivate what is now cultivated. No wonder Englishmen do not understand the demand for fixity of tenure in Ireland. I have no hesitation in saying that the tenant's outlay throughout the district I was in yesterday, in building the cabins, fencing the lands, and clearing the stones, exceed many times the value of the fee-simple before such outlay."

Could a stronger proof be required of the need for protection against eviction without compensation than this evidence of an experienced Yorkshire agriculturist and land agent?

APPENDIX No. I.

STATEMENT showing the amount of stock now held by small tenants on a townland in Donegal, compared with the numbers held in some former years :—

No.	The number of Head of Cattle grazed usually on the Meenacladdy Townland.	The number of Sheep usually Grazed by Tenants.	The present number of Cattle grazed by Tenants in Meenacladdy Township.	The present number of sheep grazed by Tenants in Meenacladdy Township.
1	15	41	1	0
2	6	20	4	7
3	6	40	1	0
4	4	10	1	2
5	9	40	4	2
6	6	20	2	1
7	16	80	5	3
8	9	25	3	2
9	10	20	1	0
10	9	30	1	6
11	9	32	6	10
12	8	25	4	3
13	7	20	1	3
14	11	50	2	5
15	8	17	1	2
16	8	20	2	6
17	18	100	1	0
18	7	20	1	4
19	2	10	1	3
20	4	18	1	0
21	8	25	6	8
22	7	25	1	3
23	10	30	4	1
24	10	40	5	20
25	7	20	1	3
26	7	20	1	0
27	7	15	0	3
28	6	15	2	5
29	4	30	2	10
30	4	10	0	0
31	5	10	1	0
32	2	20	0	0
33	1	0	0	0
34	8	30	5	15
	248	928	71	127

APPENDIX No. II.

RENTS and Government Valuation of thirty-five small farms near Westport:—

No.	Government Valuation. £ s. d.	Rent. £ s. d.
1	3 3 0	5 0 0
2	3 3 0	5 8 8
3	3 13 0	10 17 4
4	2 15 0	5 14 8
5	5 10 0	9 4 3
6	5 10 0	9 1 6
7	2 5 0	3 6 1½
8	6 0 0	8 0 0
9	7 10 0	11 17 4
10	4 14 0	7 2 2
11	4 14 0	7 2 2
12	2 7 3	4 4 5
13	2 7 0	4 4 5
14	6 10 0	10 0 0
15	12 0 0	17 0 0
16	5 5 0	6 5 0
17	5 5 0	6 14 6
18	4 10 0	6 1 6
19	5 0 0	7 0 0
20	9 10 0	13 2 2
21	5 17 0	7 16 0
22	5 15 0	6 15 0
23	4 10 0	6 0 0
24	4 10 0	7 3 10
25	4 5 0	9 15 0
26	6 7 6	10 3 6
27	6 15 0	10 15 0
28	3 7 6	5 19 4
29	4 18 0	8 0 0
30	3 7 6	5 14 4
31	1 5 0	2 10 0
32	3 15 0	6 7 0
33	2 10 0	4 6 0
34	3 10 0	8 0 0
35	1 10 0	7 0 0
	£168 12 0	£268 18 0

APPENDIX No. III.

Hitchin, April 12th, 1880.

TO THE HON. SECRETARIES OF THE MANSION HOUSE COMMITTEE.

GENTLEMEN,—I have pleasure, on my return from a visit of nearly two months to the districts of the West of Ireland, chiefly Donegal and Connaught, in complying with the request of a member of your committee, to give a few general impressions of the condition of the people and the administration of relief, with especial reference to the future.

In the first place, let me say that, as regards the unions bordering on the sea-coast throughout the whole of the district named, the question of absolute distress and need for help is only one of degree, attaining its maximum in the Glenties Union in Donegal, and in portions of the unions of Clifden and Oughterard in Galway. Of the penury and destitution of these districts, the fact that in several electoral divisions seventy or eighty per cent., or more, of the population need to have their daily food supplied, will tell its own tale; that there are also unions or portions of unions, in Mayo and other parts of Connaught, extending into and as far as Roscommon, nearly equally needing help cannot be doubted.

2nd. That it is my opinion that the whole of the above-named districts now need assistance, until the crops now being planted are ready for use. That the various private or public works projected, or in progress, will give employment and relieve certain districts, is no doubt the case; on the other hand, the number of persons who have small stores of potatoes for food is constantly lessening, and it seems evident that for several months to come assistance will be as much needed as it is to-day. I will not enter into what may be the duty of the poor-law guardians in these districts, but, taking the facts as they now are, we have this very serious position to face, that for four or five months to come food will need to be found for many thousands of the little farmers and cottiers of the West. No one can expect that the influx of subscriptions is likely to be continued on the same scale during the summer that has been for the past winter, and it therefore becomes of primary importance to consider in what way the funds at your disposal can with such small additions as may come in, be made

to last until the severity of the strain has lessened or passed away. Taking it then for granted that the present rate of disbursement cannot be maintained during the period mentioned, the necessity for economy is inevitable. To effect this two courses seem open—the one a general reduction of the present scale over the whole area now assisted; the other, a contraction of this area to the poorest districts in the West, with a distribution therein at nearly the present rate. That the latter course is the one which commends itself to my judgment I cannot hesitate to say. That it will be an unpopular mode of dealing with the question is probable; but the exigencies of the case appear to me to demand its adoption, and that a careful reconsideration of the unions in which relief is given should at once be made. Those who have carefully noted the distribution of the funds must, I think, have felt that the assistance asked for and given in certain comparatively wealthy unions might properly have been supplied by the operation of the Poor Law, whilst, on the other hand there are not a few unions where the annual value shows that, in addition to a heavy poor-rate, the aid of charitable funds is an absolute necessity for the wants of the people. With the one, it is a question of comparative suffering and some addition to the poor-rate; and in the other it is a question of life and death, and the bankruptcy of the union, if the help is withdrawn. A few figures taken from the very valuable "Preliminary Report on the Returns of Agricultural Produce in Ireland for 1879," prepared by Dr. Grimshaw, the Registrar-General, will make the matter clearer than many words. Take, for example, four unions in Donegal—two in the west and two in the east, which show how in one of the most suffering counties the actual need for assistance varies:—

Unions.	Population.	Annual Valuation.	Number of Holdings.	Average Ratable Value of Holdings.
		£		
Donegal, West—				
Glenties	38,000	20,170	6,330	
Dunfanaghy	16,500	11,500	2,760	
	54,500	31,670	9,090	£3 10s. average per holding.
Donegal East—				
Letterkenny	17,100	31,100	2,100	
Stranorlar...	18,600	30,200	2,600	
	35,700	61,300	4,700	£13 per holding.

Then take two of the poorest unions in Mayo and two in Galway :—

Unions.	Population.	Annual Valuation.	Number of Holdings.	Average Ratable Value of Holdings.
		£		
County Mayo—				
Belmullet	15,700	10,900	2,470	
Newport	16,000	13,200	2,600	
	31,700	24,100	5,070	£4 13s. per holding.
County Galway—				
Oughterard	19,500	15,000	2,900	
Clifden	25,000	18,000	3,600	
	44,500	33,000	6,500	£5 2s. per holding.

Compare these with three unions of a richer class to which assistance has been given :—

Union of	Population.	Annual Valuation.	Number of Holdings.	Average Ratable Value of Holding.
		£		
Cavan	53,000	112,000	7,000	£16 per holding.
Ballinasloe	24,300	78,400	3,300	£24 per holding.
Mullingar	36,700	157,800	4,300	£36 10s. per holding.

From this comparison, which might be extended with advantage to portions of Munster, with the addition of the rates in the pound collected in the various unions for the poor, I think the conclusion will be arrived at which I have ventured to indicate, especially when taken in connection with facilities given for borrowing under recent Acts of Parliament. That there are electoral divisions in well-to-do unions which may need continued help does not, in my opinion, interfere with the broad principle laid down, that, in order effectually to give assistance where it is and will be absolutely needed for months to come, the time has arrived for a careful scrutiny, and it may be a partial or entire withdrawal from the wealthier districts. In thus venturing to bring this subject at so much length before your committee, I trust that you will accept the assurance that it arises solely from the profound sense which my visit has left upon me of the very serious reality and probable long continuance of the calamity which has befallen certain portions of your country, and which can, I

believe, alone be prevented from becoming famine by continued judicious help from charitable funds, in addition to the ordinary poor relief. It only remains for me to express my sense of the very great benefit which has been conferred upon the West of Ireland by the timely and liberal action of the two relief committees in Dublin, and not less do I feel it a duty to bear testimony to the inestimable value of the services of a large number of the local committees, who are working so zealously in the distribution of the funds allotted to them.

I am, &c.

The Lord Mayor said Mr. Tuke's letter was most valuable. It would no doubt be necessary to consider immediately the subject of making their means go as far as possible. He had at first thought of bringing a resolution before the Committee on that day, but he had deemed it better to defer doing this until Monday. In the meantime it would be desirable that two or three gentlemen of experience should deal with it and bring it up in the shape of a report. They all saw that their funds were running short and that the necessity for relief was increasing in certain districts, and they had abundant evidence that relief must be given in those districts until August.

Mr. Joynt said he was struck by the sensible and very useful letter written by Mr. Tuke, who, he believed, was one of the deputation who visited Ireland in 1847, and made so admirable a report upon part of the distressed districts of that time.

On the motion of Mr. Dillon, seconded by Mr. Joynt, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Tuke for his kindness in furnishing the Committee with his report.—*Freeman's Journal.*

FOURTH EDITION.

IRISH DISTRESS, and ITS REMEDIES.

By JAMES HACK TUKE.

Price 1s. By post 1s. 2d.

MR. RIDGWAY begs to call attention to the following important Notices of the First Edition of this pamphlet, published August 1st, 1880:—

DEBATE ON RELIEF OF DISTRESS ACT AMENDMENT BILL, HOUSE OF LORDS.

Mr. Tuke has visited Ireland again this year, and in his letters would be found valuable information as to the deplorable condition of large masses of population on the west coast. Mr. Tuke said there could be no doubt that the minute subdivision of land, with no other source of income to the holders of the small plots, is one of the great evils which surrounds the land question.—**Lord Emly.**

COMPENSATION FOR DISTURBANCES BILL, 1880.

But in spite of the criticism of the statistics brought to support the Bill, I believe no one could rise, as I have done, from a perusal of Mr. Tuke's interesting and most impartial account of Donegal and Connaught this spring, without the conviction that rack-rents and evictions are there in plenty to manufacture gunpowder ready for the agitator's match, and that something must be done.—**Lord Monteagle** (Letter to the *Times*), August 2, 1880.

DEBATE ON COMPENSATION FOR DISTURBANCE BILL, HOUSE OF LORDS.

He (**Lord Emly**) had copied an extract the other day from the remarkable pamphlet of Mr. Tuke, giving a very correct account of the West of Ireland; the writer said, "The attempted process-serving," &c. (see p. 88). —*Debate in the House of Lords*, August 2.

A very interesting pamphlet has been published in the last few days by Mr. Tuke. He gives an account (very much the same as Professor Baldwin's) of the agriculture of these tenants. First of all, there is the permanent exception which places the West of Ireland in a condition *with which nothing in England or Scotland, or any part of the earth I know of, can compare*. . . . Mr. Tuke tells us of men paying ridiculously small rents, who have given £80 or £90 for the goodwill of their holdings. Another tenant, who paid £5 per annum for rent, gave £125 for the goodwill of his farm. This is a measure of the tenacity with which the Irish peasant holds to the soil. . . I wish to say a few words with regard to the future of Ireland. In the pamphlet which I have referred to I find this curious story told. The narrator was visiting one of the poor cottier tenants in Donegal who paid a rental of £6. "He had neither cow, nor calf, nor ewe, nor lamb but he had a loom, and was sitting upon it. It had neither woof nor warp in it, but he was mechanically moving the frame backwards and forwards." When I read that the night before last, I could not help asking—Is this a real story or an allegory? Are we in the condition of this poor man? Are we moving backward and forward the framework of our laws for Ireland to no purpose and in vain? Are we for ever working at an empty loom, and driving an empty shuttle?—**The Duke of Argyll,** August 3rd, 1880.

"IRISH DISTRESS AND ITS REMEDIES."—Under this title Mr. Tuke has

published a most moderate, most instructive, and most suggestive pamphlet. Lord Monteagle, in a letter to the *Times*, confessed that Mr. Tuke's pamphlet influenced his vote in favour of Mr. Forster's Bill. It is not improbable that a good many of those who voted against the Bill would have been similarly influenced if they had taken as much trouble as Lord Monteagle to master the facts and consider them less passionately. We are not surprised that Lord Monteagle was impressed with the strength of the case made out by Mr. Tuke, quite incidentally, in favour of Mr. Forster's Bill. The facts were all collected before Mr. Forster's Bill was thought of; most of them, indeed, while the late Government was still in office. We have called attention elsewhere to Mr. Tuke's article in the *Nineteenth Century* on the question of a Peasant Proprietary in Ireland, and therefore we need not now dwell on his discussion of the same subject in his pamphlet.—**Spectator**, August 7, 1880.

Debate on Emigration, House of Lords, August 9th, 1880.

It was impossible to read the oft-quoted pamphlet of Mr. Tuke without being struck, on the one hand, with the great misery existing in some of the places he had visited, and on the other hand, with the comparative improvement in the average condition of the population, as compared with 1847-48.—**Viscount Monck.**

He (Lord Kimberley) believed that a great deal more might be done in Ireland by the exertions of resident proprietors on the spot than was admitted by some. If any one would read Mr. Tuke's pamphlet, he would see that wherever that gentleman came to the estate of a resident proprietor he always saw great improvement, and, on the other hand, that he went through whole districts where the only thing done by the landlords was to draw the rents.—**Earl of Kimberley.**

Many competent witnesses believe the difficulty is not temporary, but permanent. Mr. Tuke, a member of the Society of Friends, who was engaged last winter in distributing relief in Donegal and Connaught, and who has published an interesting pamphlet on the subject, expresses a strong opinion that even peasant proprietors cannot make a living on the farms of ten or fifteen acres so common in the West of Ireland.—**Times**, August 4, 1880.

Mr. J. H. Tuke, who visited Connaught in 1847 in connection with the relief expedition of Mr. William Forster, the father of the present Chief Secretary for Ireland, has published, through Mr. Ridgway, an account of a journey over the same ground, with a similar object, in the spring of the current year, which, as appears from the recent debates in the House of Lords, is attracting much attention. The facts and observations assembled in this little volume are of peculiar interest at this moment. They have a distinct bearing on the question which Parliament has, for a time, at least, determined. . . Mr. Tuke's clear and impartial evidence. . .—**Pall Mall Gazette**, August 4.

On any questions connected with Irish Distress Mr. Tuke possesses singular claims to deferential hearing. During the terrible famine of 1846-7, he was over here as the Agent of the Relief Committee of the Society of Friends when they distributed £200,000, and he was associated in the work of relief with our present Chief Secretary and with his father. Mr. Tuke, as well as Mr. Forster, learned then a great deal connected with the social misery of Ireland and with the causes of the misery. Not the least important part of this seasonable and well-considered expostulation is that he treats the Irish particular question on Imperial grounds, and shows that the interests of every dependency of Great Britain are in some sense directly involved in the equitable settlement of Land Tenure in Ireland.—**Freeman's Journal**, August 3.

Mr. Tuke's pamphlet . . . . is characterised throughout with deep sympathy for Ireland, and an earnest desire to get at the root of the evils from which the country suffers. There are innumerable facts in the pamphlet which it is important to make known as widely as possible in view of the announced intention of the Government to legislate shortly on the whole intricate subject of the Irish Land Question. Mr. Tuke's testimony as that of an entirely unbiassed observer is of the highest value, and we trust to see it repeated before the Royal Commission, &c.—**Irish Times,** August 2.

When any great subject occupies for a continuance the public mind, or when the public are held face to face with some great public crisis, it generally happens that some one published commentary on the situation takes hold of general attention, and produces more effect than anything else in the formation of opinion. Mr. Tuke's pamphlet on the condition of Ireland deserves to take this position at the present juncture. Written absolutely without prejudice—except prejudicies against people being starved or left in remediable but unremedied misery—this pamphlet tells an unvarnished tale of the present woes and permanent disadvantages of Ireland. No one can read it without feeling that Mr. Tuke . . . is an absolutely truthful witness.—**Liverpool Daily Post,** August 14.

During the last few months we have become so accustomed to contradicting statements on the distress in the West of Ireland that the publication of Mr. Tuke's pamphlet is most welcome. . . . By doing this he has established an additional claim upon the gratitude of the small farmers of the West of Ireland. . . . It is interesting simply as a narrative of the relief work accomplished, but this is its smallest claim to notice. . . . Those who have followed more or less fully the recent discussions in some of the principal journals, carried on for the most part by heated partisans, must have wished for a clear statement of the present position presented by an impartial observer, who has no pet theory to support, no agitation to promote, and no extravagant class privileges to defend. Mr. Tuke has supplied this want; he does not hide ugly facts; he can see clearly enough the faults of the Irish peasant; but he sees with equal clearness the need for additional legislation; and the pamphlet before us, which, we trust, will have an extensive circulation among English politicians, will do useful work in enlightening the minds of English electors upon a subject which they but imperfectly understand, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled till the truth is recognised that the Irish Land Question is not to be settled on exclusively English lines.—**Echo,** August 3.

Those who question the policy of the expediency of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which was recommended to Parliament by Her Majesty's Ministers and sanctioned by the House of Commons, but contemptuously rejected by the House of Lords, should carefully read Mr. Tuke's *brochure.* If an attentive perusal of its contents should fail to remove any doubts that might be entertained no virtue to be found in facts could bring conviction to the mind. . . . The pamphlet before us contains a record of what was seen during seven or eight weeks' wandering in the West of Ireland; and the picture which Mr. Tuke draws of the condition of the people with whom he came in contact in Donegal, Mayo, and Galway, is positively terrible. Few persons living on this side of St. George's Channel can form any conception of the misery endured by the inhabitants of the province of Connaught; and fewer still, perhaps, have dreamed of conditions under which the peasantry are compelled to exist. We are sometimes inclined to think that the stories of extreme distress which we hear are more or less exaggerated, but Mr. Tuke shows that in many cases exaggeration is simply impossible. In addition to the distress occasioned by a succession of bad seasons, the people are, in their normal state, badly housed; but want of fuel and

clothing has lately aggravated their sufferings, till existence must have been almost unendurable. . . . One essential to national regeneration is that confidence in the security of their tenure which will induce the people to put forth every effort to make the cultivation of the land profitable. Give them this confidence, and half of the work is done. Mr. Tuke shows very forcibly that the Irish Question constitutes one of the most difficult and pressing problems of statesmanship ; but he evidently believes that a successful solution is by no means an impossibility.—**Daily Chronicle.**

Let us therefore call into court Mr. Tuke, whose excellent pamphlet was a good deal quoted in the recent debates, but whose testimony will probably be new to most of our readers. . . . It is most interesting to have the testimony of a witness so absolutely fair as Mr. Tuke proves himself to be. He is not a fanatic for small holdings, but he was deeply impressed wherever he went by the evil influence upon the farmer of the hopeless conditions under which he works. . . . Page after page of this careful and moderate observer's pamphlet contains the reflection that it is the regular, not the exceptional, present condition of the Irish tenants that fills him with anxiety, and that offers itself as a problem absolutely essential to solve.—**Liverpool Weekly Post,** August 14.

The pamphlet on Irish Distress is not the only fruit of Mr. Tuke's visit, for we find in "Peasant Proprietors at Home" a very important paper in the current number of the *Nineteenth Century*. The paper is a simple record of a visit paid to several of the glebe land farms which have been sold to small tenants by the Church Commission. . . . Multiply (he says), the little centres of content and satisfaction which have been spared to exist, extend throughout the whole of Ireland instances like those recorded at Ergunah, . . . and you go far to solve the existing agitation and the distress from which it springs.—**Freeman's Journal,** August 4.

In Friday's debate Mr. Forster once again quoted from Mr. Tuke's pamphlet, to which we referred on Saturday. He quoted from it to show that there had been improvement in Ireland, and that therefore it was rational to hope for further improvement. . . . . There is no gainsaying Mr. Tuke's words. They should be most earnestly read by those who dismiss Irish questions from their mind by applying to them ideas derived from English agricultural relations. They apply with equal force to the cultivation of the land, . . . and to the housing and sanitary condition of the people.—**Liverpool Daily Post,** August 16 (Second notice).

Mr. Tuke's pamphlet is practically inexhaustible as a source of information for English readers, because so little of that which he has patiently observed has previously been brought home to their knowledge.—**Liverpool Daily Post** (Third notice).

Mr. Tuke's pamphlet is an important contribution to the right understanding of the problem of "Irish Distress and its Remedies," . . . and has given to the public a clear and dispassionate report of his observations, with reflections and suggestions that appear to us of great value. — **Leeds Mercury,** August 18.

Mr. Tuke's pamphlet contains much that is thoughtful, but we think the most valuable parts are his own reflections in the last portion of the fourth chapter, and in the chapter on Remedies.—**Dublin Evening Mail,** August 18.

LONDON: W. RIDGWAY, 169, PICCADILLY, W.;
DUBLIN: HODGES, FIGGIS & CO., GRAFTON STREET.

GLADSTONIAN LEGISLATION:

ITS PROMPTERS AND PROCLIVITIES.

LETTERS TO A. Z.

BY

WILLIAM SINCLAIR,

D.L., J.P., Donegal and Tyrone.

"Quae præcepit Ofellus
Rusticus, abnormis sapiens."

HORACE.

SECOND EDITION.

DUBLIN:

HODGES, FIGGIS, AND CO., GRAFTON STREET,

PUBLISHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

1881.

PREFACE.

THESE Letters were written in a remote corner of the County of Donegal, where the Author had no opportunity of consulting many authorities which would have made his case much stronger, and are published in the hope that some of the details may be found both new and apposite to the burning question of the day.

Some repetition there is, of a pamphlet lately published by him in refutation of Mr. Tuke's romance on the County of Donegal, but these are absolutely necessary for the understanding of the subject.

LETTERS TO A. Z.

LETTER I.

You ask my opinion of Mr. Gladstone's Land Legislation for the country with which I am connected by birth and property.

I am, I suppose, not able to give an entirely impartial answer, as everything which he has done for so far appears to me to be dictated by a desire to hand over the destinies of the British Empire to an unlimited democracy, towards which object he has made, and is making, the "corpus vile" of Ireland a stepping-stone.

In short, I look upon the Land Act of 1870 as the first step to an agrarian revolution of which, if unchecked, the result must be to transfer, for the moment, the property in land throughout the Empire to the occupying tenant, and to reduce those classes which, by their territorial influence, had considerable weight in the counsels of the nation, to the dead level which prevails in many other countries.

To go into the merits of democracies in general is, of course, outside of your enquiry; and, moreover, you already know too well the conditions in which the Rabagas tribe, *sans foi ni loi*, rise to the top, and men of character and probity shrink from the contamination of meddling with public affairs.

My present business is with Gladstonian Legislation of 1870.

The Land Act of 1870 at once transferred to the tenants property heretofore belonging to the landlords, estimated by one of its own supporters at thirty millions; to this actual transfer a very large number of Irish landlords did not particularly object, as practically, the system of "tenant-right"

in the north, and buying out the "good-will" in the south, prevailed in the best managed estates; what they did object to was, practically placing the valuation of their property in the hands of the County Court judges, the evident want of finality in the Act, and the ultimate intention of its promoters.

On this particular matter I do not wish you to trust merely to my own ideas. I shall give you those of a warm supporter of Mr. Gladstone at that time—a man of no small acuteness as far as his opportunities admitted—and in this case those opportunities had been good—Mr. James Caird, who has lately been employed to report upon the condition of British India.

Mr. Caird commences a pamphlet, written in the interests of Mr. Gladstone's Land Policy, with these words—"Ireland in 1869 presents a strange spectacle, the landlords' rents are well paid, the tenant-farmers are prosperous, the labourers never had higher wages, yet there is a general feeling of discontent; with the increasing value of their property, there has arisen in the minds of farmers a keener desire to secure it." If Mr. Caird had said that they desired to secure property that belonged to their landlords, he would have dealt more accurately with facts. But, in truth, the agitation which at that time unsettled the agricultural mind, came entirely from without. To the numerous tribe of needy agitators in Ireland a cry was necessary, which would enable them by one means or other to gain a livelihood; so as Fenianism and kindred politics were at a discount in that country, as well as scouted in England, they were constrained to cast about for something new, and pitched for the occasion upon "Fixity of Tenure," meaning thereby a transfer of the "property" in land from the actual owners to the occupying tenants, and found ready backers in a certain class of English politicians, headed by Mr. John Bright, who, for divers reasons, were hostile to the landed aristocracy, and advocated every measure which could tend to deprive them of an influence and prestige which they envied and hated. This they calculated they would most readily effect by the splitting up

of estates, and by the substitution of a peasant proprietary for the present owners of the soil in Ireland, first, as a precedent, to be hereafter followed elsewhere.

To this end then, into the Land Act of 1870 were introduced, what from the name of their ostensible patron, were called the "Bright clauses," which enacted that tenants wishing to purchase the fee-simple of their holdings should be assisted with money advanced by the State. It was expected that Irish tenants would be very desirous of making such purchases, and the intent and probable result of the clauses was thus shadowed by Mr. Caird after a warm approval of the general principle—"The Irish farmers will not be long in discovering this advantage, and will naturally object to its limitation to single estates, and to individuals in particular localities; they will claim an equal participation in the Imperial boon, and argue with great fairness, that if the principle is good on a small scale, it will be all the more beneficial by being offered to every individual in any part of the country, who can produce the requisite means to fulfil its conditions." This is tolerably plain speaking, and translated into few words means, that a principal end and object of the Land Act of 1870 was to bring about at some period or other a forced transfer of the land.

It is true that the Irish tenant has not shown himself so appreciative of the "boon" as Mr. Bright and Mr. Caird expected. Finding the price of beef, pork, butter, oats, everything, in short, which he had to sell, rising by "leaps and bounds," he was fat and contented, well able to pay a rent, which landlords were slow to raise, and afforded, for half a dozen years, poor pabulum for the agitator, who was but badly received until American competition began to make itself felt, by reducing these prices to a considerable extent, and the lean kine of 1878 and 1879, made serious inroads on the funds which half a dozen very prosperous years had accumulated. The accumulation, indeed, had not been by any means what might have been expected. The habits and mode of life of the peasantry kept pace pretty well with the enhanced price they obtained for agricultural produce, as was

shown not only by the "leaps and bounds" of the national income, derived from consumption of exciseable articles, but by the extraordinary and rapid development of the petty agricultural towns and villages, and the striking improvement in both the outward appearance and the internal supplies of the shops, which sprung up to meet the requirements of new-found wealth, in the way of drink, food, and dress.

Being, as you know, habitually resident during a considerable portion of the year in what are now unfavourably denominated the scheduled districts of Donegal, and for another in one of the most civilised parts of Ulster, I am in a pretty good position to judge of what has been going on, and I may say that it is especially in the poorer county that the change was manifested. Unfortunately one of the most prominent directions which it took was the enormous increase of drunkenness, positive and relative—meaning by positive, that which has led to more stringent legislation, and been the theme of lamentation in the charges of judge after judge; by "relative," the less obtrusive form of quiet consumption at home of exciseable liquors, more or less expensive.

It was lately remarked with surprise by one of the envoys of the Duchess of Marlborough's Relief Fund, that he found Henessy's brandy and four shilling tea in one of the poorest districts of Galway, where he was presiding over the distribution of Indian meal. He would find the same in Donegal. Petty pothouses, which formerly were content to show in their smoke-begrimed and dingy windows a cracked jug or dirty glass or two, and a couple of pewter measures, indicative of the staple commodity of "poteen" within, now shine out in the glory of plate-glass fronts, displaying brandy, sherry, and claret, in addition to the various products of national malt, and often of very fair quality too. If there was no demand, of course these things would not be there. But we have fashion even in our mountains, and rural belles, scorning the "native," expect to be *trated* with wine or brandy. A more harmless luxury, of which the consumption has increased enormously, is wheaten, or as it is here called, "white," bread. Prior to 1847 it rarely entered into the ordinary

dietary, even of the well-to-do farmer; now it is in general use, of which no better proof could be given than the increase of bakers' shops in the village of Mountcharles, in my immediate neighbourhood, which may be taken as typical of its class. Before the date mentioned, an old lady, who baked a few loaves of very bad bread on two days in the week, was able to supply the wants of the entire parish; now six extensive ovens are in full blast every day, sending out their products in well-appointed bread carts to the doors of their customers. Cereal food of other sorts has also entered largely into consumption. I do not speak of Indian meal, which, since 1847, has been so extensively used by the poorer classes; but wheaten flour, which is baked into cakes, and coarse biscuits, which are particularly in demand with the fishing population, and have almost entirely superseded the oaten cakes, with which they formerly provisioned themselves when going to sea for the day. Cartloads of these may be seen weekly coming from Londonderry, where the manufacture has become a flourishing trade.

Simultaneously with the increase of bakers, has been that of grocers. In 1847 there was in Mountcharles only one at all worthy of the name. There are now fourteen, at half of which all ordinary articles of family consumption are to be found, whilst the others are as well provided as village shops usually are.

As may be expected, the providers of food are supplemented by those of raiment, and where a few years ago, a few yards of coarse cottons and woollen drugget were all that the village could afford, there is now a goodly show of drapers' shops, where marvellous hats and the "sweetest" of paletots allure the vanity of rural belles, and tempt them to expenditure. The picture would not be complete if this village of perhaps eighty houses, did not boast a bank on fair and market days.

But, probably, the most remarkable exemplification of the changed habits of the country was to be found in the institution called the "tay-man," who travels the country with a light cart and pony, and carries his ware to the doors of the

poorest farms in the mountain districts, forcing a trade by the temptation of leaving a pound or half a pound of tea, to be paid for at the next visit, generally in a fortnight, when a fresh supply is forthcoming on similar terms. A single house was said to have twenty-four of these envoys principally employed in the wilder parts of Donegal, with the apparent result of making a rapid fortune, in spite of the competition of the groceries of the towns and villages, to which are added innumerable country shops, also doing a good trade.

This advance in material prosperity, or, at all events, increased expenditure, was not, of course, the work of a day. The recuperative powers of the Irish peasant, after the calamities of 1846 and '47, were quite as striking as have been those of France subsequent to the German war. In 1848, the potato crop gave a fair return ; and as it was found less subject to disease on newly-reclaimed land, a very considerable amount of cut-out bog or rushy pasture was broken up, great exertions were made by the peasantry to procure seed, and the increased industry, which want had stimulated, had its natural results. In three, or at most in four years from 1847, almost all traces of the miseries of that year had disappeared, save here and there a roofless cabin, bearing testimony to the emigration of its former occupants. Consequent on this was, of course, enlargement of farms and increase of wealth in the hands of those who showed, by remaining, the "survival of the fittest," whilst the landless, or nearly landless, cottier-labourer received a rate of wages hitherto unknown; and the diminished proletarian swarms of the wilds of Donegal or Mayo, which supplied the harvest-men of England and Scotland, and the farm-servants of a large part of Ireland, reaped the benefit of shortened supply, in the enhanced amount of wages which they carried back to their mountain homes. With this came enhanced prices for all sorts of agricultural produce, but especially of the young and store cattle, which the petty holder of a few acres, unable to come into market with the finished article, was competent to supply with little trouble or expense, to the grazier who converted them finally into beef. On thousands of small farms, a single

yearling calf, half a dozen mountain sheep, or the proverbial pig, paid the rent, and left a surplus to be consumed, along with its other produce, in expenditure on articles of one sort or other, which, formerly luxuries, came now to be considered necessities, and were supplied, as I have stated, by the settled shopkeepers of the rural towns or the ambulatory traders who scoured hill and valley, disposing of inferior goods at enormous prices, luring their customers with the bait of credit for a month or two months, as the case might be, if ready money was not forthcoming.

The Irishman of all classes has always been prone to take advantage of such opportunities, which in the case of the peasant received an enormous stimulus from the Land Act of 1870, as it enabled a debtor to pledge the interest which it had conferred in his farm, and the creditor to sell it out when other resources failed. It may seem strange that a period of unexampled high prices for agricultural produce should be at the same time one in which the producers should be running into debt at a rate equally unknown hitherto. But such was the case, for this reason : hitherto such facilities had never been afforded the petty farmer. When his potatoes ran short and his home-grown oatmeal was consumed, he habitually had recourse to the "meal man," who advanced him a sack or two at twenty or thirty per cent. above the market price, or to what in the west is called the "Gombeen" man, who lent him two or three pounds, at a still higher rate of usury. He was struck dumb with astonishment and delight, when he found bankers established in every village, who were ready to oblige him with loans at a nominal six or seven per cent., and shopkeepers who did business on similar liberal terms.

It is true that when the six per cent. of the Banks came to be analysed it often amounted to ten or more in this way. A very large number of loans did not exceed five pounds, and the ordinary course of the banks was never to take less than half a crown on any loan, even for three months. This would be ten per cent. to begin with, and in cases where the loan was of less amount, a still higher rate—whilst for "renewals," it was a common practice to make an additional

charge. How well the system paid may be inferred from the fact, that fifteen banking offices are open within the County of Donegal, and twelve more in the two border towns of Derry and Strabane, to supply the wants of a purely agricultural population of 218,000. Such a fact speaks for itself; and the handsome dividends paid by each and every one of these banks, even in the last year of gloom and depression, proves how deeply they have been preying upon the vitals of the people, and how thoroughly the system of living on borrowed money had worked itself into their habits. But the leaps and bounds of prosperity came to an end, and it was found that the commercial inflation which had raised the price of agricultural produce, had overleaped itself in England and America, and in both of these the manufacturer was obliged to contract his business, and the mechanic his expenses, whilst enterprising individuals in the latter country, taking advantage of low prices at home, and cheap freights on the Atlantic, poured in supplies of beef, mutton, and pork, at rates which speedily acted first on the graziers who had purchased lean stock which left them no remuneration for feeding, and then naturally upon the small farmers who had of late years been realising enormous profit by raising this same lean stock, to supply the demand which the increase of land thrown into grass by the low price of foreign grain, and enhanced agricultural wages, had created throughout the British Islands. Joined to this came three bad or indifferent harvests in succession, culminating with that of 1879, which year of evil memory broke down to a great extent the credit system of the shopkeepers, and making the banks draw in their horns, found the farming classes of tolerable means obliged either to dispense with comforts and luxuries to which they had been accustomed for some years, or to avoid by some means or other the payment of their debts, and threatened the proletarians of the mountain districts, deprived of their normal source of income as harvestmen or farm-labourers, with severe privation, if not with actual famine. To other misfortunes also was added the manufacturing distress in America, which not only cut off the contribution, which prosperous emigrants habitually sent to

their relatives in Ireland, but drove them home in thousands, to increase the burthens, which heretofore they had materially alleviated.

I speak of this from personal knowledge, not merely of the members of families who belonged to my own property, but of several individuals who having been formerly in my employment came to look for work, and gave a deplorable account of the hardships they had undergone, and the privations they had endured in making up the homeward passage-money.

Such was the condition in which the November of 1879 found us—general indebtedness, short crops, comparatively low prices, and habits of expense contracted in more prosperous circumstances. As a matter of course, the banks and shopkeepers pressed their claims at the October Sessions. I heard that a single shop in a small town had served 1,200 County Court Processes ; very few of these came before the court, and in hardly any where decrees were made was it necessary that they should be executed, the people paying as far as they were able, and the shopkeeper boasting that he had stepped in before the landlord, whose rent would not be due till November. The banks of course acted in similar fashion, and considerably contracted their loans, so that when November did come, there was in a large number of cases, little left for the landlord, whilst many farmers who had snug deposits in the Joint Stock or Savings Banks made an excuse of apparent poverty, and kept them there.

That the deficiency of crops was real there was unfortunately no doubt, but every possible means was taken to exaggerate it. A notable instance occurred in this neighbourhood. In the month of October a reporter from a widely-circulated Irish paper, the *Freeman's Journal*, came to the town of Donegal, and, writing from thence, reported, in the face of abundant markets, that 47,000 acres of potatoes were totally rotten, that 97,000 acres of oats had been entirely destroyed, and followed up with meadows, turnips, and every other conceivable crop, taking in each case the entire acreage the Registrar-General had returned as being under that particular cultivation, as having been entirely annihilated; whereas

the fact was, that from parts of the country potatoes were largely exported, and in the town of Donegal itself never rose beyond four shillings per cwt., except for a short time, *whilst the Guardians were buying*, and were generally sold at three shillings to three shillings and sixpence. The oat crop was very little short of average, and hay abundant and fairly saved.

Roman Catholic prelates were found to assert that the famine of 1879 was as intense as that of 1846 ; and of course the professional politicians were not behind-hand. It was true that the Local Government Board was of a different opinion, and that Boards of Guardians showed their ideas by striking very moderate rates. For instance, in my own electoral division, which in 1847-48 had been called on for seventeen shillings in the pound, the rate of 1879-80 was made at one shilling and twopence, which has proved quite sufficient; but the panic-mongers being the noisy party, had it all their own way with the public at large, and the Boards of Guardians, who were generally pretty cognizant of the real state of affairs, were set down as a set of miserly skinflints. The cry went abroad that Ireland was at its last gasp, and extreme pressure was applied to the Boards of Guardians to extend outdoor relief to everybody who asked for it. This they stoutly resisted, and maintained that as the poor-houses showed no pressure, and Indian meal, which the poorer classes had learned to regard as the substitute for potatoes, was selling at the unprecedentedly low rate of £6 10s. per ton (in 1846 it reached £22), that no cause had been shown for the abandonment of the leading feature of the poor-law which they had been appointed to administer. Their resistance was, however, overborne, and Union after Union was not only empowered, but enjoined by the Local Government Board, to extend outdoor relief to the land-holding classes.

Against this process, however, they still hardened their hearts, being encouraged thereto by the immense charitable contributions poured in from all parts of the world, and the shameful mendicancy and jobbing, which the laxity of the

irresponsible "relief committees" was fostering in every direction.

In one instance in this parish, a man drove up on his jaunting-car to ask for relief, and got it. In another, the ownership of half a dozen head of cattle, a horse and cart, and a couple of pigs, was held to be no disqualification for sharing in the gifts of Indian meal. "Indeed," as the narrator informed me, "the poor fellow had so much stock, that he wanted something to feed them on." And the caricature in *Punch* of the cannibal Patlander who said he was "feeding his pigs on the Lord Mayor, and ating the Duchess himself," was too often no overdrawn picture.

The constitution of the local relief committees was, in fact, of a kind which naturally led up to abuses of every sort. The leading men were generally the clergy of one denomination or other, and they are naturally less stern administrators of eleemosynary funds than laymen. To them were added a lot of small shopkeepers, whose interest, of course, was that money should be spent in their shops; and whether the "relief" was administered in meal, which enabled the recipients to dispose of their private resources in the purchase of tea and tobacco, or whether tickets were given for so much meal, which were really exchangeable for any other commodities at the fancy of the holder, the larger the amount distributed the better for the committees. There was also a strong tendency to favour friends, dependants, and relatives; and the consequence was, that in many cases persons who were more scrupulous finding themselves overborne by the majority withdrew from the committees, and most disgraceful jobbing was allowed full swing.

As a matter of course, the enormous sums of charitable relief received from all parts of the world were remorselessly drawn upon; and where a family or a townland happened to be exceptionally distressed, the case was paraded in paper after paper, as if it represented the state of all Ireland, until, as it was tersely put in a letter of Major Deane, who was employed to investigate matters on behalf of the Duchess of

Marlborough's Fund, "it was impossible to exaggerate the exaggeration of the distress."

One of the great griefs of the proletarian districts, on which arguments statistical and polemical were abundantly based, was the deprivation of the sums annually drawn from the more civilised parts of the empire by farm-labourers and servants, who were supposed to be unable to obtain employment, in consequence of depression in the districts where it was usually sought. Mayo alone was asserted to have lost some £20,000 in this way. What may have happened there, I do not pretend to say; but in the cognate districts of Donegal, which supply farm-servants male and female, I do know that at the hiring terms, included in the six months of greatest supposed distress, which are the 1st of February and the 1st of May, it was a matter of remark, not only at the hiring fairs, but at the railway stations, through which the crowd of persons seeking service pass, that the number was very much smaller than usual; whilst, on the other hand, exactly the contrary was observed with regard to those leaving their situations and returning to the famine-oppressed district of the Glenties Union, which is one of the most abundant sources whence that class is drawn.

At the time when famine was at its direst point, in March and April, not a recruit could be obtained for the militia in the distressed districts, though a couple of months of good pay and clothing were within reach.

The following case, which occurred within my own range of observation, is specially worth recording, as illustrative of the state of affairs. A small farmer in the county Tyrone, unblessed with the usual number of olive branches, engaged, in November, 1879, a little boy of about twelve years of age to act as a herd for the next three months. Master and servant were pleased with each other, and a re-hiring for another term was proposed; but it was necessary to consult the boy's father, who resided on the island of Arranmore. He was accordingly written to, and demanded a considerable advance of pay for his son. This the employer said he was unable or unwilling to give, on which the father ordered the boy to come home,

as "the relief was given *by the scull*, and the more there were of them, the more they would get" of meal, and perhaps clothing too.

I have little doubt that the peasantry of Connaught were not behind those of Donegal in similar manufactures of distress, and were able to show artificial as well as natural rags and tatters (as I know they did in my own neighbourhood) to the ambulatory gentlemen charged by the various funds with the distribution of relief, or the investigation of the amount required.

There was, however, no denying that great and widespread distress did exist, and the Government of the day did what they considered was requisite to meet it, by dispensing with the provision of the Poor Law which restricted out-door relief under its provisions to the sick and landless; and by offering loans for land improvement on favourable terms, as well as empowering borrowers in the scheduled districts to afford employment by inaugurating public works, such as improvement of old roads or making new ones.

Whilst on this subject, I may remark, that neither the executive of the present Government nor their predecessors would do anything to encourage the opening up of the county by railways, which, in fact, offered the only true means of relieving present distress by employment of superfluous labour, and of providing against its recurrence, by affording a regular market for the small lots of poultry, butter, fish, &c., which the wildest districts could produce with profit to themselves and the nation, but which are now unsaleable at prices which would at all remunerate, and so stimulate peasant industry in general. Three separate lines, The West Donegal, The Letterkenny, and The Donegal and Castlecaldwell, in this county, sought assistance, and were refused. What were the conditions with regard to the others, I do not know; but having had a good deal to do with the West Donegal, can tell its circumstances, which were these: Railway communication at present stops short at Stranorlar, about thirty miles from the port of Londonderry, through which the produce of the western districts finds its way to England and Scotland,

entailing a carriage by carts over hilly roads of from thirty to sixty miles.

The effect which such a carriage has upon prices was so obvious, that the landed proprietors of a considerable portion of the districts affected came forward to offer a voluntary rate of seven-pence on the pound valuation on their properties for twenty-two years, towards guaranteeing a certain amount of five per cent. stock for making a line, which by shortening the cartage, and putting the buyers for the English and Scotch markets within easy reach of the producers, would in their opinion be of enormous benefit to the poorer districts.

Merchants engaged in the trade came forward to assist the undertaking, and in one way or other, a sum equivalent to about a third of the estimated cost of the line was forthcoming. This would entitle, under present Acts, the railway company to borrow from the Board of Works a similar sum, on which payments at the rate of six per cent. per annum would repay principal and interest in thirty-five years. The Act for making the line was obtained, after much delay, in 1879, and the Directors had hoped, that in one way or other, they would have been able to raise money to complete about twenty miles of what they merely regarded as the first section of their undertaking, as it was contemplated to carry it out by rail or tramway into the extreme west of the county. The unhappy circumstances of the past year, however, destroyed all prospects of obtaining sufficient funds for more than three-fourths of the line for which the Act had been obtained; and under these circumstances an application was made for a loan on similar terms as were conceded to landowners, with an undertaking on the part of the Directors to have work ready for the employment of 500 men in a fortnight, and of a much larger number in a very short time.

The entire course of the line for which the Act had been obtained lay through scheduled districts. Landlords had done their part with no view of remuneration save by the improved condition of their tenantry, and it was shown—first, to Mr. Lowther, and afterwards to Mr. Forster, that the ordinary market prices of all articles of peasant produce at

the western end of the line were lower by from ten to fifty per cent. than at the eastern ; and on the contrary, every article of peasant consumption was, in a similar ratio, higher.

It will scarcely be credited by English readers—if such should ever be—that in West Donegal it was quite lately, and, I believe is still a common practice, to knock on the head male birds of the duck and chicken tribes as soon as their sex could be distinguished, as no market, even at the price of three-pence or four-pence each, was obtainable—a few females only being reared as egg producers. So with the fishermen. Whitings, of large size, were constantly pressed upon the purchasers at three-pence a dozen, although at the eastern end of the proposed line they would have been worth a shilling, but as the fish came ashore in the evening, they did not reach the consumers until the third day after their capture, having been jolted thirty or forty miles on carts in the meantime, and were consequently either sprinkled with salt so as to be uneatable, or else in a condition which few people would relish, and so were unsaleable.

All this and much more was very fully explained to Messrs. Lowther and Forster, but with Tory and Whig it appeared to be a sacred principle that no aid should be given to railways ; begging boxes, out-door relief, or trumpery Baronial Presentments, which were mainly beneficial to local contractors, being all considered preferable. But this, as I said before, is a digression, and I must return to the condition of Ireland in general, which, even before '79 was ended, was bad enough, and, as was natural, the agitator class speedily took advantage of the distress to raise a howl against paying rent.

LETTER II.

WHATEVER other crops may have failed, Ireland has at all times been very prolific of sharp-witted and needy men, utterly unscrupulous as to the assertions they make, or the consequences to which their inflammatory declamations may lead, as long as they can keep themselves free from the penalties of the law, and draw some contributions, however trifling, out of their dupes in Ireland or America. No falsehood or fallacy which will serve their turn comes amiss to them, and indeed the same may be said of a good many of the English leaders of the Gladstone party. With these men the war-cries are, that landlordism is a crime, that all improvements on the land belong exclusively to the tenant, irrespective of the time his occupation may have lasted, that rents are higher and more severely exacted in Ireland than anywhere else, that peasant proprietary is the rule in every country in Europe except Britain, and that in consequence the land is better tilled, and the people are better off. The logical conclusion, therefore, is, of course, that the actual proprietorship of the soil ought to be transferred to the occupying tenants, who would ever after live in a Utopian Goshen, with crime and poverty alike unknown.

These assertions and theories have been so dinned into the ears of "the British public," that at last it has, to a certain extent, begun to believe in them; and so little knowledge of the true state of things, either at home or abroad, exists amongst those who are inclined to disbelieve, that they are without means of convincing either themselves or others of their utter want of foundation. I do not myself pretend to write doctorially on the subject, but from my own experiences of forty years as a landowner and tenant reclaimer of Irish soil, and from my acquaintance with the condition of the occupiers of land on many parts of the Continent, I consider that I am at least qualified to put you in the way of acquiring such knowledge as will enable you to form a tolerable judg-

ment on the "cries" above-mentioned, which are the real basis of Mr. Gladstone's land legislation.

The first cry of the *crime* of *landlordism*, being merely a modification of Proudhon's dogma, "*Le proprieté c'est le vol*," would hardly be worth talking about, were it not a favourite assertion in combination with it, that *tribal* and not *private* possession of land was the original rule in Ireland, surreptitiously made away with by the landlords, and therefore ought to be restored. So far as division amongst the present occupiers, it would not at the present day be very easy to say who would be the proper persons to whom such occupancy of land should now belong, if this had ever been the case. That it was not so in any time, however remote, of which we have knowledge, is sufficiently proved in the volume of the Brehon Law Tracts, published under Government authority in the past year. In the introduction to this it is stated that "the letting of land, as explained in the tract entitled 'Divisions of Property,' was carried on upon essentially mercantile and equitable principles, and was wholly unconnected with any feudal tenure." And again, "We find tenants paying very substantial rent under grazing leases; tenants willing to expend money in 'erections of buildings' and manuring their holdings under special contract; and also that the custom of tenants taking land for agricultural and grazing purposes had existed sufficiently long for the development of a custom determining the duration and incidents of tenancies, and the respective rights of landlord and tenant as to future and permanent improvements." So that "the contents of this tract are sufficient to put an end, once and for ever, to an assertion which seems to have become an axiom adopted by all authors on Irish history and antiquities, and which has also gained considerable political notoriety—namely, that the ancient Irish had not attained to the idea of exclusive ownership in land, and that all land, until the influence of English law prevailed, was considered as the joint property of the tribe or family." So closely indeed did the Irish of the Brehon days look after their private rights, that an entire tract is taken up with the tres-

passes committable by bees, and part of another with the proper dressing of hens in "rag boots," to keep them from scraping up new-sown grain.

It seems to have escaped the notice of the land agitators that if tribal distribution was to be the rule, there is in Ireland a very large class which holds no land at all, and that in any new distribution of property, their claims are likely to come to the front in a manner which would considerably disconcert a good many of the most busy orators of the farmers' clubs, who hold extensive farms themselves.

On this part of the question, an old Tyrone gentleman was wont to tell a story of his own experience, which may not be out of place. A leading United Irishman was tenant of a mill and a good farm on his property, and also held another farm on an adjoining estate. This man suddenly changed his politics without any discoverable cause. His landlord, riding home from the market-town some months later, was joined by the miller, who, as they rode along, gave utterance to some very Conservative opinions, on which the landlord, turning suddenly round, said, "Come now, Tom, you must tell me what made you so suddenly change your politics." The miller defended himself as well as he could, but being hard pressed, let out his story thus :—"Well, your honour, it was just this. One night, at the Lodge, we were talking of the wrongs of the farmers, and how bad it was that idle landlords should have such large estates ; and I am ashamed now to say, we came to talk of how we would divide them when the time came, and I said that for my share I expected to get your honour's house and demesne. On this, James Whelan, the flax-scutcher, spoke up, and says he, 'I don't give in to this at all ; you have the mill and two farms already, and I have none, so I mean to have one of them for myself,' *and then I saw the folly of it all.*"

Some lessons of this sort might be useful in these days, and indeed recent newspapers show that processes for recovery of debts due to shopkeepers are nearly as unpopular as those for rent ; and there can be no doubt that more commiseration

is required by the landless class of farm-labourers than by their masters, the farmers.

This naturally leads up to one of the remedies for Irish distress propounded principally by the clergy, but occasionally by lay agitators : the reclamation of waste lands, and planting out upon them the surplus population of the proletarian districts through State agency. It is constantly asserted that four millions of acres of waste land in Ireland are crying out for cultivation. It may be true that these acres of waste land exist, but there is no doubt that a very large proportion of them are, from their nature, elevation, or other circumstances, entirely unsusceptible of tillage. Of the remainder, the greater part is in small patches attached as mountain grazing to actual holdings, from which they could not be severed without doing great injury to the present tenants, and which (as every sportsman knows from the fast diminishing stock of snipes) are being constantly brought under crop in small lots, as it happens to suit the convenience of the holder. At all events, not an acre of this land is without an occupying tenant, whose interests must be first considered, and who would be quite as much inclined to " keep a firm grip " of it, if required by the State, as he would if he was to be ejected by the landlord. Supposing, however, that this difficulty was got over, and that land was obtainable of desirable quality for reclamation, what are the conditions required and the prospects of success ? Let us take the scheme propounded by Mr. O'Connor Power in the *Nineteenth Century* last April. His plan is that two millions of acres should be divided into twenty-acre farms, on which 200,000 of the Connaught and Donegal proletarians should be planted out. It is calculated that to reclaim an acre of waste land, and make the fences and roads required, will cost at least ten pounds; people generally say twelve. Here would be a pretty good sum to begin with. Then to build a house and offices, and provide the necessary stock, and subsistence until the land was able to support the occupier, would demand fully as much more, altogether forty to forty-five millions, to say nothing of the compensation to be paid to the present owners and occupiers of the land. The

five per cent. on this sum, requisite to pay interest and instalments needed to create a peasant proprietary, even at a very remote period, would amount to a pound an acre, a rent which such land could most certainly not pay under the most favourable conditions. Mr. O'Connor Power does not go into very accurate details, but such is the general outline of his plan. Other and more practical people propose that only a certain proportion—say, half the twenty acres—should be reclaimed in the first instance, and the rest be left to the energies of the new proprietary. This, of course, would diminish the first cost of the experiment by about fifteen per cent., but would, to a corresponding degree, reduce its value, and most assuredly would be a failure.

Nothing has been more common in Ireland than "improving leases," by which the tenant was bound to reclaim a certain extent of land for every year of his tenancy. I have known hundreds of such leases (several on my own estate), and never knew one in which the conditions were fulfilled by the tenant. The advocates of a Government scheme of reclamation of course say, this scheme would be carried out on a more stringent system and under strict supervision. This would provide a good many snug places for needy men, but would not otherwise be very likely to succeed one whit better.

Few people are, I think, aware that a similar experiment was carried out in Belgium, where the Government had the land in their own hands, and had a much more favourable population to work upon. In 1847, when the distress there was nearly as acute as in Ireland, a large number of peasants, taken from the most overcrowded districts, and selected as people of good character and industrious habits, were located on a tract of heath land of good quality in the canton of Lommel. The land was divided into farms of about thirteen acres (five hectares); on each was a cottage, with one hectare of ground reclaimed and manured for crop, and another laid down as irrigated meadow. The rest, it was expected, would speedily be brought into cultivation by the new occupiers, and a very moderate charge was made for the whole, by payment of which for thirty years the tenant was to become

proprietor. One can hardly imagine more elements of success. A benevolent enterprise—land proved by experiment to be reclaimable—a laborious peasantry, trained to look to the status of petty proprietary as the summit of earthly good, and a fair start given them; and yet the experiment was a total failure. Not only did the settlers fall behindhand with their payments, but they neglected to reclaim the uncultivated portion of their farms, preferring, after the Irish fashion, to graze on it a few half-starved cows or sheep.

The poor colonies of Holland, about which much was written in the early part of the present century, came to grief in exactly the same way; and M. de Laveleye quotes, in his "Economie Rurale," several similar non-successes on the part of private philanthropists and semi-commercial companies in Belgium. So we can hardly hope that Irishmen would prosper under circumstances which have proved unworkable by Belgians or Dutchmen. The experiment has, indeed, to my own knowledge, been tried in Ireland. About fifty years ago, a large tract of grazing land in this very county was cut up into small farms, with the idea of following out the Dutch poor colony system, modified so as to suit the country and the character of the people. It was "settled," under the auspices of a Protestant benevolent society, by families of good character in every way; but the blight of interference with private enterprise was upon it; and after languishing for a few years, the society acknowledged itself worsted, and asked the former owner of the soil to resume possession. So I think we may fairly treat such schemes as visionary, however much they may commend themselves to the Roman Catholic clergy, who in general are more led by sentiment than very deep knowledge of political economy, and to agitators like Mr. O'Connor Power, to whom they afford material for mischievous clap-trap. It is not that the land cannot be found, or does not exist in large quantities suitable for reclamation and tillage; in fact, as I said above, the process is going on daily and hourly, in spite of all that Messrs. O'Connor Power and Co. can assert. The potato rot in '46 and '47

gave a great impulse to it, as it was found that "new ground," as it is called in Ireland, was less subject to the blight than land a long time under the spade or the plough; and altogether no country in Europe has made such a rapid agricultural progress as the North of Ireland.

You will, perhaps, be surprised to hear that when I became a farmer, some forty years ago, the turnip was unknown to the ordinary tiller of the soil, even in the best cultivated parts of Ulster. Some gentlemen grew them in small quantities. My first essay was with two acres in 1842. I sold off an acre and a quarter (a Scotch acre)—forty tons, at a pound per ton—which opened the eyes of my customers, many of whom went in for small quantities the next year, and came to me for instructions or the loan of the turnip sower. At the present day, better cultivated or better crops are not to be found than in that very neighbourhood. At that time the price of beef was below 40s. per cwt.; pork, 35s.; mutton, 6d. per lb. by retail; butter, 7d. per lb.; oats, 8d. per stone. Present prices, when men say they are unable to pay their rents, are: beef, 65s. to 70s.; pork, 56s.; mutton, 9d.; butter, 15d. per lb.; and oats, 10½d. per stone. I quote all from the last Derry newspaper, and they are considerably below the rates which prevailed in '75 and '76. The rise had been gradual, but farmers were not slow to perceive it, and the consequence was immense improvement in every branch of agriculture. Fences were made straight, and fields enlarged to admit of drill husbandry; drainage resorted to where rushes showed their heads, and the unlucky snipes turned out of many a snug corner, that the fields might be squared; rents were hardly in any cases raised, save when the expiry of leases reminded landlords of what was going on; but *tenant-right* went up at a rapid rate. Of this I had a good instance in my own personal experience.

In 1846 a lease expired on my father's property. The farm consisted of twenty-four Scotch acres (thirty statute) of reclaimable ground. It was one of four, on each of which, in 1798, the landlord had built a slated cottage. On each three acres of land was made fit for cropping, leases were given for

the life of the tenant, or a term of thirty-one years, whichever might last longest, no rent being payable for five years, and afterwards the moderate sum of five shillings per acre, which in this special case had been reduced by thirty shillings a year (I think in 1816); the tenant, on the other hand, covenanted to reclaim in each year half an acre of land, and to keep the premises in good repair.

In this instance the tenant did at first work pretty hard, and the Tithe Composition Act found him with about half his farm reclaimed; that is to say, he had added between nine and ten cultivated acres to the three he had received from the landlord; the house was rather dilapidated, but the entire tenement was valued for the Tithe Composition at nine pounds, or just double the landlord's rent.

The tenant was living comfortably, and did not trouble himself with adding to his working land, or replacing slates when they tumbled off; and his landlord, like most Irishmen in his position, as long as his rent was paid, was not very particular about the non-observance of the covenants; so when the tenant died in 1846, about half the farm was tolerable working land, and the house was a thatched one. The heir apparent was a nephew, who had married a daughter of the tenant, and had lived with him for four or five years. He came to ask to be continued as tenant. My father told him he might remain, but must pay the nine pounds a year at which the place had been valued nearly twenty years before for the Tithe Composition. This he refused, so was told he might sell the tenant-right, which I finally purchased, subject to the nine pound rent, for £60. I had purchased some other farms in a similar manner, as many tenants were anxious to emigrate, and took a loan from the Board of Works, which on this farm amounted to £10 per Scotch acre for draining, liming, subsoiling, &c., &c.

In six years I had been repaid my total outlay, with the annual rent and taxes, and had the entire farm well laid down in grass. So it continued, giving very good returns, till 1863, when I was going abroad; and as the man who managed it for me happened to die at that time, I asked leave to sell the

tenant-right, and found a solvent successor, who paid me £300 in hand, undertaking to pay also an annual rent of £25, on my giving an undertaking that he should have a lease for twenty-five years; so I thought I had done very well, having cleared £300, along with the annual difference between £9 and £25.

In 1873, the tenant, who in the meantime had injured the farm a good deal by taking corn and flax crops, without corresponding manure, wished to dispose of his interest. I had by this time succeeded to the property, and gave leave as a matter of course, when to my surprise he received £520, and I was told might have got £600 if he had been a little more astute. This instance shows—first, that an outlay judiciously made by an occupier will be speedily repaid; and secondly, that landlords would have been entitled to a much greater rise of rent than has been made since 1846. In fact, they were only beginning to think about it, when the American invasion by oxen, dead and alive, to say nothing of muttons and porkers, brought markets down again, though by no means to the old level, as the prices quoted above will show.*

Tenant-right has, however, been arrested in its upward move, for the larger class of farms especially, though for small ones it still continues to be, on my property, about twenty years' purchase of the rent. Three farms, ranging from £7 to £10 a year, were sold last winter at nineteen, twenty, and twenty-one years' purchase. A farm on my Donegal property, in a "scheduled" Union, fetched nearly thirty years', and this rate has been obtained repeatedly in the poorest parts of Donegal. The fact is, that rents are generally in Ireland much lower than in most other countries, a circumstance which has been strongly commented on by M. De Molinari, in his late remarkable letters on Ireland, in which he sets them down at about fifty per cent. under those of Belgium. Professor Baldwin, examined before Mr. Shaw Lefevre's Committee in

* In another instance a farm, sold for £280 in 1864, went up to £600 in 1875.

1878, says the same, and I know it to be the case as to many parts of France.

It is also remarkable that the price of tenant-right is in a great degree kept up in most parts of the North of Ireland by men who have made money in America, and come back from the independence, which, we are told, they might enjoy in that country, to be "hereditary bondsmen," as their fathers were. I have several tenants of this class, and their American experiences generally seem to have given them much more active habits than their non-travelled countrymen. The truth is, that in America the labourer is obliged to work very much harder than at home; and although in the unsettled parts land is to be had on cheaper terms, the settler has for the most part to go through an amount of toil unknown in Ireland, so that when they do return, they have made up their minds to work.

Again, it is not at all uncommon for small farmers to go out to America for five or six years, leaving their families at home, and returning with sufficient capital to improve their condition for the rest of their lives. Several of my tenants have done so. In one instance a young man returned from California, purchased the tenant's right of a farm, married, and remained at home for six years; when, finding his capital rather short, he went back to San Francisco, whence he brought back, in little more than two years, a sum which enabled him to stock his farm in a satisfactory manner, and set a fair example to his neighbours.

This state of things may probably seem strange to eyes accustomed to read of the comparative happiness of the American and the Irishman, and in the recent travels of Mr. Tuke in this country, he tells of his conversation with a returned American who had purchased the tenant-right of a farm near Killybegs, which he much lamented over, detailing all the hardships he underwent for want of roads, having to carry turf on his back half a mile, and so on. These conditions he well enough knew were a part of his purchase, and of course he paid less for his holding than he otherwise would have done; but Mr. Tuke visited him at a time of deep depression, and I

am quite sure would find him now in a very different mood. At all events, I have never known a single instance of a man returning from America, and getting possession of a farm here, who went back to that country, except for a temporary purpose.

It may seem contradictory that I should quote my own success as a reclaimer of land, and at the same time write so strongly against a Government scheme for the same purpose; but I could give still greater instances of the beneficial action of my own improvements, and those of many of my tenants; and in Belgium, the gradual and remarkable increase of prosperity and cultivation in the barren sands of the Campine, resulting from private enterprise, affords a striking contrast to the failure of the Government scheme at Lommel. One thing indeed the Government did do for the Campine—they gave it canal and railway accommodation, things which do not enter into Gladstonian programmes for Ireland. Nevertheless, the one thing which alone can work out civilisation and independence for the Irish peasant, is rapid and cheap communication with the British market. The difference in price of a stone of oats in the west and east of Donegal at this moment is one penny; that penny would certainly cover the rent of the land on which it grows, and the rapid increase in material prosperity of the east of Ireland, like the rise of rent in Belgium, which has doubled in the last thirty years, is solely due to the cheap and speedy transit for their goods to the English market, which steam has afforded. The present generation can with difficulty conceive these changes. Not a very long time ago the "harvest-man" went as regularly from my property near Londonderry, as he still does from West Donegal, or Mayo. Often as a boy I have been amused by hearing them relate their schemes and adventures, but such a thing would hardly be believed possible now, the mountaineers of Tyrone finding it more profitable to stay at home and work for themselves. To this is added the great rise in the wages of the agricultural labourer. Before 1846, the ordinary rate of wages, even on "gentlemen's farms," was a shilling a day, the labourer finding his own house accommo-

dation. Now the same class of men is paid eight to ten shillings a week, and has besides a much better class of cottage rent free (though often poor enough still), with potato ground, and frequently fuel, whilst the main articles of food and clothing have fallen in proportion. This may seem paradoxical in the face of the rise of many sorts of agricultural produce; but the things which interest the labourer are flour, bread, Indian meal, and tea and sugar, the latter articles being entirely of modern introduction in his dietary. Potatoes, except in such years as the past, are stationary in price, and oatmeal, which now is comparatively of small importance, although dearer than formerly, has not risen in the same proportion as oats, owing to the great improvement in the manufacture. On the whole, there is really no agriculturist in Europe who has so little to complain of as the Irish farmer in the accessible parts of the country—certainly he is much better off than either his English, Scotch, Belgian, or French competitors for the supply of the great centres of consumption in Great Britain.

In the first place, rents have not risen by any means in the same proportion.

In the second, the great fall in the price of wheat has affected all these countries in exactly an opposite way from Ireland.

Wheat was, with them, a prime article of produce. In Ireland, except in a few favoured districts, it was not so, and even there was of inferior quality, requiring a large admixture of foreign grain to fit it for the miller. Flour was, on account of its price, in trifling consumption; now it is sold in enormous quantities—and so far Ireland is a gainer.

Ireland has also had, over England and Scotland, the great advantage, that small farms on which a considerable part of the work is done by the farmer or his family, being the rule, the great rise in the wages of labour has been profit instead of loss. This is, of course, shared by the French and Belgians as against England, but where they have no chance in the competition is, in the article of store cattle and sheep. For these, the increasing amount of grass land in England,

and the system of turnip-growing in Scotland, have kept up a demand at very high prices—prices, indeed, often too high for their profitable conversion into beef or mutton.

The mild climate and abundant growth of grass on inferior soils enable the Irish farmer to raise this class of stock at a profit which his continental competitors in France and Belgium would look upon with envy, if they knew anything beyond their immediate range of vision; but participation in it is out of the question, as the system of agriculture in both countries is such as to make cattle-rearing, on a large scale, impossible—neither suffices for its own wants, and both are importers instead of being producers.

This very fact has, indeed, gone a long way to hinder the reclamation of waste land in Ireland. The little farmer who, in addition to four or five acres of arable land, holds perhaps as much more of rough pasture, is able to keep a couple of milk cows, and rear their calves, one of which, at a year old, will often pay his rent, leaving him the produce of his tillage for his own consumption. With this he is content. His labour is not severe, except at special seasons of the year, and as one of the class expressed it to me, he considers, "a pound made by grazing is sweeter than three dug up with a spade." Rather a different idea from that expressed by the favourite Flemish Proverb—"The spade is the husbandman's gold mine."

In dairy produce Ireland can also, for the same reason, compete on favourable terms with any other country. A tenant of mine in West Donegal, whose rent is £19 per annum, took last week to market three firkins of butter, for which he received £15. This only represents a small portion of his dairy produce, which would probably be twice as much more. His farm is not by any means exceptionally cheaply rented, but it is well managed, after the customs of the country, and if his market-town had not been twenty miles from a railway, his receipts would have been increased by eight or ten per cent. This I know from my own experience, as having a farm in the same neighbourhood, and one in that of Londonderry. His receipts for store cattle

sold in the course of the year would amount to as large a sum.* Of this market, as I said above, the small farmers of Ireland have the monopoly; America cannot interfere with it, and for many years past (as at this moment) no kind of stock has brought such prices. Of this, all English and Scotch graziers are tolerably conscious, and another fact equally well known to them is the enormous and rapid improvement in the quality and condition of the young stock exported from Ireland, consequent on the general diffusion of short-horn blood, which, crossed with the old long-horned beasts of the country, engrafts the feeding qualities of the one race on the hardiness of the other. People seldom consider, when comparing the number of cattle now produced by Ireland with that of former days, that the individual weight of each animal has increased by fully one-fourth, and early maturity has added nearly as much more, so that an ox of two years old at the present day may fairly be said to represent, in cash to his owner, a three-year-old of forty years ago. There are, of course, plenty of very wretched animals still to be found, but the general result is that the Irish farmer's stock of cattle represents a value which has increased at a rate unequalled in any competing country. In fact, the Belgian and French farmers have stood still in this respect, as in many others, whilst Ireland has been progressing; but I shall notice this more fully hereafter, and beg to be pardoned if I treat the entire subject rather in a desultory fashion; for the present I shall merely say that in all other varieties of stock a similar advance has been made in the quality, and from first to last *this advance has been owing to the landlords* who, regardless of expense, have imported the most highly-improved breeds from every part of the world.

I have not long returned from visiting a large district of France with which I have been well acquainted for the last fifty years, and found oxen, sheep, and swine just as they were when I first knew them, the pigs especially perfect cari-

* On another farm, of which the rent is £5 10s. a-year, I saw one day last August, seven cows with their calves of this year, which, at a year old, will pay the rent four times over.

catures of the plump "gentleman that pays the rent" in this country.* Remarking this to a travelled French gentleman, his reply at once was—"How can a lot of peasants like these improve their stock? They do not know that there is anything better, and if they did, have no means of getting it; and one consequence is, that the manufacture of the delicious *Jambons de Bayonne*, once so profitable, has given place to American rubbish. The only improvement is in horses, and that is owing to the Government studs."

LETTER III.

It has always appeared to me that when Ireland was the subject of discussion, whether in or out of Parliament, a considerable mistake has been made in comparing its general aspect with that of other countries, and not with its own condition in very recent times. The traveller who lands from England is struck by a generally "unkempt" appearance which pervades great part of the country, and naturally impresses him more than the specks of civilization which are rapidly leavening the entire lump. He has no idea—in fact, he has no means—of comparing the Ireland of to-day with that of fifty, or forty, or thirty years ago, and is too apt to think that by some forcing process like that which produced Jack's beanstalk, an *Ultima Thule* like Ireland can be laid down in rectangular fields, studded with trim farm-houses and steam threshing-machines. He has probably travelled on the Continent, and as he rushed along in the railway from one great town to another, drawn comparisons which are not only to the disadvantage of Ireland, but of England also. But here again, if he trusts to present appearances, and thinks they are indications of progress, he is very far astray.

M. De Laveleye, one of the most acute statistical writers of the day, tells us that in most respects the agriculture of

* Fifty years ago, the Irish and French swine were almost identical, except in colour.

Belgium was the same in the sixteenth century as at present, and similar things may be said of the greater part of France and Germany.

A friend of mine, who had resided in Belgium for about forty years, told me, soon after M. De Laveleye's "Economie Rùrale Belge" first appeared, that he had perceived no improvement in Belgian practice in that time, except the manufacture of beet sugar and the introduction of guano; whilst the British Islands, and particularly Ireland, had gone ahead in the most remarkable manner. This was nearly twenty years ago, and a recent edition of De Laveleye tells the same story. He says there is no change to remark since his work first was published, save, indeed, one to which I shall call your attention hereafter, which is the deterioration of the farmers' position by *subdivision of farms* and *increase of rents*.

With regard to the sugar industry, as it only flourishes by virtue of protection, it may be dismissed from the calculation. If protection was in force here, we could make sugar also.

As to guano or other artificial manures, for one ton consumed in Belgium, ten are used in Ireland, with indeed doubtful benefit, as the Irish farmer is rather apt to depend too much on such stimulants, which the more prudent Belgian only uses as auxiliary.

In writing of Ireland, I think I set out by saying that I meant that part of it with which I am familiar—that is to say, the North, and particularly the county of Donegal, of which the eastern portion presents the well-known type of Ulster, whilst the western unluckily figures, as to its general aspect, in the same category as Connaught. Mr. Tuke, in his brochure on this county, deplores the general barbarism of the west, though he, too, speaks of being surprised by the enormously different aspect of the famine of 1880 and that of 1847. I was much struck by one of his visions of misery. He finds a man, whose lot he much deplores, living with his family in a cabin, which contained, in addition, four cows and a pony. Mr. Tuke does not say how much other stock this man was possessed of, which, no doubt, was considerable.

He only talks of his drawing-room pets. A very short time ago, this practice of living in the same room with cattle was almost universal in the mountain districts of Donegal, but has gradually receded, just as the Irish language has done, into the wildest districts. On my own property, where even in 1847 the practice was common, and many people did not understand English, there could not now be found an instance of either the one or the other. This type of barbarism, however, is still habitual in many parts of Europe; and the ordinary practice of Germany and Italy at this moment is, that the farm-servants, male and female, should have no beds found them, but lie in the straw along with the beasts they tend. But, in some other respects, the manners of Donegal were, not long ago, still more primitive.

In August, 1836, I happened to be overtaken, whilst grouse-shooting, by a heavy thunder-storm. As I was near the edge of the moor, I made for the shelter of a tolerably decent-looking cabin, and, to my amazement, found myself surrounded by half a dozen children from two to ten years old, without a particle of clothing on any of them, but the youngest. The house itself presented no indications of poverty. A couple of stakes in a corner marked the abiding place of two cows which were grazing near the door, and the youthful Adams and Eves looked healthy and well fed. Their mother, whose costume was not much more elaborate, invited me to sit by the fire, and said something in Irish to my henchman, to which he made a laughing reply. After a while, the shower was over, and on leaving the house, I said, "These poor people seem to be in a terrible state; something must be done to get them some clothing." "Och, not a bit of it," was the reply; "they have clothes plenty; but along this water, they always save them that way in summer, and she was saying to me, she wondered what your honour would think." In the evening I narrated my experiences to a large party at dinner, and was met by a good deal of incredulity. However, next morning at breakfast, the lady of the house informed us that the kitchen-maid came from this very district, and that, on being questioned, she

had answered, "she never had a *tatter* on her in summer until after she was twelve years old." This district is within four miles of where I sit. In the particular instance of which I speak, the paternal farm has been divided between two of my naked acquaintances, who have good houses and decent offices on land reclaimed from the moor, and would be much scandalised if they were supposed capable of rearing their families as they "growed up" themselves. That the case was by no means an isolated one, I had an opportunity of satisfying myself a few days later, though you will hardly imagine that such a state of things was possible in living memory. Had it met the view of a tourist like Mr. Tuke, what a chapter he would have written about it. Indeed, to you who belong to another state of civilisation, the condition of our mountain peasantry seems still low enough in the social scale. But the question is not the actual fact, but that of progress.

In the estimation of some people—the Roman Catholic clergy for instance—the decrease of population is held to be a proof of misery and misgovernment. I, on the contrary, maintain that anything which has led to the immense improvement of the condition of agricultural labourers by increased wages, and of the class above them by the consolidation of farms notoriously too small for the comfortable subsistence of their occupants, is matter of rejoicing.

The deniers of progress point to what they call four millions of "waste land" calling out for improvement. The Census of 1841 estimated those waste lands at over six millions; so that at least one-third of the total has been wiped off in the course of the last forty years; and as Sir R. Griffith, whose name is in every man's mouth now-a-days, set down two millions and a-half as utterly irreclaimable, it would follow that about fifty thousand acres are being annually added to the cultivated land of Ireland, which is no despicable progress after all.

M. De Lavergne estimates the entire increase of cultivated land in France, since Arthur Young wrote of it in 1789, that is, in ninety years, to have been two millions of hectares, or five millions of acres; and adds that at the present rate of

progress, two hundred years would be required to bring all the available land of France under tillage.

If we judge the future by the past, this result would be obtained in Ireland, *if let alone*, in forty more years at the outside. Few people, indeed, take the trouble of making such comparisons, and of course they are ignored by the agrarian agitators.

What must, however, strike the eye of the most casual observer is the marvellous improvement in the small towns and villages of which I have given the instance in my own neighbourhood; and particularly striking it is when their progress is compared with the stagnation of similar localities in France, which, when undisturbed by railways or tourist resort, remain in the same dormant condition in which they have slumbered for centuries. This comparison was particularly impressed on my mind by a visit made last summer to the village of St. Savin, in the south of France, with which I have been acquainted since 1830. In that long lapse of years, I do not think two houses have been added to it; not a window polished up; the very group of old women who sat twirling their antediluvian spindles in shade of the tallest house, clad in the same dingy home-spun, was planted in the same spot, and I almost think composed of the very same old women who, fifty years ago, twirled spindles laden with the same grey yarns in the very same shade—a curious contrast to my Donegal experiences.

I have made my main starting-point 1840, as at that time I began to pay attention to the subject, but the actual advance by leaps and bounds, dates from the years immediately succeeding the famine of 1847—say 1850. People talk of the recuperative powers of the French nation, shown by its rapid recovery after the German war, as being very remarkable, but it is not one particle more so than that of Ireland, after the famine of 1847.

France has undoubtedly made a great and glorious struggle, but was a country of great hoarded wealth, which was quite ready to be invested in the small sums which the French Government enabled petty capitalists to place in their funds,

and so to meet the pressure of the German indemnity; but although this pressure was met, it was at tremendous sacrifice, and the taxation on real property in many parts of France is at present from forty to sixty per cent. In Ireland there were no hoards to draw on—famine had swept it clean from one end to the other. Yet, within five years, all trace of it had vanished, save where a few roofless walls still attested the consolidation of farms which has been the basis of subsequent prosperity. And, moreover, in France there was no change in the habits or food of the people. A Frenchman's house and his dinner are precisely the same now that they were a hundred years ago. No one can say this of Ireland.

I have alluded to this before, when speaking of the village of Mountcharles, but the advance is everywhere the same; and as the customers of the improved shops for the advanced class of goods supplied are exclusively farmers, their prosperity may be equally implied.

The improvement in food by the substitution of cereals for the potato, and the consumption of tea and sugar, have been most striking. So also was the increased consumption of whiskey, which now though much more heavily taxed than heretofore, and a consequent financial joy to Chancellors of the Exchequer, has been a fruitful source of lamentation to justices and judges, and in its fruit of drunkenness was forced upon the notice of parliament as a subject of legislation. So, too, the amelioration of the dwellings of the peasantry was easily to be seen. When a new house was built, slates were constantly substituted for thatch, and light and ventilation were in some degree attended to. As an instance, I may mention that five good slated houses on contiguous farms have been erected near me within the last fifteen years.

These things are not perceptible, save in a slight degree, to the casual traveller. He sees that much has still to be done. That in too many places the houses are hovels, and the fields are swamps; he does not see how many houses were but lately hovels, and how many well-tilled fields have superseded swamp or heather. But the snipe shooter in Ireland is loud in his wails, and no man is better qualified to judge. Within a mile of my house was a single swamp, about half a mile in

length. On it I have bagged ten brace of snipe, and seen one hundred, in a couple of hours' shooting, only a few years ago; now it is every acre under tillage. Similar instances lie round me in every direction, and this is in West Donegal. In the eastern part, and in the adjacent County of Tyrone, progress is still more marked in the eyes of those who habitually keep them open.

It may then very fairly be asked, to what is this progress owing? How is the improvement of the breed of cattle, and the spread of agricultural knowledge to be accounted for? Who were the introducers of improved machinery, and of the grass seeds, and artificial manures, which now count for so much in civilised husbandry? The answer to this is complete. M. De Laveleye, in a very remarkable pamphlet, little known in Britain, although it has been translated into English, with the advantage of a preface by Mr. Gladstone, says that the comparative prosperity and progress of Ulster is owing to its Protestantism. He cites it as one of the many examples he gives of the superiority which he (himself, I believe, a Roman Catholic) maintains, is shown by all countries professing the Reformed religion. He is possibly right as regards the place which Ulster occupies in Ireland, but all Ireland has made great progress in spite of famines, and in spite of the state of semi-rebellion in which it has been kept from time immemorial.

M. De Laveleye's theory holds so far good, that the advance in tillage, which implies superior energy and enterprise, is greater in Ulster, whilst in stock raising it has probably been greater in the South and West, but in both the one and the other the impetus has been given by the resident gentry, who have introduced the improved machinery and tillage processes in the one instance, and the improved stock in the other. I myself well recollect the first iron plough ever seen in the north-west of Ireland. It belonged to the then Bishop of Derry. His lead was rapidly followed by many of the surrounding landed proprietors, and now a wooden plough would be a greater curiosity than the iron one was then. On the greater part of the Continent the plough remains the same

that it was in the days when it was first introduced by the Romans. In fact, it could hardly be otherwise in countries where the average occupation is not more than five or six acres, with capital and intelligence in proportion. Mr. Gladstone and his Cabinet now propose to exterminate the improving class, and will very probably succeed; if they do, it is pretty certain that Ireland will not make the same progress in the next fifty years that it has done in the last.

In another and most important particular Ireland owes its advancement almost entirely to the landlord class—that is, the opening up of the country by means of railways. Every line, the origin of which I am acquainted with, is due to the energy, and often self-sacrifice, of some one or two individuals of that body—certainly all those with which this county is connected. The Londonderry and Enniskillen line owes everything to Lord Erne; the Finn Valley to Lord Lifford; the Bundoran to the late Mr. Conolly and Mr. Bloomfield; the Sligo and Leitrim to Mr. Tottenham; and at this moment two lines are being constructed in Donegal—one, the West Donegal, set on foot by Lord Lifford and myself, and supported by a self-imposed tax of sevenpence in the pound on the properties of Lord Conyngham, Mr. Murray Stewart, and some others. The other line, the Letterkenny and Londonderry, was started at considerable pecuniary sacrifice by Mr. Stewart, of Ards; and owing to the exertions of Mr. Grove and some other landlords, has, after years of struggle, been put in the way of completion. All this, on the Continent, would have been done by the State, if done at all.

I have before me what is probably the most exhaustive volume of statistics ever published by any country—a report prepared for the Belgian Legislature by the late M. Quetelét. It shows the Government not merely making railways and roads, but even distributing lime to the reclaimers of land, and importing English swine to improve the native race. In France, the Government horse-breeding establishments, as I said in a former letter, supply the entire country with selected sires, to which the great improvement in the equine race in that country is very justly attributed. Ireland, however, still

keeps in advance. France still sends to it for horses; and if it does, it is mainly owing to the enterprise of the landlord class, whose property Messrs. Bright and Gladstone now seek to confiscate.

Nor were the benefits conferred on Ireland by a landed proprietary confined to material views. What it has of education has its source in the Kildare Street Society, which, though owing much of its efficiency to the clergy of the Irish Established Church, would have perished in the cold had it not been for the generous support of the laity. This Society is now nearly forgotten; but on the basis from which Romish intolerance succeeded in throwing it down, was founded the present National School system of Education.

This part of the question will, however, come more properly under consideration under the subject of peasant proprietary. (See Letter V.)

LETTER IV.

Having, I think, shown that no very particular necessity existed, or very good cause alleged, in the way of want of progress in Ireland for agrarian legislation, I shall come to that of the year 1870.

To any one who has seen or felt the official leading-strings with which a Frenchman, or a German of the present day is trammelled in every action of his life, as noted—how the peasant proprietor of either country trembles before the most petty employé of the Government, it is needless to point out the evil which results from the absence of a class of men who had nothing to expect, and nothing to fear, from the Executive, and who were willing and able to make their voices heard when a wrong was to be remedied, or a right was withheld. Insignificant as is my own social position, I have been able to make it available in both ways in a manner which would have been impossible to ten times the number of all my tenants, supposing them to be each the proprietor of his petty occupancy. Few people, however, are aware of the class of men who hold office under the Continental Governments. In the large towns which travellers as a rule frequent, the

police official is, for the most part, a man of intelligence ; and the mayor, or whatever represents him, a citizen of some note ; but in the country communes it is different. Not long since, I had some business to transact with the "Bürger-meister" of a village which lies half-way between Homburg and Frankfort. On making enquiry for him, I was directed to a cottage, from a shed behind which came the sounds of a hammer. The front of the house being shut up, and no response made to my knocking, I went round to the shed, and there found an old man, in a tattered leather apron, cutting out square slips of tin. On asking for the Bürger-meister, he replied, "I am he." I apologised for disturbing him, and having made the propitiatory offering of a penny cigar, opened out my business, which was slightly delayed, as his wife had gone "to wash clothes at the river," and had taken the key of the house with her, so that until she was found, pen and ink were inaccessible. In a considerable French mountain village, some years ago, I found the "Maire" in the kindred occupation of a blacksmith. As my business with him was to get a horse shod, I had no opportunity of judging of his official capacity.* He informed me, however, that he was a staunch supporter of the Government of the day, which he need hardly have done, as I had sufficient knowledge of French institutions to be aware that this was a necessary qualification for mairedom. This, indeed, is the general rule under democratic despotisms, and a forcible illustration of it is to found in the attack now being made on the independence of the French magistracy. In the United States a political victory displaces officials of any degree down to the crossing-sweeper. A tenant of mine who had been in the Irish Constabulary, became a warder in the Cincinnati State Prison. He remained there five years, and by his intelligence and activity had advanced to be the third officer of that institution, with every prospect of becoming, in time, the first. A sudden change in political circles occurred, and he was informed that his services were no longer required. He appealed to the new Board of Management, pointing out that he in no way med-

* He shod my horse very badly.

dled in American politics, and the good state of the prison under his care, but was bluntly told by the chairman—"Your certificates are excellent, and the prison very creditable, but we want your place for A—— B——."

Things in Germany are managed much in the same way, and both in that country and in France the great object of life is to get a place under the Government so as to be able to trample on the peasant.

These things do not show on the surface, or to the ordinary resident in a continental town. The little I know of the realities of foreign life I picked up as a sportsman, or an unscientific naturalist. In the former pursuit I was out one day in a forest near Coblentz, accompanied by the official forester, a very smart intelligent man, who had been a sergeant in the Prussian army; all at once he made a dash into a thicket near our path, and dragged out of it a woman who was crouching behind a bush with a bag half filled with grass. He first shook her violently for a minute or two, then made her empty out the grass, and seizing the bag, belaboured her with it down the path some twenty yards, and then rejoined us, carrying off the bag, and a sickle, with which the woman was cutting the grass. The offence was cutting grass in a forbidden part of the common wood of which she was one of the proprietors.

In many parts of Germany grass may be pulled, but sickles are prohibited on account of the damage done to young trees. I said that in such a case in England the woman would have been summoned, and that if a gamekeeper assaulted a trespasser as he had done, he would have probably suffered for it. "Ach," said he, "she is nothing the worse, our way is much less trouble, and if she made a complaint against a Förster she would make nothing by it, and it would be always remembered to her." "Ach," said the friend with whom I was shooting, a Dutchman, who rented the game of the forest, "there is no one to speak for the peasant here, there are no country gentlemen to stand between him and the Government Officials, and they all stand by one another."

This is, in fact, the great misfortune of a peasant proprie-

tary nation. If it is a monarchy like Germany, the peasant is the slave of the official of the Court. If a republic like France of the present day, the masters are the scum of journalism or the law courts, of whom indeed, Sardou's "Rabagas" is hardly a caricature.

To this latter condition it would seem the purpose of our present Ministry to reduce the British Empire; and for this purpose and with this aim, the "Bright Clauses" were introduced in the Land Bill of 1870.

The lately unearthed letter of Mr. Bright, which has gone the round of the newspapers, shows how little scruple as to means that eminent statesman would feel, provided success was probable, and how correct was Mr. Caird's judgment. Mr. Gladstone, in Midlothian, informed his constituents that his Bill of 1870 was a concession to murder and arson, hinting that the same process had only to be repeated *ad libitum* to secure further progress in the same direction. In fact that very Bill was in itself, as far as it went, a complete confiscation of the property of the landowners, and, as Mr. Caird says, without any justification from the condition of the occupying tenants who never were better off. Few people in England are aware how far this confiscation extends. It may be summed up by saying that no landowner can recover possession of his land without paying whatever purchase money the County Court Judge may think proper to award to the tenant under the name of compensation for disturbance—that if a man gets, by any means, possession of a piece of land, and holds it for more than twelve months, he acquires a title in the soil; and the net value of his interest, as against the landlord, varies with the length of the County Court Judge's foot. In the same way, power is given to that officer, by section nine, to fix what shall be a reasonable rent, and what exorbitant, in all tenancies under fifteen pounds a-year.*

The immediate consequence of this legislation has been to take away from Irish landlords that interest in the advance-

* It is rather remarkable, that for so far only in one case has the plea of exorbitant rent been raised in the county courts.

ment of their estates, which a very large number of them certainly felt. In my own case, for instance, slates and timber had been offered on very favourable terms to any tenants wishing to improve their houses; but after the passing of Mr. Gladstone's Bill, that offer was withdrawn. Land improvement under the Board of Works was checked in the same way, until, in the course of the present year, money was actually forced upon the landlords, many of whom, I understand, (some I know), have not been able to get labourers to work out the half of their loans.

Mr. Gladstone, indeed, was good enough to say that he did not, by his Bill, mean to reduce the landowners to the mere condition of receivers of copyhold rents; but he has since very clearly shown that the ulterior projects of the men, whose puppet he is, was to do a good deal more than even that. You will say it is strong language to call Mr. Gladstone anyone's puppet, but I should be sorry to believe of him that the utterances of 1870 veiled the evident projects of 1880. This, however, does not much matter. The effect has been to place the dealings of landlords and tenants on a very different footing from what they were before, and to make almost every arrangement between them a subject of litigation, to the great benefit of that valuable class of men, Quarter Sessions attorneys, who have increased in number and wealth at a rate which is quite marvellous.

There is a universal "consensus," even on the part of hostile witnesses, that Irish land is let at a lower rate than that of other countries. When I say "universal," of course I do not include the Land League.

Professor Baldwin, who was specially sent to Belgium by the Government, to enquire into the subject, says, in his evidence before Mr. Shaw Lefevre's Committee, that "rents in Belgium are twice what they would be for the same class of land in Ireland." And again: "The occupiers are very rack-rented, and the system of tenure is not satisfactory. The Irish tenants would consider it very bad." From my own knowledge, I would indeed say the same of a great part of France.

M. de Molinari, in his recent remarkable series of letters, says the same thing, and adds that the conclusion he has come to is, that if the Irish peasant would work more and drink less whiskey, he would be very well off. The Irish tenant, therefore, according to Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Caird, because he had been generously dealt with, was entitled to claim as a right against the landlord what had been conceded as a boon; and so if the landlord wished, by raising his rent, to claim a share in the prosperity caused by advancing prices of agricultural produce, or increased facilities for getting it to market, it was decreed that the tenant could bring him into court, and claim damages, the heavier in proportion as he had been more liberally dealt with. This is particularly apparent in the "tenant-right" districts of Ulster. This term, in its Irish application, is but little understood in England, and when I have tried to explain it to a Belgian or a Frenchman, his astonishment that such a custom could exist was unbounded. It is, in concise words, the capitalised value of the rent which a tenant could fairly pay, over and above that which is charged by the landlord. This sum is, of course, greatest on the lowest rented estates, and accordingly the more indulgent a landlord has been, the more heavily he is mulcted by the Land Act of 1870. Landlords are endowed with feelings like other men, and, as I said before, they naturally look upon this as a most unjustifiable measure of confiscation.

In other parts of Ireland where the Ulster Custom did not prevail, something very similar was generally permitted by the landlords, as was pretty fully set out in the report of the Devon Commission, and here the Land Act appraised the tenant's interest at from seven years' purchase of the rent downwards. The consequence has been, I understand, a considerable extension of the practice of taking fines at the commencement of new tenures, which, of course, is in every way to be deprecated. But on this subject, as it does not relate to my personal experiences, I do not wish to give an opinion.

One thing the Land Act has certainly encouraged to the

great detriment of the peasantry—that is, going into debt—as the interest in any holding, whether tenant-right or not, is now available as security, and as such, can be sold out under a decree of the superior courts.

The following instance on my own property will show how this takes effect :—A B borrowed £20 from C D. Both were tenants of mine. The lender died, and his widow, who administered, demanded payment of A B's debt, with two years' interest, in all £22. I need not follow the details of the litigation, but the result was, that the Sheriff took possession of A B's holding, and handed it over to the plaintiff in satisfaction of the debt, £22, and costs, £70 ! ! That night A B re-entered, and the plaintiff came to consult me, both as landlord and the nearest magistrate, as to what she should do. She said all she wanted was her money and *peace*. I immediately went to the spot, and after pointing out to the defendant that he would not mend matters by this mode of proceeding, arranged that the tenant-right of the farm should be sold by auction on that day week, and made myself responsible for the debt in the meantime. The rent of the farm, of which four years were due, was £4 15s. It sold for £160. The money was paid into the hands of my agent, who forthwith satisfied the debt and costs, £92, retained £19 due for rent, and handed over the balance to the defendant. Before he got home he was served with a notice not to pay over this balance until the defendant's attorney was paid *his* costs, amounting to £40 ; so the residue would have been but small, had not the notice been too late. Under the old system, the plaintiff would have applied to the landlord, who would have, by " notice to quit," obliged the defendant to sell his tenant-right, and saved his £110 of law costs.

A precisely similar case since occurred in this county, but the ejected tenant, having re-entered, determined to " keep a grip " of his land, and when the creditor tried to re-take possession, there was a desperate fight. And in a Southern or Western county the plaintiff would probably have been murdered since, if not at the time.

Another fruitful source of litigation and grievous hardship, is the administration of intestates in the case of petty tenants. Formerly, when a small farmer died, his widow, on every estate with which I am acquainted, succeeded him as tenant. Probably one, two, or three sons had been portioned off during the father's lifetime. The widow arranged with the others as best she could, with the aid of the landlord, and disputes were very rare. Now, nothing is more common, than the return of a son from America, or a claim by one or two who have been portioned off at home, when administration must be taken out, the farm sold, and the home broken up. I have known several cases of this sort—one very cruel one, on my own property, where the widow of a respectable man is in her old age almost a pauper. So Gladstonian Legislation has not been entirely productive of happiness. Indeed, if we believe all we read of Land League speeches, not at all; clearly it has not diminished discontent. For my own part, as I said before, I do not believe that Mr. Bright and the other wirepullers of Mr. Gladstone ever intended it should do so. Mr. Caird was of the same opinion, and whatever may be his politics now, he was at that time supposed to be to a certain extent an irresponsible exponent of the views of the advanced Liberal Party. The idea then was, as he says, that if Ireland was inoculated here and there with estates transferred from the landlord to the tenants, the adjacent properties would be reduced, by murder, arson, and similar Land League amenities, to such a condition, that the owners would be glad to get rid of them on any terms. It was reported, that to effect this sort of inoculation by means of the confiscated Church properties, was a strong inducement with Messrs. Bright, and Co. to press for disestablishment. If it was so, the agency of the Church Temporalities Commission, like that of the Bright clauses of the Land Act, has as far as this object went been a failure—the unavowed but well calculated step towards revolution, a success which I think is beginning to startle some at least of its promoters. Meantime, the lesson having been taught, that if outrage enough was committed, concessions from the goods of the victims

would be handed over as a prey to the committers, the first instalment, on the part of Mr. Gladstone's ministry, was the Disturbance Bill. I do not myself think that it was a measure of such importance, as to be worth all the fuss that was made about it. The landlord would still have been able to eject a tenant by the more round-about process, which I have already described as incidental to the new legislation, which would have been much more destructive to the tenant. The sting was, that it made ejectment for non-payment of rent under the ordinary process entirely impossible, as every tenant would have proved himself incapacitated from rent-paying, by failure of his crops, with any amount of hard swearing; and it was fully expected, that although called a temporary measure, it was pretty certain to become permanent. In fact, a tenant would only have to put down and till his crops in such a way that they were certain not to grow, and then not pay his rent, to entitle himself to mulct his landlord in heavy damages. It would be utterly impossible to prove that the failure arose from preventible causes, and indeed a very large part of that of 1878 and 1879 most certainly did so, the habitual slovenliness of Irish tillage coming out all the more strongly when it had unusual disadvantages to contend with. A tenant of mine in Tyrone, sold the tenant-right of his farm to a neighbour, for £140 (twenty-one years' purchase) last February. This money passed through my hands. I afterwards asked the purchaser how he, who held rather a worse farm, was able to buy, when the man next door was four years in arrear, and was obliged to sell. "Just because I worked hard, and he did not, your honour," was the reply, for which indeed I was prepared. But whatever be the cause of a tenant getting into arrear, there was not the smallest doubt that agricultural distress would be pleaded.

There is also no doubt that notice of ejectment was the only reasoning which would unlock the purse-strings of many a farmer very well able to pay. I was obliged myself to issue three such notices last year. In one case, three years' rent was due; in each of the others, four. The first man paid a year's rent. One of the others sold his tenant-right. His

rent was £7 5s. a-year, and in February last, when things were supposed to be at their worst, he received for it £195. This in a *scheduled* Union, too; one of those in which Mr. Gladstone's Disturbance Bill would have precluded me from remedy by ejectment, as the tenant could certainly have pleaded agricultural distress, His land was hardly tilled and his crops wretched. He was an unmarried man, and had a very snug little farm, but lived, his neighbours said, on "bread and whiskey," never doing a "hand's-turn" himself. This man would have been secured in his farm for two years by the Disturbance Bill, save at a cost to me of £195. The third man noticed was also one who preferred leisure to work, as another tenant described him, "the laziest man in Ireland." His farm was hardly tilled at all, and he lived in idleness on the earnings of children whom he sent out to hire as servants, and the grazing profits of a stretch of mountain. He promised to pay two years' rent out of four due, before January next, or else sell his farm, and one or other he shall do.* This is another of Mr. Gladstone's protégés, and such instances as these were the basis of the great opposition to the Bill. There were, of course, many cases of dire necessity on the part of landlords—cases where, being hard-pressed themselves, they were obliged to press on others; but nowhere was there any remission for them. They were mercilessly constrained to pay tithe rent-charge, drainage charges, and income tax for land from which they received no rents; mortgages and family charges had to be met; but no provision was made by Mr. Gladstone for giving landlords protection from *their* creditors, when tenants did not pay their rents.

Another cause which led up to the rejection of the Bill was the awful mendacity of its supporters. This is not too severe a term to apply to Mr. Gladstone's impassioned exaggeration of the evictions which were to ensue if his Bill was thrown out, Mr. Forster's juggle about the many thousand policemen employed in Galway, or Mr. Bright's enumeration of the absentee proprietors. Indeed, Mr. Forster was probably the

* He has paid.

worst of the three, if the *Times* reported him correctly, as he said in the House of Commons that the Government had not received returns from the sub-sheriffs of the number of actual evictions in Ireland, more than a week after I myself had seen his telegram, demanding such a return from the sub-sheriff of this county, and the return sent in reply. He may have meant that he had not received them from every county in Ireland, but he denied them altogether. In fact, it was owing to my accidental sight of these telegrams that Lord George Hamilton was able to give Mr. Gladstone the well-deserved and well-administered rebuke, which told so much against his veracity and his Bill. But actually neither landlords nor tenants, as a rule, were aware of the powers of ejectment which would have remained, supposing the Disturbance Bill had been carried; and although I followed the debates, as reported in the *Times*, pretty closely, I did not see them specially mentioned in either House.

To those landlords who were acquainted with them, there was certainly the objection of expense and delay; but the actual remedy was more complete if possible, and would, if they had been driven to resort to it, have been more crushing to the tenants. Under the ordinary process the expenses are but small, and when the tenant, after the custom of Ulster, is allowed to sell his tenant-right, it does not trench much on his residue, after payment of rent and costs. If the landlord was reduced to the position of an ordinary creditor, the example I have given of my unlucky tenant's case, in which £70 were the costs of the plaintiff alone, for recovering a debt of £22, shows that the tenant would have been seriously injured by the change.

The Land League orators are now every day proclaiming that eviction is at an end; none of them have as yet touched on this particular aspect of it. They are too prudent to make enemies of the commercial classes by saying, that the interest of the occupier of a bit of land is to be sacred against every creditor; and I hardly think that their communistic supporters in the Ministry will venture to tack on such a provision to any Confiscation Bill which may be brought forward by Mr. Gladstone.

His land legislation with regard to the Church Temporalities, I shall deal with in my next letter, when I treat of that looming in the distance, of which we are told the creation of peasant proprietary is to be a prominent feature.

LETTER V.

PEASANT proprietorship, and the establishment of some 500,000 of the proletarians of Mayo and Galway on little estates of twenty or thirty acres, are the panacea proposed by Mr. Bright at Birmingham for all our woes.

I shall not do his acuteness the injustice of supposing that he believed one word of what he said on the subject, but as his ignorance on these points is so notorious as to have even brought upon him a severe snubbing in the last edition of the papers of the Cobden Club,* it is just possible I may have been mistaken; and, at all events, as he appears to be the wire-puller of the nominal "man at the helm," his utterances may be taken as the "shadows before" of coming legislation.

Moreover, many worthy people of all parties in politics, who have not made very deep enquiry into the matter, have accepted as true, a lot of cuckoo cries which are everlastingly yelled out by revolutionists as ignorant as themselves. We hear every day that other parts of Europe are cultivated as a garden. We are told that poverty and agrarian crime are there unknown, and that all this happens because the land is held by peasant proprietors. From which it is insisted, on as a logical consequence, that Ireland would flourish in the same fashion if landlords were extinguished.

I have been acquainted, to a certain extent, with Belgium, France, and Germany for a good many years, and have always taken an interest in their agriculture, which has led me to very different conclusions, to which I have been aided by a

* See Morier's Article on Germany.

few statistical writers, whom I shall presently quote, commencing with Belgium.

On Belgic affairs the principal authority is M. de Laveleye. That gentleman looks upon an unlimited democracy as the *summum bonum*. However, he is patriotically attached to his own country, and says that no part of the world is to be compared with Flanders in skilful agricultural industry and the gross produce of the soil. I do not think the Irish farmer, "*sua si bona norint*," would much wish to change places with the men who are credited with these results. The average extent of occupations in East Flanders was six acres, in West Flanders eight, at the time when M. de Laveleye wrote, some sixteen years ago. He states that they were yearly getting smaller, as "there is always a much greater number of farmers' sons looking out for habitations than of vacant farms. Seeing no other means of earning a living but that of cultivating the soil, they bid against one another, till they only receive a miserable return for their hard work, and a wretched interest for the capital they embark." Instead of being peasant proprietors, four-fifths of the land is tilled by farmers who hold on leases for three or six years, at the expiration of which the farms are let to the highest bidder. He adds that "The Flemish labourer is probably the hardest-worked and worst-fed working-man in Europe, and the small farmer lives very little better." The owners of properties are daily splitting them into smaller farms to take advantage of the competition; and "all these small proprietors have only one object, to screw up the rent to the highest possible pitch; as their wants are generally greater than their means, nothing stops them but the fear of not being paid." M. de Laveleye further says, that "every day the number of tenancies is increasing, and that the land as property will shortly have escaped entirely out of the hands of the cultivators."

Much more might I quote from him, but this is enough. Another much more recent witness, examined before Mr. Shaw Lefevre's Committee, Professor Baldwin, who was sent over by the Government to examine into the condition of the Belgian peasants, says:—"Rents are twice what they would

be in Ireland for the same class of land." And in another place :—"It is the case of Ireland over again. The tenant-farmer in Belgium has no money; and if you had difference of religion, which is the disturbing element in Ireland, the state of things there would be as bad as in Ireland." In a third place he says that Irish tenants "would consider their situation very bad indeed if it was like that of the Belgians."

As may be supposed, the rise of rent was also pretty rapid. Between 1850 and 1856 (the latest returns which I happen to have), it was over 17 per cent. on the entire kingdom, and since, I am informed, has gone on at pretty nearly 2 per cent. per annum.

Another consideration, which neither M. de Laveleye nor Professor Baldwin takes into account, is that in the extent of land stated to be cultivated by the proprietors, the great number of very large farms which the Belgian gentry and capitalists hold in their own hands would vastly reduce the apparent proportion of occupying *peasant* proprietors. The number of small proprietors is large, but they do not care to occupy, preferring, as M. de Laveleye says, to live on what they can screw out of their wretched tenants, and so presenting what he very fairly calls the worst possible state of agricultural affairs—*a petty tenancy under petty landlords*. And this is one of the countries held up for admiration.

Now, let us turn to France. M. de Lavergne, the great authority there, and, like de Laveleye, a great admirer of peasant proprietary, after giving a flourishing account of the general agriculture of French Flanders, tells that—"Unluckily, this so profitable cultivation has a dark side, which brings down the balance in favour of English agriculture, and that is the superabundance of the rural population. This superabundance is not a necessary consequence of *petite culture*, but it is its natural tendency. There are nowhere so many paupers as in this rich and fertile country. The city of Lille presents a sad exception to all that is known in other countries. One full third of its population is inscribed on the lists for charitable relief, and several rural communes are

in the same plight. Under such circumstances, one ceases to rejoice over this admirably-tilled district." Again, speaking of the North-east of France:—"Petty proprietary has brought about, for the best of the land, the great evil of subdivision into small plots. Three departments contain upwards of six millions of these plots, which suppose a mean extent of ten arés (about ¼ acre English). A very small farm will be composed of twenty of these patches, separated by long distances one from another. This, next to encouraging an excess of rural population, is the great vice of peasant proprietary."

M. de Laveleye does not allude to a similar state of things, as existing in Belgium, where it has been checked by the fact that so much more of the land is owned by men who let it out to tenants, and are, therefore, indisposed to purchase little lots of ground at a distance from the nucleus of their properties, but still it does exist to a very great degree, as will strike any one who looks at the advertisements of sales placarded on the walls of Brussels, Antwerp, or any Belgian town, which are generally headed with a map, demonstrating that the owner must hop about like a knight on a chess board to get from one part of his farm to another. M. de Lavergne laments over this "*parcellement*" as an utter check to drainage or good husbandry in general, and as the cause of endless disputes about trespass, rights of way, running the village flock of sheep over the entire commune, and forced uniformity of tillage.

The departments he specially alludes to are the Aube, the Marne, and the Haute Marne, but the same remarks apply to all parts of France, Belgium, and Germany, where peasant proprietary is the rule, and at a very late date applied to a large part of Ireland, where it was called "rundale," Its memory subsists in the word "townlands," the lands belonging to the "town" or cluster of cottages, where the early settlers fixed themselves. My first experience of dealing with landed property was the management of a small mountain estate of this character. Three clusters of six to ten cottages composed the towns. The arable land was divided into unfenced strips, of which every tenant had a certain number,

theoretically representing each quality of soil, but through sales and marriages not very accurately, two out of the three towns had attached a tract of swamp which was called *meadow*, of which each tenant had a portion; and all had a large extent of mountain pasture, on which each man, in proportion to his holding, had rights of grazing a certain number of sheep and cattle which, as soon as the crops were gathered in, were allowed to range at will over the whole "townland," making, as Lavergne says of some parts of France, civilised agriculture impossible. Quarrels were of constant occurrence, and the natives, when on good terms, spent much of their time idling from house to house, or gossipping on the streets. This, only on a smaller scale, accurately represents the state of a part of Germany with which I am very well acquainted, as (though more superficially) are many other Britishers. I mean the neighbourhood of Homburg.

The actual town of hotels and lodging-houses, is only an excrescence in the old "dorf," of which the lands extend in an irregular form, for nearly four miles in the direction of Frankfort. This arable land, of fair quality if decently treated, is divided into three lots, for what Lavergne calls the "*assolement commun*" (I forget the German term), in everyone of which each householder is supposed to have one portion of his estate, which he must keep under the same class of crops as his neighbour, or run the risk of having them destroyed by the common flock. The whole is traversed by a track called the "Long Mile"—"*Die Lange Meile*," across which I very often walked. The first six or eight hundred yards of this is a good road, bordered with fine old fruit trees. I enquired why it had stopped short, and was told that the cause was the impossibility of securing any joint-action amongst the townspeople. So the haulage of manure or crops over the rest of the distance is carried on over tracks of mud in winter, or dust in summer, of a depth which must be seen to be appreciated.

The best of this land produces but indifferent crops for want of drainage. This, I was informed, was impossible, owing to the sub-division. I discussed this question one day with a landholder who was weeding a very dirty crop of rye,

about a mile-and-a-half from Hamburg. He had with him two daughters, who were provided with a couple of sacks and a wheel-barrow. The man was a shoemaker. His ground was full of mares' tails, showing how much drainage was wanted. He said that if he was ever so well inclined to drain, his next neighbour on the hill-side would not let him. I asked him why he let the weeds grow so long; he said, "that he might pull them to feed his cow." He also told me that he and his daughters had carried out manure from Hamburg in the morning to the farther division, which was in green crop.

This exactly represented the recent condition of a large part of Ireland. It has been got rid of by the action of the landlords, but would infallibly sprout up again if the country was handed over to peasant proprietors. I recollect on my Donegal property being shown a "farm," of which five "parcels" were only accessible by crossing other people's ground. It is at present a common practice to hand over a field or two for a certain number of years to repay debt, the debtor paying the rent to the landlord, who hears nothing of it until some quarrel arises. This would be in France a sale, such as Lavergne says are constantly occurring. But to his book, after this long digression, we shall return. He winds up his account of the north-eastern portion of France with these words—"Assuredly the agriculture of the North East would not be what it is without petty proprietary; during a half century it has owed to division its principal progress, but for the last fifteen years what had formerly been a stimulant has become an obstruction. Subdivision has gone on until there are 'parcels' of four, five, and six arés, or even less," and generally the "peasant was worse off, and agricultural produce diminishing,"* when he wrote about sixteen years ago, whilst no remedy could be devised, although the question was anxiously debated by Departmental and Municipal Councils. We may imagine an Irish Lavergne of some future day repeating his remarks, in case Messrs. Bright and Shaw Lefevre are allowed to shape our destiny.

* Things are much worse now.

From the north-east of France, Lavergne turns westward to Anjou and Poitou. There the lands are held by *proprietors* who *let* them out for a half-share of the gross produce, reduced to a money value. In short, they are rack-rented tenants. This system, he says, "combines the capital of the landowner with the experience and diligence of the farmer, brings about the most profitable results for both, and keeps up, by mutual interests, reciprocal confidence and affection." He goes on to say, "that it is difficult to point out a system applicable to every circumstance; but if one is to be found preferable to all others in France, it is this." What would Mr. Bright say to this?

I shall give but one more quotation, taken from the centre of that country. Speaking of the department of La Creuse, he says:—"There is no part of France more easily cultivated, or which would lend itself so well to the English system of agriculture. More than one-half of the land belongs to *cultivating proprietors*, who own from twelve to fifteen acres, besides which an additional fifth is held by these same in common. We are here very close to the ideal of equalitarian philosophers. Communists themselves might find their theories in full play, since a fifth of the land is held in common. But what is the result? Universal indigence!!"

The study of Lavergne might be recommended to Mr. Bright, but I believe he is not a proficient in foreign languages.

Our agrarian philosophers are constantly talking of the vast advantages enjoyed by other countries in the matter of land transfer. A recent French authority tells us that when ground was taken for a new cemetery near Paris, the true boundaries could not be proved for more than half the properties, and that the same difficulty exists over three-fourths of France.

M. Emion, an eminent French advocate, in a recent work on real property, says, "that real property in France is at this time in a deplorable state as to title. In this respect, deeds of transfer have become real labyrinths, through which lawyers can hardly find their way, and of which the outside

world cannot by any possibility make out anything; before lending on mortgage or making a purchase, what examinations to make, what dangers to dread, what legal snares to avoid; and when the purchaser or lender has taken every possible precaution, he still runs the chance of being robbed."

After this we may not be surprised to hear that out of the average of forty-five thousand civil cases annually tried in France, one-half relate to landed property. Nor, as we are told by M. Bochin, in his report to the Societé des Agriculteurs, that out of the nine millions of owners of real property in France, three millions are in a normal state bordering on destitution—are, in fact, often in receipt of charitable relief, and pay no direct taxes; and so imperfect is the registration, that it is supposed that nearly a million of these petty landowners evade the land-tax altogether.

Things are not done so much better in France after all. Should you wish to know a little more of this, without taking the trouble of studying the French peasant at home, read Richardson's "Corn and Cattle-Producing Districts of France," as well as Lavergne. Both are admirers of *petite culture* and *petite proprieté*, and both draw pictures of their results which make them objects for anything but imitation; as, for example, the statement that the mortgage debt of France amounts to one-sixth of the estimated value of the land, and that the rate of interest amounts to seven per cent., calling for a yearly payment, mostly from the poorest classes, of £34,000,000.

With German statistics I am not so familiar, but I have some knowledge of German agriculture, from intercourse with the people; and having mentioned the results as to the Plain of Homburg, shall say but little more of it. Should you wish to judge, go yourself; explore the villages which look so bright and shiny on a summer's evening from the steamer on the Rhine or the Mosel, or ascend to the plateaux which crown the river banks, and you will find a population ground down with labour to an extent no Irishman or woman ever dreamt of.

M. de Laveleye, in the paper he contributed to the Cobden

Club collection, speaks of the affluence of the Swiss peasant, and the amount of animal food he consumes. A greater fallacy could not be stated. The Swiss carry on manufactures to an extent and in a manner which makes them a powerful supplement to their agricultural wants. Little factories are dotted about in the most remote valleys, where the peasants work for very small pay. But as to wealth and work, take John Murray's Guide, and you will see that if you take a carriage from Interlaken, by Lanterbrunn and Gründelwald, you will pay twenty-four francs. If you ride the horses across the Wengern Alp, you will pay six more. Do you know how your carriage is to come the weary up-hill ten miles? It is dragged by six or seven old men, women, and boys, who receive for their toil five francs out of the six; the other franc being paid by them for extra help at a special steep ascent; and this miserably remunerated work is the "harvest" of some seventy or eighty human beings. These are the Swiss peasants, of whose prosperous condition we are told so much. At Munich, or any other town in Bavaria, you will see the women mixing mortar, and carrying it, or bricks or stones, up ladders to the tops of the highest buildings. I should like to see such a *corvée* proposed to an Irishwoman.

Bavaria is indeed a country of extreme poverty. In size, population, and religion it nearly corresponds with Ireland; and the way in which its peasants swarm down over all Germany to reap the harvests, or hire as general farm-servants, is precisely the same as that of the proletarians of Mayo or Donegal—save this great difference, that the Bavarian women come to do the work of men, which the Irish women do not. In that country, subdivision has gone on to such an extent that for about 5,000,000 of people the land is divided into ten times as many "parcels," with the same economical results as a similar state of affairs has produced in North-eastern France.

The condition of Silesia during the past year was infinitely worse than that of Ireland; but it is a small and quiet country, accustomed to starvation, so was not much heard of, though the German Government had to vote £200,000 for its relief.

In short, there is no part of Europe where the peasant is better off than the Irish tenant-farmer who holds a moderate extent of land, and is of sober and industrious habits. I shall not go out of this very county to look for them, although the begging of the western portion has made it a byword throughout the world. Anything, however, more grossly exaggerated than its poverty can hardly be conceived, or the shameless demoralisation of the peasantry under the "relief committee" administration. Men who knew better joined in the howl that the famine of '79 was worse than that of '47, with the facts of moderate poor-rates and provisions at low prices staring them in the face. In this "electoral division" (which is the unit of Irish poor-law taxation) the rates for the year rose in '48 to 17s. on the pound valuation; for '79 they were *fourteen pence!* In '47 the average price of Indian meal was 21s. per cwt.; in '79, 7s. Potatoes in '47 were a luxury, in which even the rich stinted themselves; in '79 they were abundantly in the markets for 3s. 6d. per cwt. As a specimen of the class of people who are not ashamed to beg, a man put on the relief list by a neighbouring committee drove up his jaunting-car for his dole of meal; and at a recent petty sessions it was proved by the constabulary who prosecuted, that the custom of the men on the relief works was to be attended by dealers in illicit whiskey on every pay-day, when each man contributed a fixed sum for the week's consumption. "We sat round as if at a wedding, and I collected the money," was the evidence of one witness, who, when asked by a horrified Justice if he would not have done better to buy tea for his family, replied, "Oh, we took home the tea in our pockets besides." What the precise contribution of each man on this occasion was did not appear, but it was stated that to one "poteen club" the contribution was a shilling a week. These things, however, are of the past, and I would not now allude to them had not this exaggerated distress been made one of the pretexts for the present communistic campaign against landlords' rights.

Lord Sherbrooke, in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*, says that no publication of recent date has sunk so

deeply into the English mind as Mr. Tuke's tour in Ireland. Lord Sherbrooke objects to it, however, as he says it is "based on sentiment, and not on reason." It has in my mind the still stronger objection of being based on falsehood and misrepresentation, leading up to an absurd conclusion; that conclusion being that a peasant proprietary is the first necessity of Ireland. I do not of course mean to say that Mr. Tuke crammed his readers with wilful falsehoods, but with a mind predisposed to run in a certain groove, he swallowed down and adopted every statement favourable to his own views, without having the knowledge, or taking the trouble, necessary to test their accuracy. As I have already published a critique on his Donegal campaign, I shall deal with him now but shortly.

In estimating the resources of the people of Gweedore, he says "they sell weekly about 740 dozens of eggs, at 7½d. a dozen, realizing £12 *a week*, which has to be divided amongst many hundred of small cottiers or farmers." Now, 740 times 7½d. amounts to £23, or nearly the double Mr. Tuke's calculation, adding about £600 a-year to the resources of one small district. At Glenties he found the women employed in knitting socks, for which, he says, the "average pay is 1s. per dozen pairs, and gloves at 3s. per dozen pairs." If he had taken the trouble of inquiring at the factory which supplies the greatest part of the wool, he would have found that the *lowest* price was 1s. 4½d. per dozen pairs for socks, ranging up to seven or eight shillings, and in the same way that 3s. was the *lowest* price for gloves, at which rate the women earn about 6d. a day. I myself, in a recent visit to these districts, saw quantities of gloves, for which 6s. to 7s. per dozen pairs was being paid by different employers.

Mr. Tuke visits a place called Meenacladdy, a "townland" consisting of 697 acres, "of wet bog land," occupied by forty-seven tenants, who, in the good times, besides occupying from "two to eight acres each," as arable land, fed habitually "240 head of cattle, including a few ponies, and 920 sheep," now reduced to "71 head of cattle and 127 sheep." "Nothing," he says, "can more clearly show the loss sustained,

and the present poverty of the district." Nothing, in fact, could more clearly show how easily Mr. Tuke was imposed upon, as it is a physical impossibility that the whole amount of land, deducting what he says was occupied as arable (two to eight acres per family) could have maintained either the sheep without the cattle, or the cattle without the sheep ; six acres of mountain grazing being usually allotted in Donegal for the summer grass of one cow, and five sheep requiring an equal extent.

As the stock existing at present was probably understated, as much as its former number was exaggerated, we may draw our own inferences as to the weight to be attached to Mr. Tuke's statements as to the actual resources of the Donegal peasantry, or his suggestions based on the kind of information he received, the fact being that a more unreliable romance never was written, of which I shall presently give one more specimen.

You are aware that a Committee was obtained by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, for the purpose of inquiring why the Bright clauses of the Land Act of 1870 had been so little taken advantage of. That gentleman's hobby being peasant proprietorship, no effort was spared to *make a case* in its favour, and as his great *cheval de bataille* was the success of the Church Temporalities Commissioners in creating this class of landowner, so every evidence of success he could rake up was brought to the front in most brilliant colours. He does not indeed trouble himself with narrating the failures ; they are carefully kept in the background ; and therefore no note is taken of the proletarian districts of Donegal, where, if in any part of Ireland, the condition of the people is such as to require the remedial measures. It is idle to say that in Ulster generally, where sums of £1,000 to £2,000 are available for the purchase of tenant-right, the men who have acquired this money by agriculture need the aid of such *Deus ex machina* as Mr. Shaw Lefevre. His specimens, selected from amongst them are, therefore of no value. Mr. Tuke is an ardent admirer of Mr. Shaw Lefevre, and is understood to have had his attention specially called to the necessity of backing up that gentleman's theories, with a view to the

land legislation which was to be based on the report of his Committee, or rather on certain evidence given before it.

As far as Donegal was concerned, Mr. Tuke's success was but moderate, as in that great county he was only able to find three peasant proprietors created by the action of the Church Temporalities Commission, one of whom has since been obliged to sell his estate, and again become the tenant of it. As there are about fifty parishes in Donegal, and probably two thousand glebe tenants who have had proprietorship within their offer, he might have had better success, particularly as there is a certain percentage who have purchased the fee of the land they held as tenants—that percentage, however, is so small that it only makes the failure of the scheme the more glaring. There was hardly a glebe land, as there is hardly an estate, on which there were not some tenants, who by energy and industry, had made themselves sufficiently independent to be ready to purchase tenant-right of adjoining farms as they came into market, and many men of this class took advantage of the opportunity to become owners in fee of their holdings, but they were in no need of legislative relief; and their prosperity in their new condition is merely a continuation of their previous state. To the proletarians, who are the habitual sufferers from famine, and the tools of the agitator, the Church Temporalities Commission only held out a tantalizing prospect which they were unable to realise. I shall take five parishes with which I happen to be acquainted, and which I mentioned in my former pamphlet—Inver, Killybegs, Kilcar, Killymard, and Mairagh. They contained amongst them three hundred and sixty-two tenants, of whom according to official documents, twenty purchased; out of these twenty, four have already sold the fee of their farms, and again occupy them as tenants. This has happened in about five years. Mr. Tuke does not give these figures, which lay within his reach, but in them lies the pith and marrow of the question. He flies off to the most prosperous parts of Tyrone, which wanted no novelties in the legislative way. However, on this subject there would perhaps be no complaint to make, had not the information which Mr. Tuke gives in

Donegal been so singularly inaccurate, even as to the happy "three," that his evidence as to Tyrone is not of much value.

Having gone over this ground before, I shall not now return to it; but there is one case to which Mr. Tuke refers, and his account of it being singularly inconsistent with the realities which were equally misrepresented, first by Professor Baldwin, brought forward as a witness before Mr. Shaw Lefevre's Committee, and afterwards by Mr. Shaw Lefevre himself, in a letter to the *Times* which I cannot pass over. The case is that of the glebe lands of Templecrone, on the north-west coast of Donegal, a remote corner of the earth, which had little idea of figuring in the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Times*, and Parliamentary Reports; and one of the most curious parts of its story is that both Mr. Tuke and Mr. Shaw Lefevre repudiate it as a discredit to the cause of peasant proprietorship under the Church Temporalities Act, whilst Professor Baldwin, with quite as little regard for realities, affirms it in his evidence to be a wonderful success, but conceals from the Committee the fact that it was sold under the Church Temporalities Commission. This Commission itself is very little to be relied on, as it has a way of cooking its facts, which makes it very difficult to extract truth from them, "*Nec meus hic sermo.*" Judge Flanagan, referring to this Commission before Mr Shaw Lefevre's Committee, says, that "when the published report says that one thousand tenants are in a certain category, and the Commission's officer just examined says there are two thousand, he is so puzzled he can give no opinion." So Lord Monck, writing to the *Times* last January, says, that only three per cent. of the revenues of the Commissioners is in arrear. Their Secretary, Mr. Godley, a few days later writes in the same paper, six per cent. They, neither of them, care to tell how much of this is owed by peasant proprietors. Again, I have before me a paper from the office of the Commissioners, stating that a certain conveyance was made by them, in October, 1878, and a letter from Professor Baldwin, which asserts that Mr. Godley, in a printed return, says it was made prior to 1876. Like Judge Flanagan, I feel puzzled. However, Mr. Godley having made

some statements with regard to this particular glebe land which no one has as yet impugned, I think they may be fairly accepted, although he contradicts Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Tuke, and Professor Baldwin.

The original statement which brought notice to Templecrone was, I believe, an appeal for relief for the inhabitants in their joint character of *peasant proprietors and paupers*. As proprietors, they could hardly expect relief from the Poor-law, however much they might require it in their capacity of paupers. In France or Belgium the former condition would have been no bar to their being inscribed on the rolls of the "Bureau de Bienfaisance;" but here they found themselves in a bad fix. This attracted the notice of the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Times*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and several other papers, and finally, that of Mr. Shaw Lefevre, who, shocked that his special *protegés* should cut such a sorry figure, rushed into the *Times* with his version of their history, which was this, when clipped of surplusage:—

"The Templecrone Glebe consists of three hundred and ninety acres, let to thirty-nine tenants. Only five of them were able to pay the full amount of the purchase-money, the others, being most anxious to buy or obtain security of tenure, applied to a neighbouring tradesman, a Mr. Sweeny, who agreed to find the whole of the purchase-money, at the rate of ten per cent. At his instance, they signed a paper, requesting the Church Commissioners to convey the property to him, and he paid the purchase-money. Mr. Sweeny accordingly became the owner of the land, and for the last four or five years the tenants have paid him ten per cent., or double their former rent. They have also been inserted on the parish rate-books as owners, and have paid the rates which were previously paid by the landlord.

"From these facts, it is clear that this case is not an illustration of peasant ownership. The tenants are not, and never will be, owners. They have not received the aid towards becoming so contemplated by the Church Act. They have paid double rents for some years without having advanced

towards this position. They are in a far worse position than they were."

One would hardly suppose that this letter followed, after a three days' interval, one from Mr. Denis Godley, Secretary to the Church Commission, in which he, speaking, of course, from authority, had given a version totally and entirely different from that of Mr. Shaw Lefevre. That gentleman must certainly be either blessed with a very short memory, or must calculate that the readers of the *Times* are in that predicament. From some recent performances, I should think the latter. Mr. Godley's story is this :—

"There were fifty glebe tenants in the parish. Out of these, forty-one purchased their holdings for cash, and the Commissioners have, therefore, no more concern with them. In twenty-eight cases out of the forty-one, the conveyances were, by the purchasers' instructions, not made to themselves, but to another person, who may be presumed to have advanced the purchase-money. Nine new proprietors only, out of fifty, remain on the Commissioners' books as still liable for part of the purchase-money of their farms. The total half-yearly interest secured by the mortgages executed by these proprietors is £9 12s. 6d."

He takes very good care to avoid the question of pauperism, and of payment of the half-yearly interest, for good and sufficient reason, as will presently appear. Still, his figures are accurate, as far as I could ascertain. Mr. Tuke, however, gives another version of the case. He says :—"It may be well to notice another instance where glebe lands were sold, which has led to some newspaper controversy, and has unjustly been quoted as showing that the attempt to form a peasant proprietorship had failed. These were held by twelve very small tenants, whose total rental was £45, varying from £1 1s. to £6, and one of £11. With two exceptions, the purchase-money was under £100, varying from £19 to £85, and the higher ones were £129 and £209, and averaged about nineteen years' purchase. The tenants, it seems, were too poor to find the money, and applied to someone in the neighbourhood, who stated that he could borrow the money for

them at four per cent., and they signed agreements with the Commissioners to purchase the land, he finding the money. Afterwards he told them it must be ten per cent., and he brought them a deed to sign, the contents of which they say they were quite ignorant of, making over their rights of pre-emption to him, which the Commissioners allowed, and he is now the absolute owner, leaving the so-called purchasers tenants as before, but under contract to pay the money-lenders a rental of ten per cent., equal to double their old rental."

Even if Mr. Tuke's statement had been correct in a single particular, it would have gone a good way to show that the case of Maghery Glebe had been very *justly* quoted, as showing *that the Church Temporalities Commission had failed in its object of making peasant proprietors;* but he is in error from first to last. Mr. Godley's letter is quite sufficient answer as to numbers, and that Mr. Tuke should have been ignorant of it shows how little care he took to obtain information. A more remarkable circumstance is, that neither he nor Mr. Shaw Lefevre did discover, that Maghery could give a few very favourable instances of peasant proprietary, as five out of the fifty tenants were solvent men, who, by their industry as kelp agents, shopkeepers, or farmers, had laid by money enough to purchase their farms without becoming hopelessly indebted, or mortgaging their land to the Commissioners. Eight more, making up thirteen out of the forty-one purchasers for cash, sold off stock and borrowed money as they could, and justified the *Edinburgh Review* in calling them paupers, by being claimants for and recipients of charitable relief, as were also the nine who paid a portion of their purchase-money and gave mortgages to the Commissioners for the balance; so that Mr. Shaw Lefevre and Mr. Tuke are both astray in saying that these men have "not received the benefits" which the Commissioners had power to offer. They are exactly examples of the defects of the scheme—the first batch being heavily in debt, and without the means of tilling the land they have purchased; and the second (the mortgagers) having first of all been em-

barrassed by their cash payments, and then *having failed even to pay a single half-year's interest due to the Commissioners on foot of these mortgages.* This Mr. Godley takes no notice of. But my authority was one of themselves, who not only said they *had* paid nothing on that account, but that "he thought they never would, as they considered they had paid enough already." In my observation that the Commissioners, under such circumstances, would foreclose and sell the land, he very significantly rejoined, "Who would buy?" illustrating one of the great difficulties of such a scheme applied to such a country, viz., the enforcement of payment of the instalments of purchase-money. But the grand difficulty is presented by the "residue," the helpless lot who fell into the hands of the money-lender of Mr. Shaw Lefevre. These were twenty-eight in number; their rents, according to a paper supplied by the Commissioners, instead of varying from £1 1s. to £11, as stated by Mr. Tuke, varied from 6s. to £2 8s. 8d., ten of them being under £1, and the average about 26s. These are the unlucky people who were deluded by the local money-lender, a man named Sweeny, into giving him their right of pre-emption, on an understanding that he was to find the purchase-money at five per cent., which he raised to ten as soon as the Deed of Sale was perfected by the Commissioners.*

The people, as Judge Flanagan said, in his evidence, the "residues" infallibly would, fell into the hands of a landlord of the worst class. I was told, indeed, that they had never paid him anything; but it is just such landlords, a class created by the action of the Landed Estates' Court, and the Church Temporalities Act, and for which, agrarian legislation is therefore entirely responsible, have given rise to the cry against landlordism in general.

Mr. Tuke and Mr. Shaw Lefevre are pretty good specimens of what thorough-going partisans can do in the way of ignoring such contemptible things as *facts;* but the out-Heroding

* I am informed by Mr. Burns, rector of the parish, that an arrangement has been come to between Mr. Sweeny and his tenants, by which the latter are only to pay five per cent.

of Herod, with regard to these unlucky denizens of Maghery, was reserved for Professor Baldwin, a gentleman who holds different Government Appointments, and was actually sent by the Government to enquire into the status of peasant proprietary in Belgium. He, being examined before Mr. Shaw Lefevre's Committee, gave evidence with regard to an anonymous property in Donegal which, though overlaid with a good deal of romance, appeared to identify it with Maghery. To this evidence I referred when being myself examined as a witness before the Land Commission now sitting, and having said it was entirely untrue if it related to Maghery, was much snubbed by the O'Conor Don, who said he had "been on that Committee, and had no recollection of such evidence being given." However, a reference to the Blue Book satisfied him that I was not far astray. Time did not permit that I should go into an analysis of the Professor's "incorrectnesses," and there were one or two points on which my information was imperfect. I therefore wrote to Mr. Baldwin to enquire if his evidence *did relate to Maghery Glebe*, and in reply, was informed *it did*. From part of his letter, I inferred that he had been examined as a witness by the Land Commission, and had contradicted my evidence on this point. I therefore drew out a tabular form, showing that every particular which he had stated to Mr. Shaw Lefevre's Committee was incorrect and misleading, of which I sent a copy to the Land Commission, with a request that it should be appended to my evidence in their report. As I understand this cannot now be done, it is here subjoined :—

Evidence of Professor Baldwin.	*Facts.*
1. Property in Kilmacrenan.	1. It is in Boylagh.
2. It came into market in the ordinary way.	2. It was a Glebe land sold under the special circumstances of the Church Temporalities Act.
3. The tenants went to a very respectable young man named Sweeny.	3. Only 28 out of 50 tenants went to Sweeny ; 13 having purchased their lots by payment, and 9 having paid part, and given mortgages for balance.
4. They said to him, you buy the estate for us in trust, giving us power to redeem at any time we think fit, and we will give you 10 per cent. for your money as long as you are out of it.	4. The bargain the 28 tenants made with Sweeny was, that he should only charge them 5 per cent. for the money (Mr. Tuke says 4, but I am informed he was astray). The "very respectable young man," as soon as he had them in his power, demanded 10 per cent.
5. That was actually done.	5. The conveyances were made absolutely to Sweeny, with no reserve, and not in trust. See Mr. Godley's letter, *Times*, January 28, 1880.
6. The tenants are paying the 10 per cent.	6. They have not done so, having refused when they found they were tricked by Sweeny.
7. They have power to redeem at any time they think fit.	7. They have no power to redeem, and know it.
8. My last visit was in 1876.	8. The conveyance by the Church Temporalities Commission was dated October 5, 1878. See paper supplied by the Church Commissioners.
9. The improvements made by tenants were the most remarkable I ever saw.	9. As the conveyances for Sweeny was not made till two years after the "last visit" of Professor Baldwin, this is an impossibility.
10. Would attribute that to the security of tenure they got.	10. See above. They have no security, conveyance being absolute to Sweeny.

I have been personally acquainted with this property for more than fifty years, and can see very little improvement in that time amongst the "*residuum.*" There are improvements certainly, but in the better class of tenants, and mostly made before their purchase from the Commissioners.*

W. SINCLAIR.

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* I have since seen the evidence given by Professor Baldwin before the Land Commission, which is this—"Some of them (the people mentioned in No. 9) are hopelessly ruined ;" and again, "The people who bought from Mr. Sweeny are in a bad state."

Of this I sent a copy to Professor Baldwin, who wrote a long and rambling answer, in which he accuses Mr. Godley of knowing nothing of the matter, and says that the paper I quote from, as furnished by the Commissioners, is contradicted by a printed statement of Mr. Godley's own, and winds up by the remark, that "the management of the Maghery people does not reflect much credit on the Officials employed by the Church Temporalities Commission." He also had the effrontery to add, that although "I did say the people of Maghery had made extraordinary improvements, I did not say that they were made by the Sweeny people," though he gives in evidence, that all the tenants he refers to were "Sweeny people." He is surely cased in "*Aes triplex.*"

I have gone thus deeply and analytically into this particular case; first, because it is so thoroughly illustrative in itself of the entire question of peasant proprietorship in the poorer districts of Ireland; and, secondly, to show how little trust or confidence is to be placed in the evidence given, or brought forward by Mr. Shaw Lefevre.

That gentleman had produced or given before the Committee what, I suppose, he considered sufficient proofs of the success of the Church Temporalities Commission in dealing with the difficult question of peasant proprietorship; but something more was wanted, so he brings to the front Professor Baldwin, with his little romance of "*a small property which had come into the market in the ordinary way,*" a property which no member of the Committee could possibly have identified from this description.

By the way, I find that I have omitted to notice another misstatement of Mr. Shaw Lefevre's with regard to Maghery. He says the tenants of the money lender "are entered on the *parish books*, and have paid the rates formerly paid by the landlord." Now, in the first place, this eminent legislator ought to have known that in Ireland there are no "parish books" at all; and secondly, that the only rates for which these people could be liable are county-rate and poor-rate, of which the former never was paid by the landlord, and the latter was, to my knowledge (I saw the Union books), entered in the

name of James Sweeny, as lessor, all the holdings being under £4 Poor Law Valuation per annum,* and this is the sort of testimony on which our land legislation is to be based.

With regard to his fellow-labourer, Mr. Tuke, before bidding him farewell, I shall just mention an instance of the knowledge he had of the legislative measures passed in aid of small peasant landholders, a subject with which one might expect to have found him pretty well posted up, the special object of his mission being the relief of this very class. In his *Nineteenth Century* article we find him telling one of the Tyrone peasant proprietors, that because he was "owner" of his farm, and not "tenant," he could not obtain aid from the Board of Guardians in the way of seed corn and potatoes, under the Seed Supply Act. The Act, however, makes no such limitation. The only qualifications necessary are occupancy, poverty, and a rating under £15 a year. Nay, the very men whom he quotes successful peasant proprietors, near Dunfanaghy, in this county, *were actually every one of them recipients of relief in this form;* and this worthy, ignorant, inaccurate, credulous old gentleman is, according to Lord Sherbrooke, the greatest former of political opinion as to Ireland, that has appeared in modern days.

There is another objection to peasant proprietorship, to which I have already adverted in speaking of foreign countries, viz., *the certainty of extreme subdivision.* On the Church properties in general there has not been time for much, but where the occasion has offered, it has not been neglected.

I live, as you know, for a portion of the year in the County Tyrone. Successive rectors had, by great expenditure, partly of their private fortunes, and partly aided by loans from the Board of Works, converted a considerable extent of middling land into a large and valuable demesne. When this was confiscated, a small portion was reserved for the use of the

* I have lately seen it stated in a pamphlet on Irish affairs, that the writer had never met an English M.P. who was acquainted with the fact, that the landlord paid *all poor-rate* for tenants whose holdings were under £4 valuation, and half for those above it.

disestablished clergyman, and the surplus sold. The purchaser was a man who, by his energy and prudence, had acquired considerable wealth from very small beginnings. He immediately sold one lot of about two acres to one person; on it there are now two families. Another, of five, or six, to a small shopkeeper, who does not live on it, but has, after the Belgian fashion, established there three cottier tenants, who enable him to enjoy a fair proportion of his land rent free. A third lot was sold, but as the Commissioners had neglected to secure a right of way, and the vendor is only allowed one by special favour of the existing rector, this fell through for the present. A fourth is just now occupied by the buyer of the entire lot; but being at an inconvenient distance from his residence, is said to be now in the market, and will probably be soon sold.

This is a fair specimen of what may be expected. Looking at lay properties, the evidence of Sir F. Heygate, before Mr. Shaw Lefevre's Committee, points out two typical cases in the County of Londonderry, where Irish properties, about one hundred years ago, got into the hands of the occupying tenants, at nominal rents, as holders in perpetuity, and are in a state of great poverty, owing to the subdivision which has gone on; adding, that they are notoriously about the worst cultivators, and in the greatest poverty in the entire country.

One of the cases of tenant-right sale on my property this year was that of a farm of which the rent was £10, held by tenancy from year to year. The tenant died, leaving by will half his farm and half the buildings on it to each of his two sons, who considered themselves much aggrieved because they were not allowed to carry out this division. Evidence was given to Mr. Shaw Lefevre's committee that tenants are not so much inclined to divide their farms now as formerly; but there is no estate with which I am acquainted on which there is not considerable difficulty in preventing them, particularly the small tenants, who have not capital to set up their sons in trade or profession, or purchase farms for them.

With the large farms once converted into estates, the Belgian system of sub-letting would be a certainty in the not distant future, should they escape agrarian division now. This, indeed, appears from Mr. Bright's Birmingham oration to be—one of the plans in the air—with ministerial approval—as what is called *waste land* to be reclaimed is generally in the hands of tenants, and the Parnellian orators make no secret of their views as to the grazing farms of central Ireland

Another difficulty, which does not seem to have occurred to the advocates of this scheme, is the selection of the occupants of the reclaimed lands. The establishment of each new occupant will, as I have shown before, cost from four to five hundred pounds, if they are to be placed above their present proletarian misery. The tenants of Mr. Sweeny, at Maghery, are, for example, twenty-eight in number; their rents from 6s. to 48s. I suppose the six-shilling occupant has the first claim for relief. What chance of success has he if transported to a twenty-acre farm fifty or sixty miles off? A Zulu would be about as likely to prosper under the circumstances.

Our ministerial "Girondins" say that peasant proprietors are to be created by giving facilities to tenants to purchase when estates come into the market. But the moving power is with the "Montagne," which directly encourages these tenants to drive landlords to sell by refusing to pay rent, and to supplement their refusal with every possible variety of outrage. What else, indeed, is to be expected from ministers who are bosom friends of members of the French Commune. "*Fusillez les*" is the only interpretation which Mr. Gladstone's speeches and Mr. Bright's letters will bear when read by the light of the outrages they allow to be perpetrated in the presence of policemen and stipendiary magistrates, who, in fact, only appear to be present at such scenes, to prevent the outraged parties from defending themselves. It is idle to talk of the sham prosecution of half-a-dozen leaders for their speeches, whilst their followers are allowed unchecked to carry out, or even go beyond, the instructions conveyed in them.

It has been objected to those who, on behalf of the Irish

landowners, have criticised the past action of the Gladstonian governments, their supposed plans for the future, and their present mode of carrying them out, that they have not suggested any effective way of dealing with the "Irish difficulty," or proposed any scheme of land legislation which was likely to give satisfaction to the different interests concerned. Only one man has, as far as I have seen, given an honest answer to this "cry," which has been specially brought to the front by the *Times*, and that is Lord Sherbrooke, who thus puts the case :—

"It seems to be assumed as a matter too clear for argument, that when from any cause the public mind is greatly excited—when mankind are frightened or forced into the extremes of violence, sedition, or lawlessness, a case is made out for immediate and headlong change, for strong and even revolutionary measures of legislation. To me it appears that no idea can be more erroneous. The time for considering great and drastic changes is not well chosen amid scenes of heat and violence. Then is the time to stand by the laws as they are, and to see, as far as the power of the Government goes, that they are respected and obeyed. Laws enacted under such pressure are more likely to be made to suit the needs of a Government in difficulties, than to uphold sound principles, or to check preposterous and overweening pretensions and aspirations."

This is in fact the state of affairs. Now, as in 1869, when Mr. Caird wrote, that the Irish peasant was to be gratified with a slice of his landlord's property, merely because he had become alive to its value, and thought proper to ask for it, and the landlords having been plundered once, are set upon again, they are expected to suggest fresh sacrifices, like the unlucky peasant woman in the story, who threw over her children one by one to the wolves who were howling round her sledge, merely to find that each fresh taste of blood made her enemies more ferocious.

But such suggestions are not for them. They know from the past how little anything they might suggest would be likely to meet the approval either of the Parnellian agitation, or of

its ministerial instigators. It may be quite true, as the *Times* says, that Lord Sherbrooke was an aider and abettor of the sacrifice of 1870, but that does not make his reasoning less cogent now, when he has seen its effect. Our wolves have no more the justification of hunger now, than they had in 1869. It is admitted on all hands that Irish farmers are for the moment well off; they do not attempt to deny it. Their friends in the ministry have told them—"The more you howl, and the more you devour, the more we are ready to throw to you, so that we can hold the reins of the sledge a little longer." So howl and devour they do, but now do not care to wait for their prey being thrown to them, and yell in derision when the sledge-driver cracks his impotent state trial whip at them.

In the protest of the Land Committee, the cry for reduction of rent to the Government valuation has been shown to be merely a cry, and that this valuation is not, never has been, and never was intended to be a basis for rent. This has been so often proved in the letters which have appeared in the *Times*, that I shall not weary you by repeating it, but shall give you a few particulars of my own experience of tenant expectations and present agricultural condition.

I have just received from twenty-five tenants, on my Tyrone property, a memorial asking for *a considerable reduction of rent*, on account of the low prices of agricultural produce. My property is all subject to the Ulster custom, and four of this very lot had bought the tenant-right of their farms in January and February last, when things were at their worst, paying from twenty to thirty years' purchase of the annual rent; and as rents here are only paid once a year, had never as yet paid me anything. I do not believe there is one of these men who could not now get a considerable profit on their purchases. They have all since paid their rent, and seemed to think that asking for a reduction was a very good joke. Not one of them made the excuse of poverty. It is a fact, the past season has been one of the best I ever recollect for the small farmer; and I shall, at the risk of being weari-

some and appearing egotistic, give you some of my own experiences.

My own harvest of hay and oats was the cheapest in the way of labour I ever grew, and the crops abundant and well saved. However, the estimates of grain produce can with me only be, for so far, a subject of guess work. But of some other items I can give you particulars. I farm some four hundred acres of indifferent land in Donegal and Tyrone, generally residing part of the year in each county. This summer we have been in Donegal; so in Tyrone, sixty pounds' worth of butter, which was not required for my household, went to market. The average price was over 14d. per pound, which was about ten per cent. below the top of the market. Thirty yearling wethers, bred from small country ewes, were sold last June, and brought in for mutton and wool, 51s. each. The lambs I sold produced from 40s. to 29s. Two pigs, of thirty-two weeks old, which were very poorly fed, until the small "champions" became available, weighed dead 4 cwt. 10 lbs., which, at the selling price of pork, 56s. per cwt., would, if taken to market, have paid for their keep £11 10s. Two small bullocks, bought on May 12th for £8 10s., which we had not room to house, sold on November 12th for £17, having been for most of the time on land of very poor quality. A lot of stores still on hands, bought at about the same price, are estimated to have paid £3 each for their summer's run on reclaimed moorland. My potatoes, "champions," grown in both counties, averaged eight tons to the acre of marketable potatoes, the small ones being more than would pay expense of digging and marketing; this, at the actual price of the nearest market-town, 50s. per ton, would bring £20 an acre.

Some of my tenants and labourers had even better crops from potatoes, which I imported for their supply. I do not know what may be the average of this variety of potato in England; but a lady asked me lately, what was the value of an acre of champions here? I replied as above, about £20; and as she was not in the "agricultural line," inquired why she wished to know? Because, she said, last week in Berk-

shire, about twenty miles from London, there was one stretch of these potatoes, forty acres in extent, owned by a Scotchman, who had sold them to a London dealer for £18 an acre. The purchaser had a small army of people digging, sorting, and packing them in sacks, and we all went to see, as it was much talked of, the Scotchman being a new comer, and apparently well contented with the price he got. The farm was one which an English farmer had thrown up, and the rent, I think, £2 an acre, or fully double what it would be here. As every expense of cultivation was similarly much higher than in Ireland, my idea of the comparative condition of the English and Irish farmer was fully confirmed. These may seem petty details, but of such, farming and rent-paying are made up; and all through life I have been astonished at the glibness with which men who know nothing about such details, were quite ready to speechify and legislate on these subjects. I should much like to see Mr. Bright or Mr. Shaw Lefevre set down on a tract of Irish waste land, and invited to give an estimate of the cost of bringing it into cultivation, with the possible tenure required to recoup the reclaimer; this being, in fact, a main pivot on which the Irish question, past or future, ought to turn.

The Irish landlords contend that tenants have been fairly dealt with. I believe this to have been the case, and therefore that a new valuation, based on actual prices, is imperatively called for—not, of course, by the tenants, but by common justice to the landlords. I do not think that on my own property there is an acre of land for which, with all the drawbacks of gentleman-farming, I could not pay for tenant-right fifteen years' purchase of the rent, and realise a handsome profit. In fact, for most of the land I now have in my own hands, I paid, in the years between '46 and '52, prices for tenant-right corresponding to these rates; and I recollect, about the latter date, a tenant who came to ask my consent to the purchase of a small farm adjoining his own, demonstrated to me that he could pay thirty years' purchase, and have a good return for his money. The actual purchases of tenant-right may occasionally be higher than is prudent; but

when I find them on my own property, over a number coming to a very close average of years' rent (at present twenty), I cannot think public estimates are far wrong, more especially as purchases are constantly made and the highest rents offered by men who want to enlarge their farms—a class now proscribed under the names of land-grabbers and land-sharks. These names, indeed, are of no new invention. In 1865 I saw them used by a Roman Catholic prelate, vituperating such malefactors before a Committee of the House of Commons. The large number of men returning from America to invest the money made there in purchasing tenant-right, is perhaps even more striking, and was lately quoted to me by a Parnellian land-valuer as the reason why figures were so high. The readiness of this class of men to buy, is a pretty good answer to those who say that Irish rents are exorbitant. With the tenants of land sufficient to maintain them, no legislation is needed in Ulster. Unfortunately there exists a large class here, as in other countries, which is, even in good times, on the verge of destitution, and I have not seen as yet any legislative proposal adequate to lifting them out of the slough of despond in which they are struggling. The existence in France of 3,000,000 of landed proprietors in the same normal condition shows how futile is mere proprietorship.

As to "fixity of tenure," which is one of our present cries, it has always existed on my own estate. I have indeed, I believe, allowed too much of it, as I have not made "rent-paying" a stringent condition. I have never yet ejected a tenant for non-payment of rent; and now, when the present crisis has forced me to look pretty closely into the state of affairs, I find several owing from five to eight years' arrears. These arrears are, of course, not the creation of consecutive seasons. A good speculation in a cow or a pig sets the cottier on his feet for a year or two; the loss of the cow or pig, on the other hand, sends him down in the scale—And then what is to be done with him?

I am told by economists that I should not have allowed such a class to come into existence. This is very easy to say,

but there is hardly a possibility of preventing it. Here is an instance: A. B. owes three years' rent; he makes his appearance with a broken head; I ask how he got it; He says it was given him by his brother about a trespass of cattle—and on enquiry it turns out that six years ago they had divided their holding, of which the rent was under four pounds a year, and were living one in each of the two apartments of which their joint cabin consists; the rent when paid being handed in by the broken-headed gentleman, whose name is that which appears in the rent-book. How are these people to be managed? Had it not been for the broken head, nothing would have been known of the division of this wretched holding, until two large families of paupers were established there. As things are, what am I to do? If I eject them, I should be denounced by the priest and the Land League as a heartless tyrant—probably be shot at, and Boycotted. If I allow the subdivision to go on unchecked, I am held up to obloquy by the Tukes and "own correspondents" for having on my property a set of paupers wallowing in huts which would be scorned by a self-respecting swine. Such cases swarm; I find I have three or four of them, with various modifications, to deal with at present. What can I do with them? I wish much that Mr. Bright would tell me, but I do not expect he will.

It does not seem to have occurred to that gentleman or his friends, who are constantly abusing Irish landlords for not investing money in improving their estates, that although not a single witness examined before Mr. Shaw Lefevre's Committee, not a single Tuke tourist or pamphleteer has ventured to assert that a peasant proprietary can subsist without the aid of manufacturing industry, yet not a suggestion has been made by him or his co-ministers to do anything in the way of encouraging such industry, even by the obvious means of extending railway communication, still less by embarking some of their own capital in calico printing, carpet making, or some of the other trades by which our present rulers have accumulated fortunes, in the wilds of Ireland.

There is the much discussed parish of Templecrone. It

possesses a teeming population; water-power to turn a hundred mills; a port of easy access; splendid building material; even fuel in abundance, of a sort which, in other countries, is utilised for manufacturing purposes; but neither Mr. Tuke nor his Achates, "Howard Hodgkin," nor Mr. Shaw Lefevre, nor Mr. Childers, who tour through it, write about it, and make speeches to no end, ever seem to think of recommending to Mr. Bright or Mr. Forster, that they should start factories in so favourable a locality, or encourage other people to do so so, by making a rail or tramway across the thirty miles of moorland which separates it from civilisation.

Such a preposterous idea never comes into their heads. Unlucky Ireland continues to frighten "capital" from alighting on its shores; and the Brights and the Forsters would scout the idea of risking any of theirs in it. How, then, can they blame Irish landlords if they shrink from doing so? What reward is meted out to those who have done so? Lord Cloncurry, Captain Boycott, and Mr. Bence Jones may answer for indviduals. The general convulsed state of Ireland, without a shadow of security for life or property in any one spot, save here and there where a few Orangemen have shown a bold front, is the reply upon the general question, and for this state of things who are responsible? There is but one answer—Her Majesty's Ministers, who have directly and indirectly done everything in their power to forward the socialist conspiracy now convulsing the kingdom.

The Irish landlords have stood looking on with folded arms and eyes turned up to Hercules. Only one effort has been made to aid a victim of the Land League. The ready response which was made to the appeal in Captain Boycott's case should have shown the way to treat a hundred others. As to the nine hundred men sent by the Government to look on at the operations of the northern reapers, a more unnecessary display of armed force cannot be conceived. Fifty men, with orders to "stand no nonsense" (as an old pensioner phrased it to me), would have been ample for the first case, and a dozen for any other.

When Mr. Acheson, not long ago, turned on the thousand

pursuers who were thirsting for his blood, and though alone and unprotected, shot down the foremost of his assailants, he and the coward policemen, who had up to this time been passive spectators, had no difficulty in keeping the remainder at bay. If a few of the farms now lying vacant were held by six or eight well-armed men, protected, as they would have a right to be, by as many policemen or soldiers, and were to be occupied by grazing cattle, they would pay their way, and do more to re-establish "law and order," than all Mr. Forster's marines and guardsmen marching "up the hill and down again."

It had not been my intention to give any opinion of my own with regard to measures which might come within the scope of legislation, as I know that neither the Bright-Chamberlain faction nor their Parnellian brethren would be in the least inclined to any moderate modification of existing laws, which would give encouragement to tenants to improve, without encroaching on the rights of the actual owners of the soil. But as you ask for it, I would say that as landlords cannot be expected to carry out the improvements either in the way of reclamation of land or building houses and offices, which from my own experience I know tenants would not as a rule accept at their hands, if any proportional addition was to be made to their rents as a consequence, cheap machinery should be provided, giving the occupier of any farm, who was desirous of making such improvements, up to a certain amount, facilities for registering them, such as were formerly given under the Acts for encouraging the planting of timber trees, and the carrying out of such improvements to the satisfaction of a competent authority, should entitle the occupier, if they added a certain proportional increase of letting value to his holding, to be considered the holder of a lease for thirty years without increase of rent in consequence; or if of smaller amount, to compensation on the determination of his tenancy or re-valuation of his farm by the landlord for rent-raising purposes, inside of a similar term of years, providing, of course, that the improvements should be maintained in a paying state.

This is, to certain extent, provided for by the present Land Act, but in a manner which is capable of much simplification, and which might be made better understood by the actual tenants. I am myself a strong advocate of the Ulster Tenant-right Custom. It has, to a large extent, the supposed merits of peasant proprietary, giving the occupier a substantial interest in the soil, whilst it provides an inexpensive process of transfer, and also whilst it gives facilities for the enlargement of holdings, gives in addition the check against disastrous subdivision and parcelment, which is wanting to unlimited peasant ownership—an evil which is lamented over by M. de Lavergne, as now corroding, without possible remedy, what had been the most prosperous districts of France. Had the Ulster Custom been the rule over Ireland, I have no hesitation in saying the present Parnellian agitation would have found no support. It is true that speeches have been made and meetings have been held on Land League principles in many parts of Ulster, and it is possible that all Ulster may yet be successfully inoculated with them, encouraged as they are by the Gladstone Ministry, but they never would have originated there.

The cry now raised in certain quarters is that by raising rents tenant-right has been depreciated or *eaten away* altogether; the fact being that many farmers who purchased at very high prices, and often with borrowed money (being stimulated thereto by the leaps and bounds from 1860 to 1877), find they have made bad bargains, and wishing to make their landlords the sufferers, and not themselves, are ready to join in the howl against landlordism in general.

Many people advocate a fixing of rents by governmental arbitration. I cannot myself see why the value of land should be so assessed between man and man in Ireland, more than in any other country under the sun, or why the returns from agriculture should be treated differently from those gained by transforming raw cotton into mule twist, or pig iron into tenpenny nails. It is, however, certain that for purposes of taxation all property should be subject to periodical revaluation; and if this were done every ten years on *bona-fide* prin-

ciples, instead of the fanciful "Griffith's valuation" idea, it would form a guide and basis for public opinion, which is at present a shepherdless sheep.

One great need of Ireland is railway accommodation for uncivilised districts, such as the western parts of the County of Donegal. The country, as actually inhabited, is calculated to produce the objects of "*petite culture,*" in the way of poultry, eggs, butter, and pork in unlimited quantity. At present production is checked by want of market. In other countries such lines as are necessary are made by the State. Why should they not be so in Ireland? On a recent occasion, when a baronial guarantee was sought in aid of private contributions towards making a railway in Donegal, it was shown that a rise of one penny per dozen in the price of the eggs at present carried from the district by the nearest existing railway, would recoup the contribution of fourpence in the pound valuation which the baronies were asked to contribute. It is morally certain that this advance would be doubled, and a much greater increment attained on both price and production of the other articles named above—to say nothing of the civilisation sure to follow the track of the iron horse. *Pari passu* would come the diminution of cost and improvement of quality of the articles of consumption which are not the produce of the soil. The relief committees in West Donegal, in the early part of this year, paid constantly for Indian meal from fifteen to twenty per cent. over the price in the eastern part of the county. Assuming the half of the lower figure—that is, about ten per cent.—to be economised by throwing open the western districts to the enterprise of the merchants of Londonderry and Belfast; and supposing less than half of the county, say 100,000 individuals, to be (as they undoubtedly are) consumers of Indian meal to the amount of 7 lbs. in the week for half the year, this single saving would be a gain of nearly £7,000 a year, to be normally divided amongst the poorest part of the population.

I met, a few days ago, a procession of carts laden with swine, carrying them from a neighbouring fair to the nearest railway station, a distance of rather more than thirty miles.

The drovers, who formerly would have made these porkers walk this distance in three or four days, have learned that it pays to find them carriages. On this occasion there were two-and-twenty carts, each tenanted by five or six pigs; and as the carts of this country are very small, and the pigs large, the miseries and deterioration of the poor beasts on their thirty-mile journey may be imagined. About a hundred more, for which conveyance could not be obtained, were being driven along the road, leaving many a trace of blood from worn-down feet upon the stones as they went. To porcine misery, I suppose, the hard hearts of political economists are callous; but they might learn from pig-jobbers that both the producer and consumer would be benefited to an enormous extent by cheap railway communication with the poorer parts of this island.

From my own knowledge I have no doubt, as far as Donegal is concerned, that leaving manufacturing industry, which is at present an impossibility, out of the question, the actual gain on the produce of agriculture and fisheries, joined to the savings on articles of import by the two measures I propose, would so increase its wealth in ordinary years, as to preclude the degradation and demoralisation consequent on periodical seasons of scarcity, treated as that of 1879 has been.

There is still one question on which I must touch, though I know it would be displeasing to many Irish landed proprietors, and that is the very difficult oue of absenteeism. Every performance of Mr. Gladstone's different administrations has been calculated to promote, what every man, who is not steeped to the neck in socialism, knows to be an unmitigated evil. His present action (for I cannot call it inaction) is the greatest advance yet made in this direction. What the next legislative measure may do, it is hard to say. But I myself, in common with all those who, in spite of the denunciations of priests and Land Leaguers, and the actual dangers to life and property, have done their best to perform the duties of resident landlords, have felt that those duties, are

rendered infinitely more difficult and onerous by the absence of others who ought to share them.

I am not one of those who advocate the forced breaking up of large properties ; quite the contrary. I know that, as a rule, the actual tenants on them pay more moderate rents than they would be asked for, if these properties were put through the mill of the Landed Estates Court, and split up amongst grocers and attorneys, who would be more grasping, whilst equally non-resident ; and I look upon a wealthy peerage as a reserve of independence, which forms a necessary part of our constitution, more especially in these " Rabagas " days ; but even their beneficial influences would be much increased if they were centralised, and they ceased to be owners of great tracts of country, situated at opposite ends of Ireland, to which they were known only as extractors of rent. I would therefore advocate a certain amount of taxation, to be levied on every estate in aid of the funds of the Union in which it was situated, in case the owner did not reside within the bounds of that Union for at least three months in the year. I would, of course, except from this taxation men who were actually serving in the army at home or abroad, and all whose lives or properties have been endangered by agrarian outrage. Other exceptions, also, there would be, such as the civil servants of the nation in diplomatic or colonial appointments ; but I would make them as few as possible, and would constitute the grand juries of counties the tribunal for deciding if claims for exemption were well grounded. I would propose that this tax should be payable by the occupying tenants in the first instance, and that the receipts for payment should count for them as rent, save in such cases as absenteeism was caused by agrarian outrage, under which circumstances the tax should still be levied, but placed to the credit of the Union at large, and no allowance given of credit as against the landlord.

These are, of course, but crude ideas, but perhaps not an unreasonable basis for some sort of action, particularly if taken in conjunction with the extension of railways, which I have advocated, as I would give power to every owner

who, by the present location of his property in different Unions, or from other circumstances, could not comply with the terms imposed, to sell such portions as he thought fit, of course safe-guarding vested interests.

That honesty, consistency, or sound political principle should be found in the future action of a ministry which has promoted the present crisis, I have no hope or expectation. If my words have shown to you and to some others the grounds on which I base these ideas, and thrown some glimmer of light on the real condition of Ireland, positively and comparatively, they will have fulfilled their mission.

W. SINCLAIR.

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