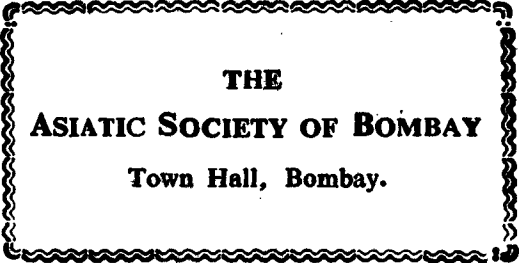


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THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

THREE MONTHS

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I R E L A N D.

BY AN ENGLISH PROTESTANT.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

MDCCCXXVII.



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THREE MONTHS :

IN

I R E L A N D.

P R E F A C E.

THE greater part of the following work was written in the country to which it relates, amongst the people whose present situation and prospects it endeavours to describe. I am sensible that I may perhaps be accused of presumption for having formed such decided opinions during so limited a stay; but I trust that this objection will be diminished, when I mention that I have availed myself, with care, of some very favourable opportunities for personal observation in different districts, and have had the advantage of deriving much authentic information from men of acknowledged experience and ability. As the particular facts that aided and confirmed me in forming these opinions were, in a great measure, either observed in friendly intercourse, or communicated in private conversation, I should not feel justified in laying them before

the public; but I have collected in the Appendix some extracts from the printed evidence *on oath* before the Lords' Committee, to which I beg leave to call the reader's particular attention. The original document, containing above eight hundred folio pages, is too extended for general perusal. In these extracts will be found undeniable proof of the baneful party-spirit of the Orange-men, of the mal-administration of justice, of the evils of absenteeism, and of the excessive wealth and frequent misconduct of the established clergy. These causes of distress and disturbance are so simple and obvious as to have been pointed out a thousand times before, and so glaring, that any traveller in Ireland could hardly fail to observe them immediately, if he visits that country unprejudiced by party, and inspired only by an honest zeal for the discovery of truth. I cannot therefore claim the merit of having penetrated deeper than others, or laid open fresh causes and conjectures that had hitherto been neglected or unknown. I have merely ventured to give my testimony to the

existence and reality of what has been so frequently remarked already; and if my statements should induce any one person calmly to reconsider the subject, or to go and see with his own eyes—if they should weaken prepossession, and assist, however feebly, the cause of truth, then the utmost aim and highest ambition of this little work will have been amply attained.

Emancipation is generally the first subject brought forward when the state of Ireland is mentioned; but the interest of the English people is now so fully roused on this point, and so much important and authentic information relating to it is now before the public, that I have not thought it requisite to treat of it at great length, or to collect evidence upon it in the Appendix. It is not from any indifference to the evils that now result from the refusal of these rights, or to the great, though perhaps exaggerated, benefits that would follow their concession; still less is it from any wish to preserve a convenient neutrality on so difficult and delicate a measure. On the contrary, I have no

hesitation in stating my opinion, that catholic emancipation is most important to our national security, and that Ireland will never be tranquil or contented while it is withheld. It is true that the present restrictions, in most of their clauses, affect but very few persons, and those of the higher rank; but this does not prevent the lower classes from participating keenly in their exclusion and disgrace. They consider these restrictions as a wanton stigma—an unmerited insult; and the odium that accompanies this law proves far more injurious to us than the law itself can be to them. Few of them, it is true, can aspire to sit in parliament, or to hold the first offices of the state; but all can see, and all will resent, that theirs is the only sect excluded; all conceive that by such regulations their faith is dishonoured, and their persons proscribed; all must feel the indignity, though few are actually exposed to the affront. Lord Chesterfield, whose knowledge of the human heart is universally admitted, observed, long ago, that an insult is far more galling, and less frequently for-

given, than an injury. Thus, then, if even it could be proved that the restrictions on the catholics were wholly uninjurious to the body at large, and oppressive only to a few high-born individuals, it would by no means follow from thence that their effects may not be most extensive and pernicious. I am persuaded that if these restrictions were repealed, the distress in Ireland would not indeed be alleviated, but that its disaffection would be removed to a prodigious extent. The people would cease, in a great measure, to impute their sufferings to misrule; and one of the chief engines with which rebels have formerly roused and united them to revolt would be totally and finally destroyed.

It ought to be considered, that these restrictions are not merely hateful to the catholic population on their own account, but as being the sole surviving remnant of the former penal code. How can it be expected that they should view with resignation or indifference laws connected with so harsh and Draconic a system? Can we imagine

that as soon as we repeal an unjust statute its evil effects are to cease; that it is to be immediately forgiven and forgotten; and that though the sting is broken the venom may not still continue to fester in the wound? The memory of the penal laws will long survive in the execration of the people; nor will their fatal results ever cease to operate as long as their remaining portion is unchanged. As there are many persons not fully aware of the real enactments of this code, and who have at most a vague idea of their injustice, I shall here give a short account of them, chiefly taken from their history by sir Henry Parnell. I shall previously quote, however, the first stipulation of the articles of Limerick, in compliance with which I presume all these severe enactments were subsequently passed.

“ The Roman catholics of this kingdom shall
“ enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their re-
“ ligion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland,
“ or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles
“ the Second; and their majesties, as soon as their

“ affairs will permit them to summon a parliament
“ in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the
“ said Roman catholics such farther security in that
“ particular, *as may preserve them from any dis-*
“ *turbance upon account of their said religion*.*”

These articles, originally signed by general De Ginckle, on the 3d of October, 1691, were ratified by king William, April 5, in the succeeding year, and by parliament in 1697.

Notwithstanding this solemn engagement, an act was passed (the 7th W. III. c. 5.) to disarm the catholics; and another (9th W. III. c. 1.) to banish their priests.

By the 9th W. III. c. 3. protestants are restricted from marrying with papists. By the 10th W. III. c. 13. papists are prevented from being solicitors; and by the 10th W. III. c. 8. from being gamekeepers.

In the reign of queen Anne the spirit of the

* I must refer the reader to sir Henry Parnell's History for an account of the manner in which the other articles appear to have been violated.

legislature seems to have increased still further in fury against the Roman catholics. There was an order of the House of Commons passed in those days, "that the sergeant at arms should take into custody all papists that should presume to come into the gallery." (Commons' Journals, vol. 3, fol. 976.) This fanaticism was unfortunately exerted in a more pernicious manner, by passing the two celebrated acts "to prevent the farther growth of popery," the one in 1704, and the other as a supplement in 1709. They have been well termed by Mr. Burke "the ferocious acts of Anne."

We will begin with the first of these acts.

By the 3d clause, any son of a catholic proprietor who chooses to turn protestant becomes possessed of his father's estate.

By the 4th clause, the popish father is debarred under a penalty of 500*l.* from having the custody of, or being a guardian to his own children, if they (though ever so young) pretend to be protestants.

By the 5th clause, no protestant can marry a papist having an estate in Ireland.

By the 6th clause, papists are debarred from purchasing any freehold property, or to hold a lease for more than thirty-one years, and even then under certain restrictions.

By the 7th clause, at the death of any protestant his estate is to go to the next protestant heir, however remote, if all his children and descendants and near relations should be catholics.

By the 10th clause, the estate of a papist for want of a protestant heir is to be divided equally among all his sons, and in failure of them among all his daughters.

By the 16th clause, all persons whatsoever who shall receive any civil or military appointment are to subscribe certain oaths and declarations, and also to take the sacrament.

By the 23d clause, no papist is to dwell in Limerick or Galway, except under certain conditions.

By the 25th clause, all advowsons possessed by catholics are vested in the crown.

Let us now look to the second "ferocious act."

By the 1st clause, no papist can take an annuity for life.

By the 3d clause, the system of protestant children dispossessing of their estates their popish parents, and as it were disinheriting them, is still further encouraged and improved.

By the 12th clause, all converts in public employments, all members of parliament, barristers, &c. are to educate their children protestants.

By the 15th clause, the widow of a papist turning protestant is to have a portion of her husband's fortune in spite of any will to the contrary.

By the 16th clause, every popish schoolmaster or usher is to be considered and prosecuted as a regular popish convict.

By the 18th clause, every popish priest turning protestant is to have a douceur of 30% a year, to be levied and paid by grand juries.

By the 20th clause, there is a scale fixed of the different rewards for discovering popish schoolmasters and clergy. It is as follows :

Rewards.

For discovering an archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, or other person exercising any foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction	50 <i>l.</i>
For discovering each regular clergyman, and each secular clergyman not registered	20 <i>l.</i>
For discovering each popish schoolmaster or usher *.	10 <i>l.</i>

By the 21st clause, any two justices can summon any papist above eighteen years of age, and he is to be committed to jail without bail for a year, or till he pay 20*l.*, if he shall refuse to tell when and where he heard mass celebrated, and what persons attended it, or to mention the abode of any priest or popish schoolmaster.

By the 30th clause, no trust is to be undertaken for papists.

By the 37th clause, no papist in trade, except the linen trade, is to take more than two apprentices.

* It must be owned that nothing could be more ingenious than the conduct of our clergy—first to set a price on the head of all catholic schoolmasters, and then to accuse the catholics of remissness and indifference to education.

To show the spirit with which these truly unchristian regulations were enforced, I shall quote a declaration by the Irish House of Commons on March 17, 1705, "That all magistrates and other persons whatsoever who neglected or omitted to put the penal laws in due execution, were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom;" and subsequently they passed a vote, "that the prosecuting and informing against papists was an honourable service to the government."

In the reign of George I. we find the ascendancy party in Ireland still as persecuting as before. By the 2d G. I. c. 9. the horses of papists are to be seized for the militia; besides which, the papists are to pay double, and to find protestant substitutes.

By the 2d G. I. chap. 10. no papists can be high or petty constables.

By the 6th G. I. c. 10. papists resident in towns are under certain penalties to provide a protestant watchman, to watch in their room.

By the 7th clause of the same act, no papist can vote at a vestry.

In the reign of George the Second the following additional disabilities were imposed on the Roman catholics in Ireland :

By the 1st G. II. c. 9. no papist can vote at an election without taking the oath of supremacy. Sir Henry Parnell assures us, that this measure, at one stroke, disfranchised above five-sixths of the Irish population.

By the 7th G. II. c. 5. barristers or solicitors marrying papists are made subject to the same penalties as if they were papists themselves.

By the 13th G. II. c. 6. protestants educating their children as papists, are made subject to the same penalties as papists.

By the 9th G. II. c. 6. persons robbed by privateers, during a war with a catholic state, are to be reimbursed by a levy on the catholic inhabitants of their neighbourhood.

By the 19th G. II. c. 19. all marriages between protestants and papists are to be annulled.

By the 23d G. II. c. 10. every popish priest, celebrating such marriages, is to be hanged.

“ The whole code,” says sir Henry Parnell, “ of

“ the penal statutes against the catholics in Ire-
“ land is now laid before the view of the reader,
“ under which they so long and so patiently lan-
“ guished; statutes, unexampled for their inhu-
“ manity, their unwarrantableness, and their im-
“ policy; which were adapted to exterminate a
“ race of men already crushed and broken by
“ the longest series of calamities which one nation
“ had ever the opportunity of inflicting upon an-
“ other. They were framed against Christians,
“ under the pretence of securing religion: they
“ were the work of protestants, than whom no
“ sect has cried out more loudly against persecu-
“ tion when protestants were the martyrs. They
“ were sanctioned by a nation who owed its liber-
“ ties, and by monarchs who owed their throne, to
“ a solemn covenant that such disabilities should
“ never exist.”

Such, then, was the penal code, which weighed so long and so heavily on the unfortunate Irish people, and which the established clergy maintained with the same zeal as they now support its still remaining provisions: With the same fervour as

they now declare, that the church would be endangered by further concessions to the catholics, they then protested that the slightest change, the least relaxation in those laws, must be attended with the downfall of our religion and government; nor did they fail to brand, as factious innovators, all those who pleaded the cause of justice or compassion. And can it now be a subject of surprise or resentment with any reasonable man, that the catholics should still retain a bitter recollection of their past sufferings, and view with indignation any remnant of so hateful and oppressive a system?

But it has been urged in defence of the penal laws, that they were only a just retribution for the persecuting and intolerant spirit of the Roman catholic religion. To this it might be answered, that one atrocity does not justify another, and that to imitate such cruelties is to deserve them. But there is a still more conclusive reply to be found in the melancholy fact, that a spirit of persecution was formerly but too prevalent amongst ourselves and our protestant brethren. There are, indeed,

some persons still completely ignorant of this truth, who imagine every early reformer to have been a model of enlightened toleration, and as they prudently confine themselves to the perusal of historians on their side of the question, there is no great chance of their being ever undeceived. For these I shall take the liberty of producing some clear and certain facts; and as no writer is an authority with them, except his orthodoxy will bear the strictest examination, I shall extract them all from the work of a clergyman of the established church; from the late very able pamphlet of the Rev. Sidney Smith.

“The great object,” he says, “of men who love party better than truth is to have it believed that the catholics alone have been persecutors; but what can be more flagrantly unjust than to take our notions of history only from the conquering and triumphant party? If you think the catholics have not their Book of Martyrs as well as the protestants, take the following enumeration of some of their most learned and careful writers.

“ The whole number of catholics who have suf-
 “ fered death in England for the exercise of the
 “ Roman catholic religion since the Reformation :

Henry VIII.	59
Elizabeth	204
James I.	25
Charles I. and Commonwealth . . .	23
Charles II.	8

Total 319

“ The catholics were frequently during the reign
 “ of Elizabeth tortured in the most dreadful man-
 “ ner. In order to extort answers from father Cam-
 “ pian, he was laid on the rack, and his limbs
 “ stretched a little, to show him, as the executioner
 “ termed it, what the rack was. He persisted in
 “ his refusal; then for several days successively
 “ the torture was increased, and on the two last
 “ occasions, he was so cruelly rent and torn, that
 “ he expected to expire under the torment. While
 “ under the rack, he called continually upon God.
 “ In the reign of the protestant Edward VI. Joan

“ Knell was burnt to death; and the year after
“ George Parry was burnt also. — Southwell,
“ a catholic, was racked ten times during the reign
“ of the sister of bloody queen Mary. In 1592,
“ Mrs. Ward was hanged, and drawn, and quar-
“ tered, for assisting a catholic priest to escape in
“ a box. Mrs. Lyne suffered the same punishment
“ for harbouring a priest; and in 1586, Mrs. Cli-
“ theroe, who was accused of relieving a priest,
“ and refused to plead, was pressed to death in
“ York castle; a sharp stone being placed under-
“ neath her back.

“ Have not protestants persecuted both catholics
“ and their fellow protestants in Germany, Swit-
“ zerland, Geneva, France, Holland, Sweden, and
“ England? Look to the atrocious punishment of
“ Leighton, under Laud, for writing against pre-
“ lacy; first, his ear was cut off; then his nose
“ slit; then the other ear cut off; then whipped;
“ then whipped again. Look to the horrible
“ cruelties exercised by the protestant episcopa-
“ lians on the Scottish presbyterians in the reign

“ of Charles II., of whom eight thousand are said
“ to have perished in that persecution. Perse-
“ cutions of protestants by protestants are amply
“ detailed by Chandler in his History of Perse-
“ cution; by Neale in his History of the Puritans;
“ by Laing, in his History of Scotland; by Penn,
“ in his Life of Fox; and in Brandt’s History of
“ the Reformation in the Low-Countries, which
“ furnishes many very terrible cases of the suf-
“ ferings of anabaptists and remonstrants. In 1560
“ the parliament of Scotland decreed at one and
“ the same time, the establishment of Calvinism
“ and the punishment of death against the ancient
“ religion: ‘with such indecent haste,’ says Ro-
“ bertson, ‘did the very persons who had just
“ ‘escaped from ecclesiastical tyranny proceed to
“ ‘imitate their example.’ Nothing can be so
“ absurd as to suppose that in barbarous ages the
“ excesses were all committed by one religious
“ party and none by the other. The Huguenots
“ of France burnt churches and hung priests
“ wherever they found them. Froumenteau, one

“ of their own writers, confesses, that in the single
“ province of Dauphiny they killed two hundred
“ and twenty priests and one hundred and twelve
“ friars. In the Low Countries, wherever Van-
“ demerk and Sonoi, lieutenants of the prince of
“ Orange, carried their arms, they uniformly put
“ to death, and in cold blood, all the priests and
“ religious they could lay their hands on. The
“ protestant, Servetus, was put to death by the
“ protestants of Geneva, for denying the doctrine
“ of the Trinity, as the protestant Gentilis was,
“ on the same score, by those of Berne: add to
“ these, Felix Mans, Rotman, and Barneveld. Of
“ Servetus, Melancthon, the mildest of men, de-
“ clared that he deserved to have his bowels pulled
“ out, and his body torn to pieces. The last fires
“ of persecution which were lighted in England
“ were by protestants. Bartholomew Legate, an
“ Arian, was burnt by order of king James, in
“ Smithfield, on the 18th of March, 1612. On
“ the 11th of April, in the same year, Edward
“ Weightman was burnt at Lichfield by order of

“ the protestant bishop of Lichfield and Coventry ;
“ and this man was, I believe, the last person
“ who was burnt in England for heresy. * There
“ was another condemned to the fire for the same
“ heresy ; but as pity was excited by the constancy
“ of these sufferers, it was thought better to allow
“ him to linger on a miserable life in Newgate.
“ Fuller, who wrote in the reign of Charles II. and
“ was a zealous church of England man, speaking
“ of the burnings in question, says, ‘ It may
“ ‘ appear that God was well pleased with them.’ ”

That the great majority of the opponents of the catholic claims in England, and a large share of those in Ireland, are influenced by none but pure and honourable motives and unfeigned apprehensions, I am most firmly persuaded. These men, it is plain, should be treated with the deference and respect due to their conscientious conviction, and ought not, by any means, to be confounded with sir Harcourt Lees and the rest of the orange party. I have endeavoured in the following Poem to point out the great difference between anti-catholics and

orangemen, and it is still farther elucidated by the evidence of col. Verner and the Rev. Mr. Waring given in the Appendix. The terms, it is true, are often confounded by violent demagogues, or in common conversation; yet nothing can be more essentially distinct. The one opposes from fears for the protestants, the other from hatred to the catholics. The one wishes to prevent farther concessions, the other to recall those already granted. The one is an honourable antagonist, the other a malicious enemy; and while the one may be convinced by reasoning, the other will constantly remain deluded by passion. There are, in fact, very few orangemen in England—they are reserved for the sister country, which they long ruled with tyranny, and still agitate with faction. Their fatal effects may be traced in every department of the state, in every institution of the law; but fortunately, they are now almost reduced to fruitless rancour and impotent malevolence. Unable to persecute any longer, they must content themselves with calumniating their former victims. It is they to whom we owe

the enactment and support of the penal code ; it is they to whom all the abuses of the magistracy, the mal-administration of justice, the peculations and cruelties of the charter-schools should mainly be ascribed. After fomenting and exciting the rebellion of 1798, they now avail themselves of it, to charge their adversaries with sedition and disloyalty. How widely, thank Heaven ! does this character differ from the conscientious and public-spirited feelings, which, generally speaking, are the motives that induce any Englishman to oppose the catholic claims ! When we convince his judgment, we at once obtain his support ; whilst the orange-men are too often actuated by the same ignorant and unconquerable zeal that induced, as I understand, one of their leaders lately to admit, that not even the descent of an angel from heaven would be sufficient to convince him.

Another topic relating to Ireland, on which I have hazarded many observations, is that of absenteeism. Had I been writing at any period previous to last year, I should have dismissed the

subject very shortly as a known and universally acknowledged grievance. Till that time there was but one voice, but one opinion as to the evils of absenteeism; and even those who had been most guilty of it never thought of defending themselves on general grounds, but alleged some private and particular excuses for their conduct. They owned the national advantages of residence, but claimed a peculiar exemption from it. Till that time numbers who would willingly have wandered from their country were kept at home by a sense of shame and by the force of public opinion, while patriotism might perhaps have proved an insufficient restraint, and numbers already residing abroad returned from a similar cause. Till that time, any man who had ventured to declare against this unanimous opinion would have been either ridiculed as a paradoxical sophist, or, if of sufficient importance to be treated seriously, would have been overwhelmed with the united weight of almost every living or dead authority upon Irish affairs. The times have now changed. A science,

new and formerly unheard of, called political economy, has, in its progress, whilst establishing several important truths, at the same time attacked some opinions that had always been considered as undoubted axioms, and were consecrated by centuries of experience. We were told that this was the only age in which the principles of government were *rightly* understood, and that our veteran statesmen ought again to put themselves to school. This science, which had acquired so great an influence in the late House of Commons, and probably retains it in the present, may be said, since the death of Mr. Ricardo, to boast of Mr. John Ramsay Macculloch for its head. This gentleman is unquestionably well qualified to lay down the law on Irish affairs in opposition to all established authorities, from the frequent visits he has paid to Ireland, and the great portion of his life he has spent in that country. In his examination last year before the committee of the House of Commons, he stated, that, in his opinion, absenteeism had no share in producing the wretchedness of Ireland, nay, more,

that if all the gentry now resident in that country were to leave it, no material disadvantage would ensue! It may be proper to quote this extraordinary assertion in his own words, and also to give the reasons by which he defended it.

FOURTH REPORT TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
ON THE STATE OF IRELAND, ORDERED TO BE
PRINTED JUNE 30, 1825, PAGE 813, &c.

Mr. MACCULLOCH examined.

“ Supposing the absentee landlords of Ireland
“ were to return and reside upon their estates, is
“ it your opinion that that would be productive of
“ any decided advantage to the lower orders of the
“ people?

“ No, I am not aware that it would be pro-
“ ductive of any advantage to them in the way
“ of increasing the general and average rate of
“ wages all over the country.

“ Would not the expenditure of their incomes
“ amongst them be productive of a great deal of
“ good?

“ The income of a landlord when he is an absentee is really as much expended in Ireland as if he were living in it.

“ Will you have the goodness to explain that a little more ?

“ When a landlord becomes an absentee, his rent must be remitted to him either in money or in commodities. I suppose it will be conceded that it cannot continue to be remitted to him from Ireland in money, there being no money to make the remittance ; for if the rents of two or three estates were remitted in money, it would make a scarcity of money and raise its value, so that its remittance would inevitably cease. It is clear, then, that the rents of absentees can only be remitted in commodities, and this, I think, would be the nature of the operation : when a landlord has an estate in Ireland, and goes to reside in London or Paris, his agent gets his rent and goes and buys a bill of exchange with it. Now this bill of exchange is a draft drawn against equivalent commodities that are to be exported

“ from Ireland : it is nothing more than an order
“ to receive an equivalent amount in commodities
“ which must be sent from Ireland. The mer-
“ chants, who get 10,000*l.* or any other sum from
“ the agent of an absentee landlord, go into the
“ Irish market and buy exactly the same amount of
“ commodities as the landlord would have bought,
“ had he been at home ; the only difference being,
“ that the landlord would eat and wear them in
“ London or Paris, and not in Dublin, or in his
“ house in Ireland.

“ Would not the population of the country be
“ benefited by the expenditure amongst them of
“ a certain portion of the rent which has been
“ remitted?

“ No, I do not see how it could be benefited in
“ the least.

“ Would it result, from the principles laid down
“ by you, that, confining the question to those con-
“ siderations which have been adverted to, it would
“ be the same thing in point of fact to Ireland,
“ whether the whole gentry of the country were

“ absentees or not, so far as those considerations
“ go ?

“ *I think very nearly the same thing.* If I may
“ be allowed to explain, I will state one point in
“ which I think there would be a small difference.
“ I think, so far as regards the purchase of all sorts
“ of labour, except that of mere menial servants,
“ absentee expenditure is never injurious to a
“ country. The only injury, as it appears to me,
“ that a country can ever sustain with reference to
“ wealth from absentee expenditure, is, that there
“ may be a few menial servants thrown out of
“ employment when landlords leave the country,
“ unless they take their servants along with them ;
“ but, to whatever extent menials may be thrown
“ out of employment, if they have the effect to
“ reduce the rate of wages they will increase the
“ rate of profit. In a country, however, where
“ absenteeism has been so long prevalent, as in
“ Ireland, I should say, that this circumstance can-
“ not have any perceptible effect.”

In opposition to the unsupported opinion of Mr.

Macculloch, I could crowd my pages with the concurring testimony of every one, with scarce a single exception, who has at any time examined attentively the state of Ireland, and who all agree in stating absenteeism to be one of its greatest misfortunes. Some of their statements are given with much eloquence and feeling, and Miss Edgeworth's excellent and instructive tale on the subject cannot but be fresh in the public recollection. I will, however, limit myself to three extracts at three different epochs, and shall then leave the reader to decide between Mr. Macculloch's conjectures and his opponents' observations.

Arthur Young states in 1778 :

“ It is not the simple amount of the rental being
“ remitted into another country, but the damp on
“ all sorts of improvement, and the total want of
“ countenance and encouragement which the lower
“ tenantry labour under. The landlord at such a
“ great distance is out of the way of all complaints,
“ or what is the same thing, of examining into or

“ remedying evils. Miseries of which he can see
“ nothing, and probably hear as little of, can make
“ no impression. All that is required of the agent
“ is to be punctual in his remittances, and as to the
“ people who pay him, they are too often welcome to
“ go to the devil, provided their rents could be paid
“ from his territories. This is the general picture.”

Mr. Wakefield says, in his Survey of 1812,

“ The dulness which pervades absentee pro-
“ perty is evident throughout the whole country.
“ Inactivity and a gloomy silence every where pre-
“ vail, give a melancholy cast to the ideas of the
“ traveller, and excite in the thinking mind the
“ most serious reflections. It is indeed deeply to
“ be regretted, that noblemen and gentlemen who
“ possess landed property in Ireland, where the
“ beauties of nature are sufficiently attractive, and
“ where all the necessaries, most of the comforts
“ and even the luxuries of life, may be procured
“ without much trouble or expense, should prefer
“ living in another country, and leave their tenants

“ to the management of persons who cannot have
“ the same interest in their welfare and pros-
“ perity.”

My third extract for the present time shall be taken from the speech on the Tithe Composition Act by the Bishop of Limerick—who, on all subjects unbiassed by professional feelings, cannot but be considered as an excellent authority.

“ The system of Irish absenteeism is indeed a
“ calamity beyond our grasp or comprehension, and
“ for the sake both of my own feelings and the feel-
“ ings of others, I shall be very brief upon the sub-
“ ject. In truth, I am utterly at a loss how to ex-
“ press myself. The reality of wide-spread suffering
“ which it has been my lot to witness is so vast and
“ overwhelming, that I am afraid to calculate, and
“ yet more unwilling to imagine its extent.

“ My lords, I should be sorry to impute blame
“ indiscriminately to all classes of absentees. Some
“ are absent unavoidably in the discharge of great
“ professional duties; these persons, in the inter-
“ vals of their official employment, often visit their

“ estates, while absent they are conferring im-
“ portant national benefits, and when their more
“ public career is completed, they are apt to settle
“ at home. Against such men there is no ground
“ of complaint.

“ Another class of absentees, as they are among
“ the most excusable, so they are the most consi-
“ derate ; I mean those English gentlemen and no-
“ blemen who possess Irish estates. Among these
“ are to be found some of the very best landlords in
“ the whole country. They carry into their Irish
“ properties the principle of English landlords, a
“ principle which ought to obtain in every country.
“ It consists of this—the establishment of a fair
“ proportion between the rent to be paid and the
“ profit to be enjoyed by the occupying tenant. In
“ this and other particulars several English pro-
“ prietors are examples of what landlords ought to
“ be, and their tenantry flourish accordingly.

“ But there is a third class of which I am unable
“ to speak in extenuating terms. My duty compels
“ me (and it is a painful duty) to call them by the

“ only name which can describe them—mere Irish
“ absentees. Irish absenteeism has no bowels, it
“ has no principles. I speak not here of individuals,
“ I speak of the system. English proprietors of
“ Irish estates have their hearts softened by the
“ tenantry among whom they live. But pure Irish
“ absenteeism has no such compensation. There
“ are no present objects to keep the affections in
“ healthful exercise, and where the affections are
“ not thus exercised, they must wither and dry up.
“ A distant tenantry never visited and never seen,
“ under these circumstances, seems to be considered
“ like those ingenious contrivances I have admired
“ at his majesty’s mint, a mere system of machinery
“ for the putting forth of so much coin.”

The excellent distinctions made by this prelate demand particular attention, and I cannot but wish that the cry against absentees had been more exclusively directed against those in his third classification. The public voice by being more limited in its aim would have become still more powerful in its effects. To include in the term of absentees

all those who are properly or unavoidably so, must of course diminish very much the odium with which that character is generally contemplated, and by uniting the innocent and guilty, afford safety to the latter. I am sorry to say, however, that this distinction is frequently forgotten, and the name of absentee often applied to all those proprietors who from whatever cause do not reside on their estates. Now it seems to me most unjust to expect that a person who has the great majority of his property in England should be expected to reside on the small portion of it in Ireland, especially if he should be an Englishman by birth. Were he to do so, he would then in fact become an absentee from England, and it would be this country instead of Ireland that would have reason to complain. Any injury that may ensue to Ireland from English proprietors having small estates in Ireland on which they do not reside, is compensated by the income which Irish proprietors in the same manner derive from England. Nor is any person, I think, to be looked upon as an ab-

sentee who quits Ireland to attend parliament or other public duties, or even who chooses to spend the season in London, as that city must, since the union, be considered the common capital of both countries. Nor are those persons absentees who, generally resident in Ireland, occasionally leave it on excursions of business or pleasure. I would in short make liberal constructions, and allow every reasonable cause, every just motive, for absenteeism. But having thus removed all doubtful cases, and insulated what the Bishop of Limerick calls "mere Irish absentees," I should wish to see directed against these all the force of public opinion, all the indignation of a forsaken people. I should wish to see them recalled by the fear of losing their influence and popularity, if they cannot be moved by nobler considerations. And I trust that when the short-lived sophistries of the present moment in favour of absentees have passed away, when eccentricity shall not be taken for wisdom, nor opinions be believed in proportion as they seem improbable and strange, that then the

mere Irish absentees will again be assailed by the unanimous reprobation of their countrymen. At present I regret to find that, emboldened by Mr. Macculloch's theory, those absentees who formerly were compelled to admit the general evils of absenteeism proudly raise their heads again, appeal to political economists, and assert their non-residence to be absolutely harmless. That such persons should embrace this modern theory with pleasure is by no means strange, but I am sorry to say that even with some impartial and reflecting men it has assumed an empire which I do not think its arguments at all entitled to claim. I would entreat those, who are still unconvinced of the fatal effects of absenteeism, to come and see them with their own eyes, and to judge from their own experience. They will have travelled but a little way in Ireland before they will be able to distinguish, almost invariably, the village of the resident from that of the absentee proprietor, by the increased comfort of the dwellings and cheerfulness of the people. This effect is so obvious and so universal,

that even the friends of absenteeism cannot presume to deny it, and are obliged to allege that this admitted improvement is wholly unimportant or even injurious! In the Edinburgh Review of Nov. 1825, where there is a manifesto from the political economists on this subject, it is stated that “a village that is built in the immediate vicinity of a gentleman’s seat generally declines on his becoming an absentee; *this, however, is in most cases any thing but an injury* *!”

To reply to such reasoning is clearly quite superfluous. There is another argument which has, with more plausibility, been urged for absentees, namely, that the late tumults have in some cases been most violent in the districts where there are many residents, whilst the property of absentees sometimes continued undisturbed. This singular

* From this admission it would follow, that if according to the supposition put to Mr. Macculloch, *all* the gentry of Ireland were to leave that country, *all* its villages would decline; and yet it is gravely asserted that such an absence would produce no pernicious consequences!

fact is, however, clearly explained by Mr. Becher, M. P. in his evidence before the Lords' committee, which will be found in the appendix.

As to Mr. Macculloch's confused and intricate theory, it admits of a very short, but I think very conclusive reply. Let any one look at the prodigious benefit which Paris, Brussels, Rome, and other cities on the continent, derive from the English and Irish absentees, who sometimes actually support and always enrich the population. Now, then, how can it possibly be denied, that if those absentees had resided in their own country they would have conferred upon it the same additional advantages as at present accrue to strangers?

I shall now venture to make some observations on the state of the Irish church establishment. This is a subject which I approach with very great reluctance, and which I would much rather abstain from treating altogether, were it not necessary to enter into some details in order to refute the many errors and misrepresentations that are prevalent upon it. To a protestant it certainly is a melan-

choly task to have to contend with men so much entitled to respect from their sacred functions, however blamable in their private characters; and in a prudential point of view nothing can be more impolitic and dangerous than to censure any amongst so strong and powerful a body as the clergy, which, as one of its own members well observes, “always unites in defence of the person attacked, and butts against the offender with a very extended front.” But are we to pardon all delinquencies on account of the veneration due to the delinquents, and shall that sacred rank, which is the chief aggravation of their faults, be the excuse for leaving them unnoticed? Is it not, on the contrary, our duty to prevent, as far as in us lies, so great a source of scandal to the protestant, and triumph to the Roman church, from lasting any longer? It will scarcely be believed what feelings of shame and mortification I endured on my first arrival in Ireland, from finding the general unpopularity and dislike under which the protestant clergy labour, and still more afterwards when I per-

ceived how justly the majority deserve it. Proud as every protestant should be, of his religion, and its superiority to the catholic, I had flattered myself with the hopes of finding that superiority practically displayed in Ireland. How was I not disappointed in seeing the care, the attention, the regular residence and moderate incomes of the priests contrast so unfavourably with the useless lives and overgrown fortunes of the protestant establishment; and how often have I not had to blush for the ministers of the faith that I professed! When I occasionally had the good fortune of meeting and conversing with Irish clergymen of a truly different character, and of exemplary virtue and charity, it only increased my regret that so few of their brethren should equal or resemble them. And how was I not grieved at finding that even of these excellent and amiable men, the greater number belonged to the lowest class of the church, the curates, and far from participating in the golden gifts of the establishment, were generally pensioned off with a poor pittance of 75*l.* a year! In

fact the whole body of Irish curates is in general most worthy and deserving, while the higher ranks of the establishment are paralyzed and benumbed by their own excess of wealth—overwhelmed, like Tarpeia in ancient history, with the very gold intended to protect and to adorn them.

The cause of the prepossession in this country in favour of the Irish church it is not difficult to account for. The generally moderate fortunes and excellent character and conduct of the clergy amongst us, and their extended utility, from the great majority of their parishioners professing the same religion as themselves, naturally renders the order popular amongst us, and we are unwilling to believe any charges against a church we fancy to be so closely connected with ours. No one can respect and admire more sincerely than I do the clergy of Great Britain, but I must protest against the doctrine, that the clergy of Ireland are necessarily united with them. This is a delusion which their advocates are very careful to promote, and which has obtained extensive credit. A man for

instance resident in Devonshire knows from experience the conduct of the clergy in that county to be good ; he goes to a distant county, such as Cumberland or Norfolk, and finds their conduct to be the same in those districts ; that is, from being acquainted with the clerical state of one county, he can pretty accurately conjecture the clerical state of any other. This he very justly applies to all England, and naturally, but very unjustly, to Ireland. The Irish church is totally distinct from ours. The clergy, on their part, are educated at Dublin, ours at Oxford or Cambridge, under different regulations. Their church has different prelates, different endowments, different customs, different institutions, and, I am sorry to add, a very different conduct and character. It is necessary, therefore, to divest ourselves of that prepossession which a favourable experience of the English church produces in many minds, and to judge the Irish clergy by their own merits alone.

One of the stratagems to which the Irish clergy have most frequently recourse to repel their as-

sailants, and still more to prevent attack, is to charge with irreligion and impiety all those who presume to blame them. “*Touchez aux Dîmes, les voilà qui crient à l’Athée,*” is a French saying completely verified in this instance. Such a charge is too often readily swallowed and believed by weak minds, unable to distinguish whether or not it is supported on imaginary grounds; but men of sense will not take invective to be proof, nor assertion argument. For my part, I confess myself unable to perceive how any individual can more effectually show his zeal for religion and attachment to the Church than by wishing to correct its abuses, and destroy every source of triumph to its enemies. He who supports and tolerates clerical corruptions may be the more favoured friend; but he who would remove them is surely the most real and useful one. Were the Irish Church really as poor and as irreproachable as it would wish us to believe, it would rejoice in any proposed investigation as the best means of securing its adherents, and silencing its adversaries. But no:—they are

too well aware of the truth : they shun—they deprecate examination ; they shroud themselves in convenient darkness, and will not unveil their proceedings or possessions to uninitiated eyes. They endeavour, on the contrary, to prevent all inquiry, by asserting the inviolability and sacredness of their situation, and raising the cry of sacrilege against all audacious intruders.

In entering upon a consideration of the real character of the Irish clergy, I think that the great increase of popery in Ireland is in itself a strong *primâ facie* evidence against them. On this point, it is true, we are again stopped by the difference in the opinions stated by various persons as to the comparative number of protestants and catholics in Ireland. Every artifice has been used by the church to exaggerate the numbers of the former, and its conduct towards the protestant dissenters is peculiarly remarkable. In England they are treated as enemies, or at least as strangers ; but in Ireland, where they exceed in numbers the ad-

herents of the established church, they are eagerly courted as friends and allies. They are there bound to us by a common hatred and terror of popery; and forgetting all other causes of dispute, unite against what they consider the general enemy. It would, however, be absurd, to look upon these dissenters as a part of our church establishment, since a separate clergy is maintained for their instruction. The population of Ireland may now be taken at seven millions, or rather more; and as to the comparative numbers of the different sects forming that population, I have spared no pains in trying to compute them. I have obtained the opinions of men of experience of both parties, who may, by their political and religious opinions, have been induced to think too highly of the numbers of their own party, but who are incapable of wilful misrepresentation. Taking a medium between their statements, and judging, from local inquiries, I am clearly convinced that the dissenters amount, at most, to 700,000, all sectarians included, and the

protestants of the established church to 400,000 *. Thus then it is for the exclusive benefit of less than half a million that our enormous church establishment is maintained by the remaining popula-

The computation of Mr. Leslie Foster makes the protestants nearly double the numbers I have stated, but it is avowedly not founded on his own observation and experience, but on the proportion of catholics and protestants now educating. Yet nothing can be more fallacious than this standard. The catholics in Ireland are chiefly of the lower class, and extremely poor from having a double clergy to support, so as often to be unable to afford even a hedge school, or the lowest scale of education; nor have they the rich endowments and annual grants that the established protestants enjoy for the purpose. They abound least in towns where education is more easily attainable; and in many parishes where there are schools, the attempts to proselytise or to enforce our catechisms, &c. deter the catholic from attending them. Till the abolition of the penal laws, catholic schools were wholly prohibited under the severest penalties, and they have not yet been universally introduced. These circumstances, and especially the abject poverty of the people, render the number of catholics provided with education very incommensurate to that of protestants; and any calculation deduced from a supposed equal ratio between them must of course be erroneous. In confirmation of my statement, I shall quote the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Daly, rector of Powerscourt, who mentions, in a very acrimonious

tion. The computation I have mentioned is much confirmed by the census now making by the priests throughout the kingdom, and partially published in the proceedings of the Catholic Association. The proportion of protestants in these returns is still smaller than I have stated; because the catholics predominate in the country, whilst most of the protestants are to be found assembled in the towns. I am aware that these returns are no authorities in the eyes of certain individuals, who do not scruple to call them wholly unfounded; but I would appeal to every candid and unprejudiced person, whether it is likely—whether it is credible, that men of education and character—that ministers of

letter to the priest of his parish, published in the newspapers, in July, 1826; that in his parish, 200 out of 800 protestants, but only 170 out of 2,400 catholics, were educating. In fact, the conduct of the high church party is very curious on this subject. They assert that few catholics are educated, in order from thence to charge the priests with an opposition to knowledge and improvement, and maintain in the same breath that the number of catholics under education is commensurate to that of protestants, in order from thence to swell the computation of the latter.

the gospel, should wantonly, without any hope of personal advancement, assert what cannot be an unintentional error, but must, if false, be a wilful and deliberate falsehood.' Can this be believed, for one moment, of any one of these clergymen? —still less, can it be believed of them all? Let it be considered also what facilities for detection there exist in any individual case, and then let the unprejudiced refuse conviction if they can! If such then be the proportion of catholics and protestants at present, it is admitted that the proportion was formerly much more favourable to us, and therefore the catholic religion must have prodigiously increased. Indeed, this increase is admitted by every one, even by those who carry the supposed number of protestants at present to an extravagant height; and the only questions in dispute are, the extent of this increase; and, whether it continues at present; which I am sorry to say there is too much reason to believe *. Now then, I ask, to

* This augmentation, it will be observed, continued in spite of the perpetual supplies the protestants received from

what cause can we attribute this admitted growth of popery in Ireland? The catholic will answer, "To the force of truth." But this reply will not suffice to us protestants, who believe truth to be enlisted on the opposite side. To what cause then can be attributed this increase of the catholics in spite of the force of truth? "To the superior allurements of popery," say some persons. No doubt, it must have been peculiarly alluring to be exposed to the pains and penalties, to the persecuting rigours of the most atrocious penal laws that ever blackened the annals of this or any other country! no doubt peculiarly alluring to resist the richly-baited conversion-traps offered, in

the Charter Schools and Foundling Hospital. "In a diocese," says Dr. Doyle, "with which I am well acquainted, the conversions to the catholic church are, at an average, about two hundred in each year; and I suppose, throughout the kingdom, they may amount to five thousand annually."

I am sorry to say, that the information I have received corroborates this melancholy fact; but the conversions thus made are, almost wholly, among the low-born and illiterate.

charter-schools and pensions to converts, of forty pounds a year! No doubt, it must have been a great temptation to popery, to be excluded thereby from all places of power or emolument, and to have remained for so many years in a state of unmitigated slavery! No doubt, it must be particularly pleasing to have to fast strictly on Fridays and in Lent, to submit to severe acts of penance, and be obliged, in addition to enormous tithes and church-rates, to pay for one's own chapel and minister besides! Were *these* the allurements to popery? What then, I ask again, was the cause of its admitted increase? I assert, that the cause is to be found in the extortions, the mal-administration, and the indolence of the protestant establishment. It is to them that the popery of Ireland should mainly be attributed; it is in reality the protestant clergymen who have made, and still make, the converts to the Roman catholic religion.

This strong *primâ facie* evidence against the protestant clergy will be found strengthened and confirmed by all the details recorded in history, or

transmitted by tradition. In former times they were the constant advocates and executors of the bloody penal laws, as now they are the chief opponents to all catholic claims. Their ready subservience to all constituted authorities was only tempered by their hatred to those whom they were appointed to protect, and from whom their fortunes were derived. Many instances were there, no doubt, of individual kindness and benevolence; but it is of their general character that I am speaking. Had their conduct been generally compassionate and kind, the Irish, the most generous nation in the world, would have amply repaid them by their gratitude; but their present unpopularity is a strong presumption of their former demerits. Of their conduct in remote times I shall only select a few instances, and that to show what persecutions caused and promoted the rebellion of 1641, which our Orange libellists so constantly appeal to with triumph, as an unanswerable proof of Irish insubordination and papal fraud.

The troops, during the earlier part of the reign

of Charles the First, were paid from the fines levied on the catholics, every week, for non-attendance at established worship. Yet though the catholics were thus profitably punished for being unable to join in the religious rites of their opponents, they were seldom allowed to celebrate their own without persecution or insult. On one occasion the archbishop of Dublin * himself headed a troop of soldiers to disperse a catholic congregation in the midst of their devotions ; but the priests and their congregation resisted the attack, and compelled the assailants to retire. “ Such insolence,” says Dr. Leland, “ it was deemed neither safe nor politic to connive at. By an order of the English council, fifteen religious houses were seized to the king’s use, and the popish college erected in Dublin was assigned to the university, who, for the present, converted it into a protestant seminary !”

* From the age of Dr. Magee, it seems unlikely that he could be the archbishop alluded to, though his character would render it highly probable. The *charges* by which he shows his intolerant spirit at present are somewhat different from the one mentioned in the text.

Such were at that time the pains and penalties on self-defence ! This very Dr. Leland, though a fellow of Trinity College, and prebendary of St. Patrick's, is forced to charge his reverend brethren in this reign with " ignorance, negligence, and " corruption of manners," and to confess that the favourite object of the Irish government was the *utter extermination* of the catholic inhabitants of Ireland.

In the next century the clergy still seem to have had ample room for improvement. Even primate Boulter, while defending their character on much the same grounds as are urged at present, in a Letter to the Bishop of London, dated May 11th, 1731, is obliged to confess,

" I cannot at the same time but believe that if
 " there were fewer pluralities, and more of the
 " clergy discharged their duty on their livings, it
 " would take off a great deal of that envy * and
 " malice which seems to be raised."

Pluralities must indeed at that time have pro-

* It is thus His Grace terms a zeal for the improvement of the church.

ceeded to a frightful extent; for, by a previous letter of the same prelate to the duke of Newcastle, dated March 7th, 1727, it appears that “we have
“in this kingdom but about six hundred incum-
“bents, and I fear three thousand popish priests.” It seems, however, from Grattan’s Speeches, that in 1788 the number of incumbents had increased to nine hundred or a thousand.

It should be remembered that in all the petty tumults and insurrections that occurred during that century, the excessive exaction of tithe was the cause almost universally assigned for their origin by the rioters themselves. There were doubtless many other causes to embitter and perpetuate outrage; but it almost always arose from the extreme severity with which the people were compelled to enrich the very church that persecuted and condemned them. In fact, it has been calculated that upwards of a million of lives have been sacrificed in Ireland to the enforcement of tithes!

Arthur Young, who visited Ireland in 1778, witnessed and described the severity with which

these tithes were raised. “The tithe-farmers,” he says, “are a bad sort of people—very civil to gentlemen, but exceedingly cruel to the poor.” In the preface to Grattan’s Speeches on Tithe, it is mentioned, that “the people in 1784 were equally loud in their complaints against tithe and tithe-proctors, and were often heard to declare that they would bear with willingness the exactions of the middlemen, if relieved from the more unjust and consequently more corrosive impositions of the proctor.”

“We have* now arrived at the period when Mr. Grattan took up the cause of a suffering people, with a heart full of sympathy for the miseries and wretchedness of an oppressed peasantry.” For this assistance he was of course branded with the names of factious innovator, turbulent infidel, sacrilegious demagogue, &c. and attacked with all the asperity and malevolence that disappointed rapine could supply. The arguments he urged

* Preface to Grattan’s Speeches on Tithe, page 141.

were rebutted, and the facts he produced disregarded, in much the same manner as a similar inquiry would probably be refused at present. “ Yet “ the* same Lord Clare, who defended the system “ of tithe in 1788—who then contended that tithes “ were not a grievance—that they were not oppressive—even this noble lord was compelled to “ admit in 1799 that this very same system of tithe “ was the grand impulse to rebellion—the powerful instrument in the hands of Messrs. O’Connor, Emmet, and M’Nevin, to organise insurrection and influence the peasantry.”

Mr. Grattan brought forward his first motion on tithes, on March 13, 1787. In the course of his observations, he refuted an argument still sometimes urged for want of a better, that the advantage of reducing tithe would accrue to the landlord, not to the occupying tenant.

“ I do not see,” says Mr. Grattan, “ why you “ should suffer a most heavy tithe to be added to “ the high price of rent and the low price of labour ;

* Ibid, page 144.

“ neither am I sensible of the force of that suppo-
“ sition which conceives a diminution of the tithe
“ of potatoes would be only an augmentation of
“ the rent; for I do not find that rent is higher in
“ counties where potatoes are not tithed, nor can
“ I see how an existing lease can be cancelled,
“ and the rent increased, by the diminishing or
“ taking off the tithe: neither do I see that simili-
“ tude between tithe and rent which should justify
“ the comparison. Rent is payment for land, tithe
“ is payment for capital and labour expended on
“ land; the proportion of rent diminishes with the
“ proportion of the produce, that is, of the industry
“ —the proportion of tithe increases with the in-
“ dustry. Rent, therefore, even a high rent, may
“ be a compulsion on labour, and tithe a penalty.

“ Certainly the annual contract is below the
“ dignity of a clergyman. . . . The more his hu-
“ manity and his erudition, the less his income* ;

* If so, what is the natural inference from the present enormous wealth of the Irish church?

“ it is a situation where the parson’s property falls
 “ with his virtues, and rises with his bad qualities.
 “ Just so the parishioner—he loses by being inge-
 “ nuous, and he saves by dishonesty. . . . It often
 “ happens that the clergyman shall not receive the
 “ thirtieth, and the peasant shall pay more than
 “ the tenth.

“ In arbitrary countries, the revenue is collected
 “ by men who farm it, and it is a mode of oppres-
 “ sion the most severe in the most arbitrary country.
 “ The farming of the revenue is given to the Jews.
 “ We introduce this practice in the collection of
 “ tithes, and the tithe-farmer frequently calls in
 “ aid of christianity the arts of the synagogue.”

Mr. Grattan’s motion was opposed by Mr. Se-
 cretary Orde, and the question for going to the
 order of the day to supersede Mr. Grattan’s mo-
 tion was carried without a division. Notwith-
 standing this defeat, he brought on the subject
 again, next year (1788), on the 14th of July, in a
 very eloquent and elaborate speech, from which I
 shall quote some passages. It begins as follows:

“ Sir, the people in the south have grievances,
“ and one of their principal grievances is tithe : do
“ not take it upon my authority, go into a com-
“ mittee. It has been said in defence of clerical
“ exactions, that though sometimes exorbitant, they
“ have never been illegal. I deny it, and will pro-
“ duce proof at your bar that exactions in some
“ of the disturbed parts have been not only, ex-
“ orbitant, but illegal likewise. I will prove that,
“ in many instances, tithe has been demanded and
“ paid for turf ; that tithe of turf has been assessed
“ at one or two shillings a house, like hearth-
“ money, and in addition to hearth-money, with
“ this difference, that in the case of hearth-money
“ there is an exemption for the poor of a certain
“ description ; but here it is the poor of the poorest
“ order ; that is, the most resistless order who pay.
“ I will prove to you that men have been excom-
“ municated by a most illegal sentence for refusing
“ to pay tithe of turf. I have two decrees in my
“ hand from the vicarial court of Cloyne ; the first
“ excommunicating one man, the second excom-

“ municating four men, most illegally, most arbi-
“ trarily, for refusing to pay tithe of turf; nor has
“ tithe of turf, without pretence of law or custom,
“ been a practice only, but in some parts of the
“ south it has been a formed exaction with its own
“ distinct and facetious appellation, the familiar
“ denomination of smoke-money.

“ I understand that in some cases this demand
“ has ceased; that is, it has been interrupted by
“ the terror of resistance, not by a respect for the
“ law (a sad encouragement this to disturbance).

“ It has been urged, the law would relieve in
“ the case of demand for tithe of turf; but you
“ have admitted the poverty of the peasant, and
“ you cannot deny the expense of litigation. Sir,
“ the law has been applied, and has not relieved.

“ I have authority from a person, now a most
“ eminent judge, and some years ago a most di-
“ stinguished lawyer, that he, in the course of his
“ profession, did repeatedly take exceptions to libels
“ in the spiritual court for tithe of turf, and that
“ they were uniformly overruled; and I have the

“ same authority to affirm to you, that the spiritual
“ courts do maintain a right to tithe for turf, and
“ that in so doing they have acted, and do act, in
“ gross violation of the law. I am informed that
“ tithe has been demanded for furze spent on the
“ premises; and therefore, in circumstances not
“ subject to tithe, a demand oppressive to the poor
“ and repugnant to the law. Under this head the
“ allegation is, that in some of the disturbed parishes
“ of the south, tithe has been demanded and paid
“ without custom and against law, and that the
“ ecclesiastical courts have allowed such demands
“ against law; and this will be verified on oath.

“ The exactions of the tithe-proctor are an-
“ other instance of illegality—he gets, he exacts,
“ he extorts from the parishioners in some of
“ the disturbed parishes, one, or frequently two
“ shillings in the pound. The clergyman’s agent
“ is then paid by the parish, and paid extrava-
“ gantly. The landlord’s agent is not paid in this
“ manner; your tenants do not pay your agent ten
“ per cent., or five per cent., or any percentage at

“ all. What right has the clergyman to throw
“ his agent on the parish? As well might he
“ make them pay the wages of his butler, or his
“ footman, or his coachman, or his postillion, or his
“ cook.

“ This demand, palpably illegal, must have com-
“ menced in bribery—an illegal perquisite grow-
“ ing out of the abuse of power—a bribe for
“ mercy—as if the tithe-proctor was the natural
“ pastoral protector of the poverty of the peasant
“ against the possible oppressions of the law and
“ the exactions of the gospel. . . . This original
“ bribe has now become a stated perquisite, and
“ instead of being payment for moderation, it is
“ now a per centage on rapacity.

“ Are there any decent clergymen who will de-
“ fend such a practice? Will they allow that the
“ men they employ are ruffians who would cheat
“ the parson if they did not plunder the poor?

“ I have seen a catalogue of some of their charges:
“ so much for potatoes, so much for wheat, so much
“ for oats, for hay—all exorbitant; and after a long

“ list of unconscionable demands for the parson,
“ comes in a peculation for the proctor, two shillings
“ in the pound for proctorage ; that is, for making
“ a charge for whose excess and extravagance the
“ proctor ought not to have been paid but punished.

“ This peculation has now become a law ; the
“ proctor’s fees, paid at first for a low valuation, are
“ now in some cases added to a full one ; and the
“ parish is obliged to pay ten per cent. to the proc-
“ tor for the privilege of paying the full tithe to the
“ parson.

“ It has been said, that an equity has been al-
“ ways observed in favour of the tiller of the soil.
“ This, I understand, will be controverted, and it will
“ be proved that in some of the disturbed parishes,
“ the demands of the following articles will be found
“ to pay tithe : wheat, potatoes, barley, bere, pease,
“ rye, flax, hemp, sheep, lambs, milch-cows, turf,
“ pigs, apples, peaches, bees, cabbage, osiers—in
“ some, oblations, easter-offerings, burial-money. I
“ understand, that every thing of any consequence
“ which is tithed in any part of Ireland is tithed in

“ Munster; that potatoes*, which are tithed in no
 “ other part of Ireland, are tithed here, and that each
 “ article is in most of the disturbed parts tithed
 “ higher than in any other part of Ireland.

“ In the parts of which I have been speaking,
 “ the price of labour is not more than 5*d.* per day
 “ the year round, that is 6*l.* 4*s.* the year, supposing
 “ the labourer to work every day but Sunday:
 “ making an allowance for sickness, broken weather,
 “ and holidays, you should strike off more than a
 “ sixth. He has not then more than 5*l.* a year by
 “ his labour; his family average about five persons,
 “ nearer six, of whom the wife may make something
 “ by spinning. (In these parts of the country there
 “ are considerable manufactories). Five pounds a
 “ year, with the wife’s small earnings, is the capital
 “ to support such a family and pay rent and hearth-
 “ money, and in some cases of illegal exaction,
 “ smoke-money to the parson. When a gentleman

* This accounts for the disturbances always breaking out in this quarter.

“ of the church of Ireland comes to a person so
“ circumstanced, and demands twelve or sixteen
“ shillings an acre for tithes of potatoes, he de-
“ mands a child’s provision ; he exacts contribu-
“ tions from a pauper ; he gleans from wretched-
“ ness ; he leases from penury ; he fattens on hunger,
“ raggedness, and destitution. . . . It is an odious
“ contest between poverty and luxury, between the
“ struggles of a pauper and the luxury of a priest.

“ Such a man, making such a demand, may have
“ many good qualities, may be a good theologian,
“ an excellent controversialist ; deeply read in
“ church history, very accurate in the value of
“ church benefices, an excellent high-priest, but
“ no Christian pastor. He is not the idea of a
“ Christian minister ; the Whiteboy is the least of
“ his foes ; his great enemy is the precept of the
“ Gospel, and the example of the apostles.

“ But, the law would relieve ;—turn to the eccle-
“ siastical courts : the judge is a clergyman, or ap-
“ pointed by a clergyman, and of course is a party
“ judge ; and though in some cases his personal

“ rectitude may correct his situation, and prevent
 “ him from being a partial, yet, from the constitu-
 “ tion of his court, he is a party judge. The eccle-
 “ siastical court in England maintained gravel and
 “ stone to be titheable, as some of ours have
 “ maintained turf to be titheable. Lord Holt said,
 “ they made every thing titheable; ‘ But,’ says he,
 “ ‘ I do not regard that; the pope, from whom our
 “ ‘ clergy derive their claim, though they depart
 “ ‘ from its alleged application, subjected to tithe
 “ ‘ the gains of the merchant and the pay of the army.
 “ ‘ —The canons went further, and held the tithe of
 “ ‘ fornication and adultery to be the undoubted
 “ ‘ property of the church.’ We are now too en-
 “ lightened to listen to claims carried to so very
 “ great an extent, and ecclesiastical courts are less
 “ extravagant now; but still the principle continues;
 “ the bias continues; still they are party-courts; the
 “ evidence, like the judge, is a party; he is worse—
 “ he is frequently the servant of the party, and the
 “ nature of his evidence is the best calculated to give
 “ every latitude to partiality and corruption.”

Mr. Grattan then quoted a very great number of instances in support of his assertions, and descanted particularly on that of Ryan against Greene. “ An observation,” he said, “ which aggravates even this case will occur, when I tell you this charge was made in a year of famine—the famine of 1783, when an embargo was laid on your exports, and the people nourished by contributions. There is another aggravation even to this; they charge a famine-price, and calculate on a plenty-produce, and avail themselves of both.

“ In the last year, the people very generally set out their tithe; and the clergy in several instances refused to draw; they did so in several instances where there was no illegal combination, unless a combination among themselves to deprive the peasant of a right to set out his tithes, and get an *post facto* law to collect their tithe in a new, summary, and oppressive mode. Sir, it will be proved that he has left his crop in the field until it has become green. It will be proved that he has offered to the parson or proctor to hire them horses to

“ draw their tithe ; it will be proved that he has
“ offered to draw it home at his own expense.

“ In some of the southern parts of Ireland the
“ peasantry are made tributary to the tithe-farmer ;
“ draw home his corn, his hay, and his turf for
“ nothing ; give him their labour, their cars, and
“ their horses, at certain times of the year, for
“ nothing. These oppressions not only exist, but
“ have acquired a formed and distinct appellation—
“ tributes ; tributes to extortioners—tributes paid
“ by the poor in the name of the Lord ! To op-
“ pression we are to add intoxication, the drunken-
“ ness and idleness which not seldom attend the
“ method in which the tithe-farmer settles his ac-
“ counts with the poor parishioners devoted to his
“ care. The place in which he generally settles
“ these accounts, makes his bargains, and transacts
“ his business, is the alehouse. He sometimes, I
“ am told, keeps one himself, or he has a relation
“ who gets a licence to sell ale and spirits, because
“ his friend is employed by the church, and will
“ bring him custom.

“ Do you, gentlemen, sign your leases in the ale-
“ house? What should you think of a steward who
“ made your tenants drunk when he should collect
“ your rents? and what should a clergyman think
“ of his tithe-farmer, who made his flock drunk,
“ when he collected or settled his tithes, and bathed
“ in whiskey this precious offering, this primeval
“ property, held by some to be the very essence
“ of religion, and not only most ancient but divine?

“ This being the state of the church in certain
“ parishes of the south, I wish to know what, in
“ the mean time, within these districts, becomes
“ of religion? Here are the parson and parish at
“ variance about that which our religion teaches
“ us to despise—riches. Here is the mammon of
“ unrighteousness set up to interrupt our devotion
“ to the true God. The disinterested, the humble,
“ the apostolical character, during this unseemly
“ contest, what becomes of it?

“ Conceive the pastor looking over the hedge
“ like a spy to mulct the extraordinary labours of
“ the husbandman.

“ Conceive him coming into the field, and say-
 “ ing, ‘ You are a deserving husbandman ; you
 “ ‘ have increased the value of your field by the
 “ ‘ sweat of your brow ; sir, I ’ll make you pay me
 “ ‘ me for that ! ’ Or conceive a dialogue between
 “ a shepherd and one of his flock : ‘ I will take
 “ ‘ your tenth sheep ; and if you choose to vex
 “ ‘ me, your tenth hen, and your tenth egg, and
 “ ‘ your tenth goose.’ Not so the apostles.

“ These pastoral discourses, if they have taken
 “ place, however well intended, will not, I fear,
 “ greatly advance the cause of the faithful, parti-
 “ cularly in a country where the numbers remain
 “ to be converted to the protestant religion, not
 “ only by the superior purity of its doctrine, but
 “ by the mild, disinterested, peace-making spirit
 “ of its teachers.

“ Will not the dignitaries of the church inter-
 “ pose* on such an occasion ? How painful must
 “ it have been to them, the teachers of the Go-

* They did interpose—to prevent any reformation in these enormous and still existing abuses.

“spel, and therefore enemies to the shedding of
“blood, to have thought themselves under the
“repeated necessity of applying to parliament for
“sanguinary laws. The most sanguinary laws on
“your statute-books are tithe-bills; the Whiteboy
“Act is a tithe-bill—the Riot Act a tithe-bill.

“Tithes are made more respectable than, and
“superior to, any other kind of property. The
“high priest will not take a parliamentary tithe;
“that is, in other words, he thinks they have a
“divine right to tithe.

“Whence?—None from the Jews. The priest-
“hood of the Jews had not the tenth; the Levites
“had the tenth, because they had no other inhe-
“ritance. But Aaron and his sons had but the
“tenth of that tenth; that is, the priesthood of the
“Jews had but the hundredth part; the rest was
“for other uses—for the rest of the Levites, and
“for the poor, the stranger, the widow, the orphan,
“and the temple.

“But supposing the Jewish priesthood had the
“tenth, which they certainly had not, the Chris-

“ tian priesthood does not claim under them. Christ
 “ was not a Levite, nor of the tribe of Levi, nor
 “ of the Jewish priesthood, but came to protest
 “ against that priesthood, their worship, their ordi-
 “ nances, their passover, and their circumcision.

“ The apostles had no tithe; they did not de-
 “ mand it; they, and He whose mission they
 “ preached, protested against the principle on which
 “ tithe is founded. ‘ Carry neither scrip nor purse,
 “ ‘ nor shoes; into whatever house ye go, say,
 “ ‘ Peace.’

“ ‘ Beware of covetousness; seek not what ye
 “ ‘ shall eat, but seek the kingdom of God.

“ ‘ Take care that your hearts be not charged
 “ ‘ with surfeiting and drunkenness, and the cares
 “ ‘ of this life.’

“ One should not think that our Saviour was
 “ laying the foundation of tithe, but cutting up the
 “ roots of the claim, and prophetically admonishing
 “ some of the modern priesthood. If these precepts
 “ are of divine origin, tithes cannot be so.

“ The peasantry, in apostolic times, had been the

“objects of charity, not of exaction. Those to
 “ whose cabin the tithe-farmer has gone for tithe of
 “ turf, and to whose garden he has gone for tithe of
 “ potatoes, the apostles would have visited likewise ;
 “ but they would have visited for contribution, not
 “ for exaction: the poor had shared with the apostle,
 “ though they contribute to the churchman.

“ The Gospel is not an argument for, but against,
 “ the right divine of tithe ; so are the first fathers
 “ of the church.

“ It is the boast of Tertullian—‘ Nemo compel-
 “ litur, sed sponte confert hæc quasi deposita sunt
 “ ‘ pietatis.’ Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage,
 “ tells you the expenses of the church are frugal
 “ and sparing ; but her charity great. He calls
 “ the clergy his ‘ fratres sportulantes,’ a fraternity
 “ living by contribution.

“ ‘ Forsake,’ says Origen, ‘ the priests of Pha-
 “ ‘ raoh, who have earthly possessions, and come
 “ ‘ to us who have none. We must not consume
 “ ‘ what belongs to the poor ;—we must be content
 “ ‘ with simple fare and poor apparel.’

“ Chrysostome, in the close of the fourth century, declares that there was no practice of tithes in the former ages; and Erasmus says that the attempt to demand them was no better than tyranny.

“ This was the state of the church in its purity; in the fifth century decimation began, and Christianity declined. Then indeed the right of tithes was advanced, and advanced into a style that damned it. The preacher who advanced the doctrine, placed all Christian virtue in the payment of tithe. They said that those who paid not their tithes would be found guilty before God: and if they did not give the tenth, that God would reduce the country to a tenth. Blasphemous preachers!

“ In England tithe is not founded on divine right, but was said to be introduced by murder. A king of Mercia in the seventh century assassinates another prince in a most barbarous manner, and grants (with what power, I know not) the tenth of his subjects, goods for absolution;

“ but in England, as elsewhere, the fourfold * di-
“ vision took place.—So says Blackstone.

“ Nay, the preamble of the grant of Stephen
“ recognizes tithes to be alms.

“ Nay, there are two acts of parliament express,
“ one the 13th Richard II. providing that for the
“ appropriation of benefices, there shall be provision
“ made for the vicar and the poor.

“ These principles were departed from, and the
“ trust most undoubtedly buried in oblivion; but,
“ let me add, the Christian religion was forgotten
“ likewise.

“ Thus then, the tithes have no divine right, no,
“ nor natural right; the law of nature and the law
“ of God are the same; the law of nature doth not
“ give property, but the law of nature abhors that
“ disproportion of property which is to be found
“ in the claim of 900 or 1000 men to the tenth of

* That is, the tithes were divided into four portions, one to maintain the incumbent, another to maintain the bishop, a third to assist the poor, and the fourth to repair the church.

“ the goods of 3,000,000, a claim in the 3000th part
“ of the community to the tenth of its property.—
“ Surfeit on the part of the few;—famine on the
“ part of the many. A distribution of the fruits of
“ the earth—impossible ! beastly ! shocking in it-
“ self, and when accompanied with a claim to ex-
“ travagant moderation and purity, ridiculous and
“ disgusting !—A claim against the proportions of
“ nature and the precepts of the Gospel.

“ I have shown you that tithe does not stand on
“ the delicate ground of private property. I have
“ shown you that it was a trust converted into a
“ property by abuse, which abuse the legislature
“ may control without sacrilege or robbery. If a
“ right to the full tenth is yet insisted on, give
“ them the full tenth on the principles on which
“ alone they at first ventured to demand it—sub-
“ ject to a poor-rate. Let the trust be executed ;
“ let widows and orphans share it ; let the house of
“ industry and the various hospitals and infirma-
“ ries share it. Let the house of God (now a

“ hovel, repaired at the expense of parliament)
“ share it; let the poorer order of the peasantry
“ share it. If the clergy will insist on taking the
“ full tithes of his potatoes; if they take the staff
“ out of his hands, they must carry the peasant on
“ their shoulders. Thus the clergy insisting on
“ the summum jus, and the laity on the summa
“ justitia, the former would not be the richer by
“ the change.

“ Yes, but will you innovate? Admit this argu-
“ ment, and we sit here to consecrate abuses.

“ Institutions divine and human corrupt by their
“ nature, or by ours. The best human institution,
“ the British constitution, did so corrupt, that at
“ different periods it was anarchy, oligarchy, de-
“ spotism; and was restored by parliament. The
“ only divine institution we know of, the Chris-
“ tian religion, did so corrupt as to have become
“ an abomination, and was rescued by act of par-
“ liament.

“ ‘ Of all institutions,’ says Paley, ‘ adverse to

“ ‘ cultivation, none so noxious as tithe ; not only
“ ‘ a tax on industry, but the industry that feeds
“ ‘ mankind.’ ”

I am sure the reader will not be displeased at the length to which I have carried extracts so applicable to the present times, when he sees the important information they contain, and the eloquent language in which they are expressed. The Attorney General (afterwards earl of Clare), who was Mr. Grattan's chief opponent on this occasion, acknowledged that this was the most splendid display of oratory the house had ever heard, and Mr. Curran observed, that he found himself as unable to add to Mr. Grattan's arguments as the other side of the house was to answer them. Nevertheless, the administration of that day could by no means consent to abandon their friends the clergy, whose convenient pliability of opinion and subservience of conduct had been so constantly displayed and so frequently useful. Accordingly, they divided the house on the question, trusting by their majority of votes to

atone for their deficiency in argument. Mr. Grattan's motion, which was merely for a committee of inquiry, was negatived by a majority of 72; there being

For it only	49
Against it	121
	<hr/>
Majority	72.

The state of the clergy, twenty-four years afterwards (1812), may be judged of by the following extracts from Mr. Wakefield's able Survey of Ireland. His adversaries have attacked some of his conjectures and calculations as erroneous, but I fancy that, having never ventured to accuse him of wilful falsehood, they will scarcely distrust the facts which he states from his own personal knowledge.

“The incomes of church livings in Ireland are
 “generally much larger than in England, and of
 “late years they have been greatly augmented
 “from the increase of tillage. The deanery of
 “Down in the year 1790 was worth only 2000*l*.
 “per annum. This year it was let for 3,700*l*.

“ The rectory of Middleton in the county of Cork,
“ when held by Mr. Berkeley in 1785, yielded
“ scarcely 800*l.* per annum ; at present it produces
“ upwards of 2,800*l.* A living of 500*l.* is but a
“ middling one in Ireland, and any thing beneath
“ it is considered as very low.

“ The English reader will no doubt be astonished
“ to hear that there are absentees among the Irish
“ bishops, some of whom think it sufficient to visit
“ Ireland, and reside there for a month or six weeks
“ in the summer ; while others, preferring the en-
“ joyment of society to a dull residence at the
“ diocesan palace, fly from the uncultivated wilds
“ and cheerless bogs by which they are surrounded
“ to mix in fashionable life, and participate for
“ years in the pleasures of Bath or London with-
“ out ever seeing Ireland.

“ Mr. Ensor, a neighbour of the primate of all
“ Ireland, says in his work on Ecclesiastical Estab-
“ lishments : ‘ The primate of all Ireland, though
“ ‘ in the summer of 1807 he enforced the duty of
“ ‘ residence to his clergy, almost immediately after

“ ‘ his charge quitted the island, nor did he return
“ ‘ till the following summer.’ But I would ask
“ ‘ how many years the primate’s family remained in
“ ‘ England while his grace only made summer
“ ‘ visits to the metropolitan palace? Does not such
“ ‘ a partial residence constitute an absentee bishop?
“ ‘ Mr. Ensor in a note says: ‘ this prelate was not
“ ‘ this year a member of the imperial parliament.’

“ I have often heard it asserted, that large bene-
“ ‘ fices ought to exist and be bestowed on men of
“ ‘ learning and merit as an encouragement to others
“ ‘ to exert themselves for the benefit of the church.
“ ‘ But is merit and long service always attended
“ ‘ to in the choice? Were I called upon to state
“ ‘ the ages of some of the Irish bishops, it would
“ ‘ appear that these valuable dignities have some-
“ ‘ times been conferred upon very young men. It
“ ‘ may however be said that they were educated
“ ‘ for the profession, and fitted for discharging its
“ ‘ duties by a regular and learned education. But
“ ‘ this does not seem to have always been the case:
“ ‘ one archbishop was, I believe, before his appoint-

“ ment, a lieutenant in the navy; the dean of Clogher
“ was a member of the Imperial Parliament, and
“ the rector of a valuable benefice was lately an
“ aid-de-camp at the Castle. Many similar in-
“ stances might be adduced, but I hope my readers
“ will consider these sufficient.

“ I wish for the sake of humanity and for the
“ honour of the Irish character, that the gentlemen
“ of that country would take this matter into their
“ serious consideration. Let them only for a mo-
“ ment place themselves in the situation of the half-
“ famished cotter, when he sees the tenth part of
“ the produce of his potatoe-garden exposed at har-
“ vest-time to public *cant*, or if he have given a pro-
“ missory note for the payment of a certain sum of
“ money to compensate for such tithe, when it be-
“ comes due, to hear the heart-rending cries of his
“ offspring clinging round him, and lamenting for
“ the milk of which they are deprived by the cow
“ being driven to the pound to be sold to discharge
“ the debt. Such accounts are not the creations
“ of fancy: the facts do exist, and are but too com-

“ mon in Ireland. I have seen the cow, the fa-
“ vourite cow, driven away accompanied by the
“ sighs, the tears, and the imprecations of a whole
“ family, who were paddling after through wet and
“ dirt to take their last affectionate farewell of this
“ their only friend and benefactor at the pound gate.
“ I have heard with emotions which I can scarcely
“ describe, deep curses repeated from village to vil-
“ lage as the cavalcade proceeded. On the
“ following morning the most alarming accounts
“ of threshers and whiteboys have met my ear, of
“ men who had assembled with weapons of destruc-
“ tion for the purpose of compelling people to swear
“ not to submit to the payment of these tithes. I
“ have been informed of these oppressed people in
“ the ebullition of their rage having murdered tithe-
“ proctors and collectors, wreaking their vengeance
“ with every mark of the most savage barba-
“ rity. Cases of this kind are not rare in Ire-
“ land, they take place daily; and were a history of
“ such tragical events collected, they would form a
“ work which could not be read without horror,

PREFACE.

“ and which would be the best comment upon the
“ system.

“ Lord Charlemont, among the causes of the
“ rising of the whiteboys, who were all of the Ca-
“ tholic persuasion, enumerates ‘ tithes, which the
“ ‘ Catholic, *without any possible advantage*, un-
“ ‘ willingly pays in addition to his priest money.’ ”

Yes, but the clergy has since improved! This is the observation with which the reverend defenders of the church of Ireland (moved entirely no doubt by disinterested considerations) sometimes, when hard-pressed in argument, endeavour to elude the overwhelming mass of evidence that may be brought against them. Such an excuse which has been for many years perpetually adduced on their part, is at least entitled to the praise of ingenuity. It tends constantly to render useless after a short interval the most clear and decisive testimony, by asserting that it seems no longer applicable. It compels the accuser constantly to search for fresh and fresh evidence, which in its turn is rejected as antiquated almost as soon as it can be brought forward.

Nothing will then be received but the newest particulars, forgetting that the deference and delicacy due to our cotemporaries frequently prevent even the most zealous advocate for truth from prying into their revenues, or dragging their misdeeds to the open light of day. It is only after the lapse of a few years, when the party-feeling of the preceding epoch has abated, when no prudence restrains and no prejudice misleads, that the real merit of any man, or any body of men, can be really seen and ascertained. This, however, may always be evaded by the cry of pretended improvement; and the same sophism that rendered the efforts of Grattan unavailing will also probably impede those of any modern patriot. Had the Irish clergy indeed altered from what that great man described them into the friends and pastors of the people, it would be a change more marvellous than any that Ovid has recorded. How much it is to be regretted that the days of such Metamorphoses have passed away, and what relief would there not ensue to the country, could some of these reverend gentlemen meet with the appropriate fate of Arne!

accepto quod avara poposcerat auro
 Mutata est in avem quæ nunc quoque diligit aurum
 Nigra pedem, *nigris* velata Monedula pennis.

I am however ready to allow that the pretence of improvement on their part is not now as utterly unfounded as it has been when formerly advanced. I believe, and have the greatest pleasure in stating, from all the information I have received, which all concurs in this point, that the Irish clergy have much increased in respectability of late years, that their residence has become more regular, and their extortions less unbounded. At the same time I am reluctantly compelled to assert, both from the accounts of others and my own observation, that this improvement has by no means proceeded sufficiently far—that there are still many irregularities to shock, and exactions to oppress the people. If after this great improvement in their general conduct, there are still so many lamentable deficiencies, what a melancholy idea does it not give us of their former corruption, and of the sufferings of the people committed to their charge! It is doubtless with the

intention of increasing and extending this improvement in the Irish clergy, that their advocates take such pains to convince them that they are already sufficiently good. Why should they strive at future amendment while their present perfection is so confidently declared? For my part I cannot but think that the most effectual way to augment and encourage the favourable change that has already taken place, is to convict them clearly of their past and present misconduct. The virtuous amongst them will then labour to redeem their forfeited good fame, and the fear of disgrace will operate on those bosoms which virtue has no longer the power to control.

The Irish clergy, besides the perpetual plea of improvement, had the choice of two methods to pursue in their defence; the first to justify their excessive wealth, and the misconduct of which they are accused, and the other to deny them both. They adopted the latter, and as their present chief defender, they have selected Dr. Jebb, Bishop of Limerick. Nothing could certainly be more artfully con-

trived than to choose for their champion, a prelate whose character was so greatly at variance with theirs, a prelate as eminent in public as amiable in private life. His learning commands respect, his virtues inspire confidence, and he needs only be known to be universally admired and approved. I will only say that had the clergy imitated his example instead of employing his talents, had they deserved his panegyric instead of prompting it, they would now be secure in the gratitude of their countrymen, and far raised above the necessity of imploring support or defence. But though I do justice to the character of his Lordship, I cannot consider him as a proper advocate or competent authority on a subject which so nearly concerns him, and in which professional prejudices cannot but exert some influence. Is it not a common error of honourable men to imagine all others of the same profession as well meaning as themselves, and to receive with unsuspecting confidence all the excuses that cunning can suggest? May not the laborious studies in which his lordship employs him-

self tend in some degree to preclude him from practical knowledge of the world? Have not all the clergymen around him the greatest interest to conceal their faults, and to depreciate their incomes, in order to escape punishment and secure promotion? Have they not a thousand means of doing * so? especially as the bishop himself allows the difficulty of calculating their wealth. "The incomes of the parochial clergy," he says in his speech, "it is somewhat difficult to ascertain. From the great irregularities of Irish payment, they are themselves frequently unable to calculate what they shall probably receive in any given year. From these and other circumstances,

* In order to show the manner in which bishops are sometimes imposed upon by their clergy, I shall quote an anecdote which I believe is admitted as authentic :

One of the prebendaries of Rochester dining with the late bishop Pearce, he asked him, "Pray, Dr. S. what is the time of your residence at Rochester?" "My Lord," said he, "I reside there the better part of the year." "I am very glad to hear it," replied the good bishop. But the doctor's meaning was, and the fact really was, that he resided there only during the week of the audit.

Lambeth and the Vatican, vol. 1, page 145.

“ materials are not in existence whence to form an “ exact average of clerical income.” Under these circumstances how easy must it not be for the interested clergy to deceive the unsuspecting bishop as to the amount of their incomes ! I can easily trace their fatal influence in his lordship’s speech, from the rancour and hostility it displays towards their conscientious political opponents, and its sometimes expressing sentiments in fact repugnant to his charity in language unworthy of his talents. Thus to use the peculiar phraseology of this speech, he approaches this “ much-ventilated question,” with all “ the pungency of agonistic debate,” and does not scruple to charge the accusers of the Irish church with “ anarchical appetency,” and “ frontless pertinacity of misrepresentation.” The influence of the clergy on his judgment, and the extent of their deceptions, may be still more clearly seen, when in this speech, not content with denying their excessive wealth, he actually asserts them to be poor ! That such an assertion was really made must appear so incredible, that in defence of

my own veracity, I shall extract the passage. “ Few
“ among those who hear me, still fewer probably
“ of the people of this country in general, can form
“ any adequate conception of the poverty, and
“ privations of late years endured by the Irish
“ clergy. (Hear ! Hear ! Hear ! from the opposi-
“ tion benches.) Yes, my lords, and I say Hear !
“ Hear ! and I wish the noble lords who cheer
“ would accompany me to Ireland, and there visit
“ the humble residences of the parochial clergy,
“ and there see with their own eyes the shifts and
“ expedients to which those respectable men are
“ reduced.” That these “ respectable men” often
descend to “ shifts and expedients” is only too true ;
but I am grieved to say that these shifts and expedients are not, as the bishop states, to secure their subsistence, but to raise their already excessive incomes by every legal quirk, every ingenious contrivance they can possibly devise.

While the bishop of Limerick thus maintains the poverty of the Irish clergy, he has in the same speech collaterally made some remarks that seem

strangely at variance with his assertion. Thus, for instance, he says, "I wish to impress the fact upon your lordships, that the Irish clergy *all* receive an *expensive education* *." The bishop, then, I should think, forgot his former statement, and was merely intent on establishing another position: "that to all of them before they have once officiated in divine service, or performed a single act of clerical duty, the church and the nation have contracted a debt which is but too frequently ill-paid." His lordship also assures us, that no man can be "a friend of the church or of constituted authorities, who could wish the primacy of Ireland to be limited to an income of 8000*l.* a year."

The bishop has entered at great length into the subject of non-residence, and it is only fair to state, that he has removed much misapprehension on this point, and has proved absenteeism among the clergy

* It should be remembered that the great majority of candidates for Irish bishoprics or benefices are the sons of the dignitaries who already possess them, so that the expense of their education is of course defrayed from clerical revenues.

to be neither as general nor as blamable as it was usually supposed. Yet still, on his own statement, and in his own diocese, not more than half the incumbents actually reside. He tells us that in the diocese of Limerick, there are 51 * benefices, but the actually resident clergy amount only to 26. Thus also in the diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoe, united to that of Limerick and under the same bishop, there are 42 benefices, but only 21 actually resident clergy. Such are the bishop's own data ; and can any one deny that this number of resident clergy is still grossly insufficient ?

As to the parochial income of the Irish church, it is true, as stated by the bishop of Limerick, that it is very difficult to give accurate information on this subject, as it is carefully concealed, and as there is no official way of ascertaining it. However, it has been estimated at an average of 800*l.* a year ; and I shall now proceed to show that this calculation can-

* In this diocese, however, there were three benefices then vacant, which are classed amongst those deprived of clerical residence.

not be considered as exaggerated. The only official document we have to aid our conjectures and experience is the report of the compositions under the new act presented by Mr. Leslie Foster, M. P. in February, 1825, of which the substance will be found in the Appendix. And here I have to complain of a gross attempt at delusion on the part of the Irish clergy, in order to diminish the opinion commonly entertained of their wealth. They have asserted that the average from this document was only 300*l.*; but this statement is by no means correct. In the original document whence the one in the Appendix is taken, the number of the compounding parishes is stated at 368, because all those in unions are reckoned separately. The parishes, not the benefices, are counted. It is clear, however, that such a plan can only tend to perplex and deceive us with respect to the real income of the protestant clergy, as all the parishes forming an union under the same incumbent become virtually, for the time, the same as one large parish would have been. Thus, for instance, the parishes of Shancoe and Killadoon, joined

with the union of Kilmactrony (diocese of Elphin), produce only, the one 36*l.* and the other 42*l.* per annum, so that it becomes necessary to annex them to some larger benefice. To show still more strongly the unfairness of considering each parish in an union as a separate item in the account, I shall quote—no writer on my side of the question, but the chief authority on the other—the bishop of Limerick's speech. He is mentioning an union of six parishes, and endeavouring to prove their incumbent no pluralist. “ Each of these parishes should, according to the doctrine of to-day, have its own parish minister. But how stands the case? The chancellor of Cork derives from these six parishes an income of 260*l.* per annum. And what is the extent of these parishes? The parish of St. John of Jerusalem is—a distillery; the parish of St. Dominick is—a sugar-house. The magnitude of the remaining four parishes is somewhat in the same proportion.” And yet in the official return of the tithe compositions, parishes such as these are industriously placed apart, in order to produce in the

numerical result a great number of apparent benefices, and to give a low average of income to Irish ecclesiastical preferment!

What aggravates still further the unfairness of this proceeding is, that the parishes in these unions appear in many instances to have compounded all together for some round sum, which has been afterwards carefully divided for the object I have mentioned. Thus the union of Dunkerrin, Castletown-Ely, Finglas, and Rathnavoge, seems to have agreed to pay the round sum of 1000*l.*, but it is thus subdivided into items in the official returns.

	£.	s.	d.
Dunkerrin . . .	538	3	10
Castletown-Ely . . .	133	0	0
Finglas . . .	54	3	11
Rathnavoge . . .	274	12	3
	<hr/>		
	1000	0	0

I must also notice another singular instance of partiality in these returns. The benefice of Taxax had, it seems, compounded, but the amount of the composition was not accurately known when the document was given in. Yet this parish is made

to swell the number of benefices without a farthing of composition being added to the opposite list of incomes ! The object is clearly, as before, to depreciate the average of ecclesiastical revenue.

Thus then, it appears from the Appendix, that if fairly estimated, the number of benefices in these returns is 234, and the total income 111,529*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*, giving an average of about 500*l.* a year for each benefice. But this is not all. From the evidence of Justin MacCarthy, Esq. a magistrate of the county of Cork,* before the house of lords, and quoted in the Appendix, it seems that it has been usual to fix the new incomes under the Composition Act lower than the former incomes, on account of the additional security and increased facility of collection *. The average, therefore, of livings which have not compounded must be higher than that of the livings which have. Besides, in this document of compositions there are reckoned,

* This has been the usual practice, though some cases of great overcharge on the part of the clergy have occurred, which were unwarily admitted by the people.

as distinct benefices, parishes which, it is true, are not joined in an union with any others, but which from peculiar circumstances produce so very small an income that they cannot possibly be held alone, and must naturally and properly occasion pluralities. Thus, for instance, the benefice of Vastinay (diocese of Meath) produces only 17*l.* a year, and this and similar instances tend unfairly to lower the apparent average of clerical income. Dismissing, however, these two important considerations, it may be shown even without them, that the average revenue of Irish benefices is at least 800*l.* It appears from the official document of compositions already quoted, that the averages of the benefices that have compounded must be much higher than 500*l.* a year, because many of the parishes in unions have not, while others have, compounded. Thus it frequently happens that if, for instance, there are six parishes in an union, and only three have compounded, the incomes of these three from the official document, when added together, seem to form the whole income of the living, instead of which the pro-

duce of the other three should be added also. Now, in these 234 benefices, there are, as appear from the official returns, comprehended 151 parishes which have not compounded for their tithes, but of which it would be necessary to know the incomes, before we can ascertain the total profits and therefore the real average of the benefices in question. Taking these parishes at the average of 300*l.* a year (which the advocates of the Irish church have themselves stated as the average for parishes in Ireland), the total yearly income they afford would be above 45,000*l.*, and dividing this sum among the 234 benefices, it gives each of them yearly about 200*l.* Thus it raises their average to 700*l.* a year. But we must now take into consideration the glebes, which amount to above 83,000 Irish acres, that is, to more than 120,000 English acres. These we will assume at the very low estimate of their producing yearly only one pound for each English acre, and the number of benefices in Ireland being about 1250, this computation gives us about 100*l.* a year for each benefice, that is, it raises their average from 700*l.*

to 800*l.* a year. Did we take pluralities into account, this average would be very considerably raised, and we might also add to this average whatever sums are paid to the clergyman for burials, marriages, and other ecclesiastical functions. These, it may be remembered (though, it is true, much higher and much more general than with us), constitute almost the only income of the catholic priests. Thus then it is with an average income of at least 800*l.* a year, more than double the average in England, that these reverend gentlemen presume to complain of poverty *!

In opposition to the remarks of the bishop of Limerick as to the general moderation and good conduct of the clergy, I shall quote the words of an eminent prelate of a different persuasion, the

* It may be observed in this place, that the computation of 800*l.* for the average income of Irish livings was made by many persons long before the late documents of tithe compositions were published. It is a great corroboration of the truth of any computation, when two different methods of calculating it lead equally to the same result.

Right Reverend Dr. Doyle ; for though his statements on the subject are as liable to bias on one side as those of the bishop are on the other, they are highly important, as manifesting the general state of feeling and opinion in the catholic community. “The catholics,” he says *, “have for nearly three centuries been passing through an ordeal of persecution more severe than any recorded in history. I have read of the persecutions by Nero, Domitian, Genseric, and Attila, with all the barbarities of the sixteenth century. I have compared them with those inflicted on my own country, and I protest to God that the latter, in my opinion, have exceeded in duration, extent, and intensity all that has ever been endured by mankind for justice-sake. The recollection of their past sufferings is still far from being effaced; the comparative freedom they enjoy is a relaxation from pressure rather than a rightful possession. As religionists, they are suffered to exist; and the law restrains the

* Letters of J. K. L. on the State of Ireland, p. 59, &c.

“ persecutors, but it persecutes them of itself. They
“ are obliged to sweat and toil for those very mi-
“ nisters of another religion who contributed to
“ forge their chains. Their hay and corn, their
“ fleece and lambs, with the roots on which they
“ feed, they are still compelled to offer at an altar
“ which they deem profane. They are still bound
“ to rebuild and ornament their own former parish
“ church and spire, that they may stand in the
“ midst of them as records of the right of conquest,
“ or of the triumph of law over equity and the public
“ good. They still have to attend the bailiff when
“ he calls with the warrant of the churchwardens
“ to collect their last shilling (if one should happen
“ to remain), that the empty church may have a
“ stove, the clerk a surplice, the communion-table
“ elements to be sanctified, though perhaps there
“ be no one to partake of them : they have also
“ to pay a singer and a sexton, but not to toll a
“ bell for them ; with a schoolmaster, perhaps, but
“ one who can teach the lilies how to grow, as he
“ has no pupils. Such is their condition, whilst

“ some half-thatched cabin, or unfurnished house,
“ collects them on Sunday to render thanks for even
“ these blessings, and to tell their woes to Heaven.

“ The ministers of this establishment are as
“ various in character as their callings are different.
“ We must take it for a certain truth that they are
“ all moved by interior grace to take upon them-
“ selves the cure of souls, as they themselves de-
“ clare in the presence of God and of the church;
“ but as there are many mansions in the house of
“ their heavenly Father, so they fit themselves for
“ them by a great variety of occupations. While
“ on earth, some are given to agriculture, others are
“ devoted to angling; many of them, like Abel, are
“ fond of tending flocks, and not a few are famous
“ hunters before the Lord. Being appointed of-
“ ficers in the church militant, they are frequently
“ found at the head of armed detachments, and
“ from a love of justice, and a hatred of hearing
“ the name of the Lord profaned, it is almost im-
“ possible to find a bench of magistrates not thickly
“ studded with them; indeed, it is at petty sessions

“ they often discharge the more weighty duties of
“ their ministry in issuing decrees for the recovery
“ of tithes. They are also diligent in promoting
“ comfort amongst the poor, or establishing peace
“ and good-will in their several parishes, by taking
“ from the peasant his last shilling, that he might
“ not spend it in the ale-house.”

Such, then, is the state of feeling which the conduct of the established clergy has raised against them in the catholic population of the country; such is the return they make for their enormous incomes! “ Happy would it be for Ireland,” says Mr. O’Driscoll (in his pamphlet on Irish Education, page 19), “ if the clergy of the established
“ church were sensible of the obligations they incur
“ towards the people committed to their charge,
“ and from whom they derive such vast revenues!
“ happy if they could think that those obligations
“ can never be cancelled by the mere circumstance
“ of sectarian distinction!” It is chiefly this conduct of the clergy that has produced in Ireland that state of anger and exasperation so truly de-

scribed by Sir Henry Parnell in his speech on the bill for suppressing the Catholic Association in 1825. "The union of England and Ireland," he says, "up to this moment exists only on paper ; there is no cordial, national union. Ireland is still, in feeling and in fact, a country foreign to England. The people form a clear notion of a distinct Irish nation and a distinct English nation."

I could multiply such quotations to infinity, but I have already perhaps carried them too far. My object has been rather to examine and compare the observations of others than to obtrude my own, and to furnish authorities in preference to conjectures. I am convinced that on inquiry every unprejudiced person would fully admit both the reality and the extent of the grievances that I have mentioned, and especially the intolerable oppression of the Irish church establishment. The experience of every Englishman may also in some degree tend to direct his opinions on this subject. We all have seen what feelings of resentment and indignation are apt to arise in the public mind if an English

clergyman occasionally exacts an excessive or illegal income. But how would not these feelings be aggravated if this vast income were paid—not to the pastor of our choice, not to the minister who instructs us in the religion we believe—but to the enemies and assailants of that religion; to the catholic priest or dissenting divine? What would not our feelings become, had we to maintain so richly the very church that excommunicates and condemns us? If we found the clergy thus maintained oppressive and rapacious, negligent of the few remaining churchmen, or mischievously active against the dissenting population, if our payment to them were made whilst we were labouring under the severest privations and most abject poverty, can it be supposed that, then with our freeborn notions, we should tolerate such bondage for a moment? Yet this is precisely the yoke which the unfortunate peasants of Ireland have borne for many years alternately with foiled resistance or unavailing resignation.—Such is the church which our bayonets have raised and supported! Thus we

keep down the people ; but their feelings we cannot control, and these, with a force increasing as their numbers augment, and a violence developed in proportion as their knowledge is extended, are daily more and more directed against this overgrown and oppressive church establishment*. That with such a

To give one proof only of the extreme unpopularity under which the protestant church establishment labours in Ireland, I shall quote the testimony of one of their own publications—the Church of Ireland Magazine, for June, 1826. In this Review, after an attack on the pastorals of the Roman catholic bishops, a Sonnet on Moses, by the rev. J. Wills, an Essay on Riches (most appropriate in a Church of Ireland Magazine), and some other articles, there is a philippic against a little work called “Excursions from Bandon, in the South of Ireland, by a plain Englishman.” This plain Englishman, naturally enough, as every other plain and unprejudiced traveller must do, perceived the errors of the established clergy, and pronounced them to be “the great bane of the country.” Of course the whole quiver of clerical reproaches is showered upon him in return. In the course of these revilings, the great unpopularity of the clergy is admitted and deplored by the reverend Reviewer.

“Here now is the point attained which the priests for more than a century have never lost sight of—they have made the parson a subject of hate and scorn.”

state of feeling on the part of an immense majority of the nation this system of tithe should continue long, is what few men, I think, will be sufficiently blinded to believe. The least consideration must show that when a church is not rooted in the hearts of the people, but maintained by military force, and propped by bayonets alone, it must totter and fall whenever these bayonets are from some unforeseen necessity withdrawn. The concentration of catholic feeling and the progress of education must ultimately destroy the abuses in question unless our prudence modifies

“ Thus it is that we have known a Romanist consider
“ the company of a parson the most unlucky thing imagin-
“ able. The writer of this article not long since was in the
“ act of passing in an open boat across the mouth of the
“ Shannon. His dress in a great measure corresponded with
“ the costume of a priest. The gale was high, and the surf
“ tremendous, and of the two young men who with anxious
“ countenances were taking in the sail, he asked, ‘ Boys, is
“ there any danger ?’, ‘ Oh no, by no means, your reverence,’
“ said the eldest ; ‘ our hooker will skip over the breakers like
“ a Clare colt over a six feet wall—what could happen to us

them in sufficient time. For my part, I am as firmly convinced as I am of my existence, that fifty years from hence the present system of tithe in Ireland will not be found remaining;—it will either have been altered by the wisdom of the

“ while one of our clergy is on board ?’—‘ Well but, Tim, suppose a parson was going across with you ?’—‘ Why, then, to tell your reverence the truth, myself would put the helm about, and run back to Bally-longford ; for may be there is neither luck nor grace where the likes of them are.’ ”

“ We shall task our reader’s patience while we exemplify the position by another case. In the year 1821 a principal leader of the Rockites was arrested near Mallow ; sundry atrocious crimes were proveable against him, and, seeing his danger, he agreed to save his life by turning informer, and he communicated an immense mass of valuable matter to the magistrates, whereby the whole ramifications of the Rock system in that vicinity were laid bare to their extremities. Amongst the many acts of atrocity, murders, burnings, houghings, &c. which he developed, he was asked, why it was that they burned the cattle and hay-yard of a worthy clergyman—one who never sued for a tithe—one who but lived to bless the sphere in which he moved—why did you try to rack and ruin that man ?—‘ Oh !’ says captain Rock, ‘ we had no reason in life for that burning, but that the man was a minister.’ ”

legislature, or swept away by the resistless fury of the people.

To maintain a church, which is that of only one-fifteenth of a nation, must in any case be an act of great theoretic oppression, and can only be justified on strong grounds of political expediency. Since, therefore, it is necessary for the safety of our dominion that this system should continue, it should at least be modified in such a manner as to become less practically grievous. The clergy must surrender a part, if they do not wish to hazard the possession of the whole. Who can say that there is either abstract justice or practical advantage that an Irish clergyman, sometimes without any flock to instruct, or any duties to fulfil, should receive a stipend so much larger than an English clergyman with such numerous and important obligations to perform, and generally so meritorious in their performance? Why should the Irish have so large a number of bishops, and four archbishops, while we have only two, and do not, I believe, feel any inconvenience from the want of more? Why should

a poor half-famished nation possess a church so much more richly endowed than that of their peaceable and opulent neighbours? Will any refinement of sophistry, any force of invective against innovators, succeed in convincing the Irish peasant that the very food ought to be snatched from his children and himself, to repair a church he never visits, to pay a curate he never hears, to procure elements for a communion which he never tastes, and to enable some non-resident dignitary, whom he never sees, to revel in luxury and splendour? I am far from being an approver of what in this country is commonly called reform, and am convinced that our English establishments require support much rather than amendment. But in Ireland the case is very different. A long course of injustice and misgovernment has accumulated such an enormous mass of abuses, that some correction for the past, and some restraint for the future, appear absolutely requisite.—I am a sincere and zealous friend to the church, and wish its ministers to be sufficiently, nay, amply provided for. But I

am persuaded that the present system in Ireland can only tend to bring our church and religion into disrepute and contempt—to increase still further the growth of popery—to alienate the minds of the people from the government, and to produce many individual cases of extreme suffering and exaction. Under these circumstances, I think that I cannot better show my attachment, both to church and state, than by bearing my testimony to abuses which must continue to diminish the adherents of the one, and may ultimately produce rebellion against the other.

To imagine that the late tithe-composition act is in itself a sufficient remedy for these evils would be an absurd and dangerous delusion. From the opposition which the high-church party made to it, one might suppose that it was favourable to the relief of the people; but it has, on the contrary, far too great a leaning for the interests of the parson. Such an act is even a source of triumph to catholics, as it takes from tithes their supposed inviolable sanctity, and officially admits the evils which it has not the courage fully to remove. At the same

time, I am ready to admit the great benefit which even this act has produced, and the great acknowledgments due to the statesmen who framed it; but I think that the success which has attended its partial operations should only urge us to fresh improvements—not weaken our exertions; but animate our zeal. Any rights of private property ought certainly to be held sacred and inviolable; and I should be unwilling to see the present dignitaries or incumbents shorn of their splendour and deprived of their fortunes. But at their death, I conceive that a great change might be effected with regard to their successors—that the number of bishoprics and deaneries might be very considerably diminished by further unions, and the vast estates of the abolished bishoprics applied to relieve the people from their burthens. This plan, it should be observed, is by no means altogether a new or untried one; bishoprics have frequently, in every age, been united in Ireland. Down and Connor were united in 1441, Waterford and Lismore in 1536, Cashel and Emly in 1568, Cork and Ross

in 1583, Leighlin and Ferns in 1600, Clonfert and Kilmacduagh in 1602, Tuam and Ardagh in 1742, and Killaloe and Kilfenora so late as 1752. The income of the immense estates of the bishoprics, which I propose should be abolished, would, if properly managed, be quite enormous, and sufficient, I conceive, to dispense altogether with the hated payment of tithes, or at least to diminish them extremely. In this manner the clergy need not necessarily have their overgrown fortunes reduced, and might continue, were it thought advisable, equally rich, but less oppressive and unpopular *. I trust

* Experience, however, sufficiently shows, that the excessive wealth of a clergy is not merely a grievous burthen to the state, but a fatal bar to their own virtue and utility. "It may be laid down as a certain maxim," says Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations*, book 5, chap. 1,) "that all other things being supposed equal, the richer the church, the poorer must necessarily be either the sovereign on the one hand, or the people on the other, and in all cases the less able must the state be to defend itself. In several protestant countries, particularly in all the protestant cantons of Switzerland, the revenue which anciently belonged to the Roman Catholic church, the tithes and churchlands,

that the time is not far distant when such a measure shall be granted to the unanimous prayers of the people ; and in the mean time, I shall only venture to hope, that the public exposures daily taking place, of the riches and misconduct of the Irish clergy, may induce them to moderate the one and to reform the other. I sincerely trust that any future incumbent may not be as regardless, as most of his predecessors, of the poet's sage advice,

*Expectata diu, tandem provincia cum te
Rectorem accipiet, ponè iræ fræna modumque,
Ponè et avaritiæ ; miserere inopum sociorum.*

There are other subjects of great importance connected with Ireland which I should have wished to discuss ; but I have already outrun my intended limits, and shall not therefore treat of them at length. The administration of the law in Ireland, till very lately, was almost entirely in the hands of

“ has been found a fund sufficient not only to afford competent salaries to the established clergy, but to defray, with little or no addition, all the other expenses of the state.”

Orangemen, and corrupt and debased to an extent which, by an English imagination, can scarcely be conceived, and which is probably quite unparalleled in the annals of judicial venality. I shall merely refer, in proof of this assertion, to the well-known declaration in the House of Lords, during 1822, of lord Redesdale, who had been for several years chancellor of Ireland, "that in that unhappy country there were two sorts of law, one for the rich, and the other for the poor, and both equally ill-administered." Of late, it is true, a very extensive improvement has taken place by the revision of the magistracy, the institution of petty sessions, and the great amelioration of the higher courts. Nothing can have been more beneficial in their result than all these measures; but still there is much imperfection, much abuse, much jobbing to correct, and the evil effects of the former system have by no means terminated with it. There is still in the minds of the people a rooted belief that catholics and protestants have never an equal chance of justice; and this opinion, formerly most truly

founded, continues even when less correctly entertained, nor will it be easily eradicated, except by the effects of time or the gift of catholic emancipation;

The encouragement of education in Ireland is another subject of the very highest importance, and deserving of the most minute investigation. Had it been properly attended to before, there is no doubt of the immense advantage that would now accrue to us; and had proselytism been less violently and directly aimed at, it is probable that the number of protestants would have been much greater than it is at present, because, in proportion as light is diffused, the truth will be perceived and acknowledged. That this is not the case must principally be attributed to the supineness of the established clergy. Archbishop Magee, whom no one certainly will accuse of liberality or toleration, owns in his too celebrated primary charge, “that it is to be
“feared we (the clergy) have all of us too much
“cause to apprehend, that even with our best ex-
“ertions, we have fallen far short of the demands

“ of duty ; and that by a deficiency of zeal and de-
 “ votedness in one great cause, we, and those who
 “ have gone before us in the ministry of the esta-
 “ blished church, have to answer for no small portion
 “ of that * irreligion which now so fatally prevails
 “ among our people, and which, whatever be our
 “ share in its production, repays it by the severe
 “ retaliation of obloquy and ill-will which it heaps
 “ unsparingly upon our order.” It must be owned,
 however, that the laws are not to blame for the de-
 ficiencies of the clergy, as they have for centuries
 imposed on them a solemn oath to perform the very
 duties of which the neglect has proved so detri-
 mental. Every clergyman inducted into a living
 now takes (and has taken since the time of Henry
 VIII.) the following oath :

“ I do solemnly swear, that I will teach, or
 “ cause to be taught, an English school, within
 “ the rectory or vicarage of ———, as the law in
 “ that case requires.—So help me God !”

* It is well known that his Grace denies the catholics
 to have what we can properly call a religion.

Thus then, the law, in return for the enormous grants it made the established clergy, requires from them certain duties and expenses for the advantage of their flocks, and endeavours to enforce this obligation by the solemn sanctity of an oath. What could the law do more? Yet, with what shame and humiliation must we not confess that till towards the end of the last century the majority of parishes had no such schools at all, while some others had only a salary of 2*l.* per annum paid to a nominal master. Of late years it is true that the number has considerably augmented; but there are still many parishes wholly unprovided with religious or literary instruction, except, perhaps, such as private exertions can afford. Could a thousand volumes say so much against the Irish clergy as this single uncommented fact? I am far, however, from thinking that the clergymen who thus disregard the duty they have sworn to are *now* guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury: I accuse them of avarice and neglect rather than of indifference to religious vows; and I assert that though they do not violate, they

elude their obligations. This important duty is omitted on evasions so mean, on pretexts so paltry, that the attempt to repeat them is not unlike endeavouring to copy a blank. Some assert that the oaths for affording education to the people imply a condition that the people should previously claim it. Some imagine that because this duty was neglected by their predecessors, they themselves may be considered as absolved from its performance. Others have discovered that the oaths administered have some slight verbal differences from the form in which the statute is expressed, and conceive that this circumstance is sufficient to destroy the obligation. Others again conceive, that as the statute desires them to "bid the beads," which has ceased to be a religious duty since the reformation, all the other regulations it prescribes may be likewise disobeyed. Others again declare the whole to be "obsolete and in desuetude *." In short, no pretexts

* Who could have made the whole obsolete and in desuetude but themselves? This is alleging their very fault as an excuse for its continuance.

are too frivolous, no arguments too contradictory, provided that they tend equally to the same paramount object—that the clergy may avoid any contribution from their incomes, even for objects most in unison with their place and profession. Thus also, the bishops are required by an act passed during the reign of Elizabeth to keep diocesan schools, though the solemnity of an oath is not required from them as from the inferior clergy; but we find this obligation wholly disregarded in nearly half the Irish dioceses.

It must not be omitted, however, in justice to the liberality of these distinguished personages, that in the fifteen dioceses in which, only in 1821, the act was observed, each bishop munificently subscribed annually about *five pounds*, on an average, to support the expense of these schools. Undoubtedly, the other prelates were wholly unable to afford so prodigious a sacrifice of money.

It might be worth inquiring, whether, if the laws of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth are obsolete, the tithe which is pretended to be derived from a still more ancient tenure ought not to be still more obsolete?

The charter schools have been of late so clearly convicted of the most shameful abuses, that they are in a great measure given up as untenable by their old friends and founders, the clergy. Although the last report of the Commissioners of Education, which received as it deserved a general and attentive perusal, appears to have settled the question with regard to these schools, yet perhaps a brief account of their original design and present situation may not be wholly useless in this place. They were founded in the year 1733, at the instigation of primate Boulter, who describes them in a letter to the bishop of London, dated May 5, 1730, as “one of the most likely methods we can think of, if possible, to instruct and convert the young generation, for instead of converting those that are adult, we are daily losing many of our meaner people, who go off to popery*.” This society has, since its institution, been governed by a

* The continual and progressive diminution of the number of protestants in Ireland is, as I have previously shown, entirely attributable to the misconduct of the established clergy.

committee of fifteen, which is annually re-elected, but which always consists so exclusively of clerical dignitaries as to have been justly called "the Irish church under another name." Thus, at the present moment, out of the fifteen, there appear to be only three persons who are not clergymen of the established religion. We have seen what neglect and repugnance they appear to display, when called upon to contribute from their incomes for the education of the poor; but here, where they have immense funds at their disposal, and far from contributing to them, even obtain a share of them as catechists, they become at once all activity and vigour. The charter was originally granted for the education of "popish and other poor natives;" but in order to promote more exclusively the objects of conversion, a resolution was passed in 1775, which continued in force till 1803, that none should be admitted in future but the children born of Roman catholic parents. Thus, when the oppression of the laws, as they then existed, had reduced any miserable catholic peasant to the very verge of famine, the

charter school society was enabled to step in, and to tempt him to purchase the maintenance of some of his children in this world by sacrificing what he considered as their salvation in the next. In spite, however, of the lure thus afforded to a most indigent people, and of the severe penalties against catholic education, which it was hoped might induce them to prefer protestant education to no education at all, we find that the extreme severities endured by the inmates of these establishments deterred almost every parent from parting with his offspring. It therefore became afterwards necessary to construct nurseries, in order to provide an uninterrupted supply of children for these establishments. When once entered, the children seemed rather to be in a dungeon than a school, both from the hardships they endured and the seclusion they experienced. Each child was generally transferred into parts of the country remote from his catholic parents, or if left in their neighbourhood was never allowed to accompany them home, even for an hour, nor even to converse with them, except in the

presence of his teachers. In this case it must be owned that the Irish clergy appear to have adopted the very maxim they impute as a crime to their catholic antagonists ; that to accomplish a good end, any means, however base, may fairly be employed. The system of severing the natural ties of kindred and affection, and this with the impious pretence of thereby promoting the interests of virtue and religion—to render every child an orphan though his parents still continued alive—to make him view the authors of his being as objects of suspicion and danger—to begin by forming an undutiful son, in hopes of producing afterwards a better Christian—is a proceeding that would have been worthy of the most barbarous times, and most antisocial religions. It does not seem, by the guilt it thus incurred, to have even obtained the miserable satisfaction of succeeding in its object of conversion ; for it appears that a very considerable number of those educated in these institutions are apt, on leaving them, to revert to the religion of their parents. The number of children admitted into these schools has also been so small and so

strangely out of proportion to the very large grants and revenues they enjoy, that their success in conversion must always have proved very limited in its extent. It results from the statements given in to the present commissioners, that the education of less than 8000 children has cost exactly a million sterling—a fact that would seem almost incredible, were it not demonstrated by official documents. While the Kildare-street society has within the last seven years instructed and sent forth above 800 masters, at the average expense of about 7*l.* for each, it is calculated by the commissioners, that according to the system of the charter schools, the instruction of every master is charged at the rate of from 200*l.* to 240*l.*! When we consider, however, the manner in which the children have usually been treated in these schools, we should be inclined not so much to blame the mismanagement or the peculation which has produced such very limited results at so enormous an expense, but rather to congratulate the country that this system of oppression was not more extensively diffused. The

benevolent and enlightened Howard was the first who seems to have openly exposed the cruel treatment of the charter school children in 1787; and his long experience of prisons must have been peculiarly available, in detecting the defects of establishments that so nearly resembled them, and appeared to be intended less for the education of men than the punishment of malefactors. He speaks in his evidence before a committee of the Irish House of Commons, of the "dreadful situation" of these schools, and states that "the children in general
"were sickly, pale, and such miserable objects, that
"they were a disgrace to all society; and their
"reading had been neglected for the purpose of
"making them work for the masters."

"From this time," say the commissioners of education, "nothing farther appears on the records
"of the Irish parliament respecting this institution,
"except that grants were from time to time asked
"for and obtained." Passing over the intermediate period that has since occurred, I shall only advert to the extreme abuses which the commissioners de-

tected on personal observation and inquiry. As a proof of the frauds practised by the masters, and allowed or undetected by the committees, it will be enough to state, that the former being anxious to keep the children as long as possible in their schools, in order to derive profit from their labour; and being obliged by the rules to send in a half yearly return of the ages of the children, were in the habit of falsifying these ages in successive returns. Thus, children continued in the school under imaginary ages; and many of them actually seemed to grow younger and younger as time proceeded. For instance, Daniel Kenzie, who was reported as $15\frac{1}{4}$ years old, on June 25, 1822, progressed to 16, by December 25, 1822; but retrograded to $15\frac{1}{4}$ on June 25, 1823. On December 25, 1823, he still farther retrograded to $14\frac{1}{4}$, and on June 25, 1824, advanced again to 15, having thus in the space of two years become younger by nine months than he was before. Thus again, Patrick Grady was stated to be 15, on June 25, 1822, increased, according to the common course of things, to $15\frac{1}{2}$, on December 25, 1822; but

strange to say, continued at the same age on June 25, 1823. He again progressed to 16, on December 25, 1823, and again continued stationary on June 25, 1824, having thus become older by twelve months in two years. Such instances are not singular; they were it seems of frequent and habitual occurrence, and would no doubt have continued so for many years, but for the rude and prying inquiries of the present commissioners. With respect to the cruelties which have been inflicted at these schools, and the hardships which the children have endured, it may be sufficient to refer the reader to the detail of what the commissioners personally witnessed, especially at Sligo, Stradbally, Castledermot, and Longford. I will venture to say, that no one could peruse their statement without the strongest emotions, both of sympathy for the sufferers, and of indignation against the society. The natural effects of these severities are to be found, not only in the vices and consequent misery of most of the children in after life, but also in the unpopularity and hatred with which the primary

cause of their misfortunes is contemplated by the nation at large. Of the 8000 children, whose education cost the state a million sterling, the commissioners inform us, that "a large proportion certainly have not turned out well;" and they add, that they have been assured "on respectable evidence, that children from such schools are desirous, if possible, to conceal that they have been inmates of those establishments; that it is an opprobrium to have been educated in them, and that a master of a charter school, who may happen to have an usher sent to him from the society, is anxious to conceal the fact from the children!"

It may perhaps be imagined, that after even the hasty and imperfect sketch I have given of these institutions, their abuses would scarcely admit of any further aggravation; but in my opinion the most revolting feature of all remains to be mentioned, in the unwillingness of their directors to allow or to amend their defects. This is strikingly proved by the fact, that those very schools in which the most glaring abuses were detected by the commissioners, on even

cursory visits, were sometimes represented in the regular reports of the local committees, as being in a most prosperous and satisfactory condition. Thus, also, the severest punishments appear to have been inflicted on any child who presumed to murmur at the treatment he received. "No offence," say the commissioners, "that a charter school child can commit seems less pardonable than daring to utter a complaint;" and the evidence they have published teems with instances of the severe castigations which usually follow such a crime. This conduct shows at once a desire to conceal, and an unwillingness to correct injustice. The views of the central committee of fifteen may be judged of by a reference to their conduct with regard to Stradbally school. The usher of the school at this place, named Eustace, was convicted by the commissioners of the most harsh and brutal conduct, of giving, for instance, 67 lashes to one boy, on account of a single sum in arithmetic. But let the commissioners speak for themselves. "On the 8th of October, the day before the second visit, eight boys had been so

“ severely punished, that their persons were found
“ by one of the commissioners in a shocking state of
“ laceration and contusion. The offence with which
“ these boys were charged by the usher was ‘look-
“ ‘ing at two police-men playing at ball in the boy’s
“ ‘ball-alley ;’ and he stated that the catechist re-
“ commended him to flog the boys. This, however,
“ was denied by the catechist, and was, we have no
“ doubt, utterly false. Even if it had been true,
“ it would only have applied to two of the eight
“ boys, while the cruel treatment of the other six
“ remains unexplained, unless by the suggestion of
“ the master, who states that ‘ he believes the
“ ‘ usher may have been actuated in the punish-
“ ‘ ment by his feelings as to what the boys might
“ ‘ have said of him on the former visit of the com-
“ ‘ missioners ;’ on which occasion, however, as be-
“ fore stated, the boys had not in fact made any
“ complaint. The commissioners were par-
“ ticularly struck with the appearance of sullenness
“ and terror which marked the deportment of the
“ children in this school, contrasted with the free

“ and lively air which generally characterizes those
“ who are to be seen in day-schools. On examin-
“ ing the boys, they were found able to repeat the
“ catechism and the expositions of it correctly ;
“ but attached little or no meaning to the words
“ they repeated. The two head classes con-
“ sisted of twenty boys of thirteen, fourteen, and
“ fifteen years of age. Seventeen of them declared
“ they had never heard of St. Paul; and half of
“ them had no idea whether the word ‘ Europe’
“ meant a man, a place, or a thing ; and only three
“ boys in the school could name the four quarters
“ of the world. Two boys only appeared ever to
“ have heard of Job, and only one could give any
“ account of his history !”

Under these circumstances it will scarcely be a matter of surprise, that the commissioners recommended to the master the immediate dismissal of the usher (which they had no authority to enforce), and that the master complied with their request. It is, however, sufficiently astonishing to any one ignorant of the real character of the Irish clergy,

that Eustace the usher, having sent a letter to the committee of fifteen, containing very unbecoming language with regard to Mr. Leslie Foster, one of the commissioners, and falsely stating that he had been dismissed by him, was immediately appointed by the committee to another situation more lucrative than that from which he had been just dismissed! This was done without any communication from them to the commissioners, in order to ascertain and investigate their charges, and as if they had been as deficient in the courtesy of gentlemen as in the equity of magistrates. Upon this the commissioners very properly appealed in a memorial to the lord lieutenant, and by his excellency's interference, Eustace was again dismissed; but I have been assured on good authority, though I cannot vouch for the fact, which indeed appears almost incredible, that, unabashed by this second dismissal, one of the members of the committee appointed Eustace to a third place, in his own gift, more profitable than either the preceding ones! Even without this addition, however, the conduct of the com-

mittee of fifteen, in this instance, appears fully sufficient to manifest the principles that govern their proceedings, and proves them to be entirely worthy of the institution over which they are appointed to preside.

It has been very generally and very confidently stated, that the catholic priests are opposed to *any* education of the people; and a certain party in Ireland does not scruple to assign as a motive for this fancied opposition, the fear they entertain of losing their adherents in proportion as knowledge is extended*. I am willing in charity to hope that those who make the latter charge may not be aware of the full extent of the imputation it conveys. To

* Thus, for instance, we are assured in the Evening Mail of December 6, 1826, that “ the priests withhold the knowledge of the sacred volume from the people, lest they should discover the idolatrous abominations of *that creed which they call a religion*. The fury of the priests against the introduction of *any* system of education into Ireland is traceable to the same cause, and they are secure of their flocks only so long as they can keep them in a state of brutified and besotted ignorance !”

oppose the progress of *every* education, from not clearly perceiving or appreciating its advantages, is only the act of a prejudiced bigot; but to oppose education from a fear of its overthrowing any particular religion, must be the act of one who disbelieves that religion himself. To suppose, therefore, that the Irish priests are influenced by this motive, is to suppose that they are all the basest of hypocrites, who for the sake of personal advantage profess and preach a doctrine which they know to be untrue. Any reply to this latter charge appears, therefore, quite unnecessary, and a statement of its inferences is a sufficient demonstration of its falsehood. But in answer to the first charge, that the Irish priests oppose all education from a narrow-minded superstition, I will venture to maintain that in almost all cases they only oppose that education which has proselytism for its object. And are they not justified in doing so? Is it not their bounden duty to maintain, to the utmost of their power, the people committed to their care in the faith of their fathers, and not to suffer them to receive literary

instruction if coupled with protestant doctrines? Should we not in England justly blame any clergyman who passively allowed his flock to be converted by a dissenting minister, either through open exhortations to the people, or through the more insidious method of education for their children? This, in like manner, is also the duty of the catholic priest, and he has for it an additional inducement unknown to the English divine. With us tithes must by law continue to be paid, whatever faith the parishioners may think proper to embrace; but in Ireland the priest subsists only by voluntary contributions, and every diminution of his flock produces of course a corresponding diminution of his income. Every conversion from amongst his parishioners costs him, as it were, a meal, and the suggestions of interest are thus superadded to the call of duty. In this manner the laws have supplied the catholic priest with the same stimulus to preserve and to increase his adherents as the protestant divine possessed at the reformation; and thus in Ireland, after the lapse of three centuries, the two reli-

gions have completely changed sides. The overpaid, the useless, the unrespected dignitary is now the protestant—the poor, the active, the popular preacher is now the catholic. The papists in Ireland now occupy precisely that favourable ground for securing public esteem and increasing their adherents which we formerly maintained, and it requires all the superiority of our doctrines to balance their present superiority of discipline.

From these considerations it will, I think, appear that the priests are fully justified in actively opposing any proselytism of their flocks. Were they not therefore justified in opposing the charter schools, which for many years were the only important establishments for education that Ireland possessed? They were, as I mentioned before, founded by primate Boulter, in 1733, while the London Hibernian Society was only established in 1806, and the Kildare-street Society in 1811. If then, with regard to these two latter societies, some priests, and Dr. Doyle in particular, have manifested unfounded suspicions and unprovoked hostility, their conduct

may be palliated by their memory of the former system, which only educated in order to convert, and made its very charities a persecution. But the fact is, that the Kildare-street Society is not generally opposed by the priests; on the contrary, it reckons many of them amongst its friends and supporters, and includes several of that persuasion in its committee and inspectors. In some cases indeed, the proceedings of the local patrons have not been governed by the same just and equal laws that regulate the central society, and distrust and dissatisfaction have in consequence not unfrequently ensued. But no blame can attach to the society itself, whose benevolent exertions and impartial system are beyond all praise, and only equalled by the advantageous results that have proceeded from them. Assailed by the zealots of both the extreme parties in the country, they have still perseveringly and triumphantly pursued their patriotic endeavours for the honour and happiness of Ireland. I wish that it were in my power to extend the same observation to the London Hibernian

Society; but it appears to me that the catholic priests have had, and have, the strongest reason for suspecting it of a proselytizing design, and could not therefore have encouraged or even connived at it without a dereliction of duty. As a specimen of the principles on which the London Hibernian Society was founded, and the open manner in which proselytism was avowed for their object, I will take the following extract from the report of their deputation to Ireland in 1808, as quoted by the commissioners of education. “ Popery appears to be ex-
“ hibited and inculcated in Ireland (as it probably
“ is in every country where it obtains footing) with
“ such a decided partiality in favour of its most
“ fantastic and *anti-christian* features; the ma-
“ nœuvres of its priests are so various, so subtle,
“ and, alas ! so efficient ; and the moral aspect from
“ these and other causes is so discouraging, that the
“ deputation, confining themselves to this view of
“ Ireland, see nothing but formidable barriers erected
“ against every attempt to bless her inhabitants
“ with the light of life ; nor must it be concealed

“ that the numeral predominance of Roman catholicism is itself a prolific seed of disunion, not to say political disaffection. The hope therefore that the Irish will ever be a tranquil and loyal people, and still more that piety and virtue will flourish among them, must be built on the anticipated reduction of popery. To a certain extent the society must adopt precautions ; but there will be frequent opportunities of disclosing to the catholic youth the systems of both churches in their amplest extent.”

But it may be urged, that at present they disclaim proselytism for their object. It is true they have disclaimed it—but how have they disproved it? Is it by the exclusive nature of their committee, which consists of protestants alone? Is it by the intemperate expressions and controversial career of their missionaries and deputations? Is it by their system of sending “Bible readers” throughout the country, selected in a great measure out of converts from the catholic religion? The most decisive answer to these questions is, perhaps, to be found in the fol-

lowing extract of the report of the commissioners for education:—" Upon the whole, it is evident
" that the objects and proceedings of this society
" have given rise to a very natural persuasion in
" the minds of Roman catholics, that its members
" are actuated by a spirit of hostility to their church.
" The course of instruction in their schools is con-
" trary to the declared rule and discipline of that
" church; and the interest of the schoolmaster is so
" directly connected with and dependent upon the
" progress of the children in the course prescribed,
" that there is no opportunity for that latitude or for
" those evasions which are found to exist in the
" schools of some of the other societies. It is there-
" fore not surprising that the progress of this society
" should have been constantly and strongly opposed
" by the Roman catholic clergy."

I am ready to allow that the motives of almost all the members of this society are pure and honourable, and their exertions well-intended; but being in a great measure ignorant of the real state of things in Ireland, they are apt to be deluded by

partial accounts and unfounded representations. A traditional abhorrence of popery has also, it would seem, sometimes induced them at all hazards to attempt its extirpation from the country. By their inconsiderate zeal or their misguided benevolence, they have produced but little advantage and much serious injury to Ireland; they have excited tumult and dissension in no common degree, and have caused much distrust in the minds of the people and the priests, as to the real wishes of England with regard to Irish education. They have, I conceive, often unsettled the faith of individuals from the catholic, without determining it for the protestant religion *. They have misused the Holy Scriptures

* This is one of the evils enumerated by Montesquieu, in his judicious remarks on the dangers of attempting to alter the prevailing religion of a state. “ Un prince qui entreprend dans son état de détruire ou de changer la religion dominante s'expose beaucoup. . . . Il y a plus ; les citoyens se dégoutent de leurs lois, ils prennent du mépris pour le gouvernement déjà établi ; on substitue des soupçons contre les deux religions à une ferme croyance pour une ; en un mot on donne à l'état au moins pour quelque temps, et de mauvais citoyens et de mauvais fidèles.”

Esprit des Loix, livre 25.

by making them the topic and pretence of invective, and employing them in their schools on unsuitable occasions. It seems to me that the Bible is not treated with due reverence when used as a task or spelling-book; and that it ought to form the *end* rather than the *means* of education. However, the London Hibernian Society is now beginning to be generally condemned by candid protestants in Ireland, and the progressive decline of its funds, and diminution of its friends in England, would seem to show that the public opinion is here also no longer mistaken on this subject.

The system of first fruits in Ireland is, if possible, still more corrupt than the rest of the ecclesiastical establishments in that land of jobbing. These funds were originally intended for the construction and repair of churches, and other pious purposes, and were they properly paid would be more than sufficient for this object. But while the Irish clergy carefully raise and augment their rents, dues, fines, and every thing they are to *receive*, according to the progressive advance of the times, they have

left the first fruits which they are to *pay* at the old and nominal rates established centuries ago. Thus this fund, which ought to be so richly provided for, scarcely averages 300*l.* a year, and in some years produces nothing at all! It has, consequently, been necessary to assist it with very large parliamentary grants, and locally to promote its objects by enormous church assessments. These, it will be remembered, are imposed by the protestant inhabitants on their catholic brethren, without the latter having any right to interfere or remonstrate, so that the most lavish expenditure frequently takes place. In the Appendix it will be seen that the efforts of Mr. Mason, remembrancer of first fruits, to remedy this system were discouraged and disapproved by the higher ecclesiastical powers. What an idea does it not give us of the want of information or of judgment in the house of commons, to sit for days and days debating on Mr. Hume's inquisitorial scrutinies and retrenchments of fifty or a hundred pounds from some clerk's salary, or placeman's profits, whilst national evils of this

magnitude, this long-standing, and this baneful effect, were suffered to remain so long, not merely without redress, but even without inquiry !

Whilst, however, the flagrant abuses and corruptions still so prevalent in Ireland must be admitted and deplored by every unprejudiced stranger visiting that country, he cannot at the same time but feel the greatest gratitude and respect to the present government for their active exertions and patriotic measures. Except the concessions of 1778 and 1793, I really do believe that if in one scale were placed all the benefits bestowed by all the former governments of Ireland, they would be outweighed by those the present one has granted. Their measures have alleviated or removed many most important grievances, and it is to them that Ireland is mainly indebted for her present comparative tranquillity. The system of conciliation pursued by Lord Wellesley has had the happiest results, and he has practically softened (as in the case of advowsons held by catholics) the rigour of those laws it was not in his power to remove. But still, I

must repeat it, these improvements are insufficient;—more and much more remains to be done. With the present enlightened government I think we may flatter ourselves that the required ameliorations will not be suspended or refused. But if ever Ireland's evil genius should predominate—if the system of conciliation be changed, and the administration again intrusted to such hands as held it in the days of Orange Ascendancy—if there be any recurrence to those severities which have so long disgraced our country and desolated theirs—then indeed we require no Pastorini to prophesy our fate—then, beyond all doubt, events would occur which may at present be easily averted, but which it then would be only in our power to deplore.

THREE MONTHS IN IRELAND.

HASTE to the shore,—embark—a rising gale
Waves its light wings, and fills the spreading sail.
Swift as the courser, when no curbs delay,
The ship, unanchor'd, dashes through the spray ;
On, on it flies, till Howth's approaching cape 5
Soars from the sea, and brightens into shape.
Behold that isle, whose sons her worth declare
Far as the winds can waft or billows bear :
Which mightiest chiefs and statesmen claims as hers,
And shares the glory that their fame confers, 10
That isle, to which indulgent fate had given
A fruitful earth and fertilising heaven ;
Till ruthless laws, uniting fraud and force,
These very gifts distorted to a curse ;
That isle, at once most favour'd, most oppress'd, 15
Most rich, most poor, most wretched, and most blest !

In vain each hill with golden harvest glows,
 'Tis not for Erin that its produce grows :
 The ransack'd mine its deep-drawn tribute pours
 To quit its own and brighten other shores. 20
 Slow through morass the spreading rivers glide,
 No bridges span them, and no banks divide ;
 Each charm with which kind Nature could endow,
 Blooms but a garland on the victim's brow.
 See all her baffled bounties, and, with all, 25
 Mark the result in yon mud-cabin's wall :
 A window without glass, a rotting door,
 A humid, earthen, uncemented floor,
 The mouldering thatch forsakes th' unguarded beams,
 While through its wreck the piercing torrent streams ; 30
 No second room these lowly dwellings claim,
 The chamber's and the cabin's bounds the same ;
 Within whose narrow precincts, prostrate lie
 Pigs*, children, goats, as in one common sty.
 No joys e'en joyous childhood here can bless, 35
 Their little hearts thrill only to distress.

* It would be an error to assert that the pigs and the children are always on an equal footing in these cottages : in many cases the pig has the best food and most comfortable couch.

Ne'er on your features, wretched offspring! glows
The rosy hue that happiness bestows ;

' But each lack-lustre eye, each pallid cheek
Of famine, of affliction, sadly speak ; 40

With scanty rags half-cloth'd, they feebly crawl,
And shriek for food that comes not to their call.

And she whose frame a double anguish bears,
To feel her famine and to think of theirs,
The mother—doom'd their wailings to endure, 45

And silent see the pangs she cannot cure—

Who in her wasted form and pale wan face

The marks of vanish'd loveliness could trace?

By time unchang'd—for few short years divide

The wither'd matron from the blooming bride, 50

But grief their desolating place supplied.

Ye Orange chiefs, whose sway in former times

Our annals blacken'd with its legal crimes ;

Who, for some petty pique, some paltry gain,

Betray'd your land, and would betray again ; 55

Who still pursue, with dupes for your machines,

The basest objects by the basest means :

False, heartless men ! whose pity nought ensures,

Gaze on this prospect—for the work is yours !

'Tis true, at present, with reviving trust, 60
 Astonish'd Erin owns her rulers just :
 Till late she found, like Esop's luckless frogs,
 The blest alternative of storks and logs ;
 And all the laws that guard, the rights that cheer,
 Were snatch'd by violence and forc'd from fear : 65
 With scarce-believing eyes at last she sees
 Spontaneous favours and unbrib'd decrees ;
 The tithe disarm'd of half its power to harm—
 Th' unwilling clergy goaded to reform—
 The lawless justice blotted from the list— 70
 Taxes repeal'd, and Orangemen dismiss'd—
 Harsh laws annull'd—or those that still remain
 Soften'd by mild conciliation's reign ;
 Schools to the untaught poor their gates expand,
 Encourag'd commerce cheers the drooping land : 75
 Such are the bounties grateful Erin owes,
 Such are the gifts benevolence bestows.
 Still unavailing ! for the land's disease
 Seeks stronger measures, and surpasses these ;
 Conceal'd, not cur'd, by timid remedies. 80
 Much has been done of later years, 'tis true,
 In Erin's cause, yet much remains to do.

Tumults have ceas'd,—yet guard with watchful fear,
Lest dormant disaffection reappear :

'Deem not, successful in suppressing riot, 85

Because things are, they always must be quiet.

Such quiet is but that the cannon knows,

Or like the slumbering serpent's coil'd repose ;

Such quiet oft precedes the storm afar,

Calm harbinger of elemental war ! 90

Not *now*, I trust—the course our statesmen steer

Is wise and prudent—may they persevere !

Nor while still distant from th' expected shore,

Furl the light sail and drop the pliant oar :

May the success that crown'd their labours past 95

Urge them to brave the greatest and the last !

May Wellesley still his Orange foes defy,

And view their frauds with undeluded eye ;

Wring from their struggling hands each stolen right,

And make them honest in their own despite ! 100

Yet deem not this degrading Orange name

Each foe to Catholic demands should shame,

Each man who dreads with undissembled fears

The fancied dangers that concession rears ;

These are not Orangemen ! a patriot's pride 105
 Demands our reverence, e'en if misapplied.
 E'en while against his errors we contend,
 His worth we venerate, his zeal commend,
 And deem no foe but a deluded friend.
 Oppos'd opinions, but one common zeal, 110
 Inspire the breasts of Plunkett or of Peel ;
 Nor should delusion with surprise be view'd,
 While countless knaves thus labour to delude.
 Those are the Orangemen whose voice exclaims
 'Gainst* former favours and conceded claims ; 115
 On rights withheld not satisfied to bawl,
 They fain would seek the granted to recall ;
 The self-same venom rankles in their breast,
 Let Erin be revolting or at rest ;
 The same of yore when Boyne's † empurpled banks 120
 Drank the last life-blood of the rebel ranks ;

* See in the Appendix the evidence of two Orange leaders, Colonel Verner and the Rev. Mr. Holt Waring, who state expressly their desire that the Catholics should be replaced in the state in which they were previous to 1793, and that the privileges since granted them should be abolished. This constitutes the chief difference between Orangemen and Anti-Catholics.

† Considering the feeling which a certain class in Ireland has always entertained, it may not be an anachronism to assert that the Orange party existed *mutato nomine* in the time of king William. The society itself dates only from 1795.

The same that now its waveless waters glide,
 A living mirror to each verdant side :
 'Still—still unchang'd, their fierce relentless zeal
 No time can moderate, no prudence heal. 125
 Long it enslav'd their country—and would still,
 Were but their force proportion'd to their will ;
 And when it rules, as to the dread Simoom
 All droops with fear, all darkens into gloom !

The penal statutes are repeal'd, 'tis true, 130
 Their clauses gone, why not their spirit too ?
 Why must exclusions still infest the shore,
 And paralyse each gift bestow'd before ?
 Why are six millions doom'd in deep despair
 Still to renew a still unheeded prayer, 135
 And find their useless murmurs lost in air ?
 Say, will you linger till to arms they fly,
 And snatch the tardy justice you deny ?

“ But how,” 'tis said, “ can popish peasants feel
 “ Th' exclusive laws they urge us to repeal ? 140
 “ The rich, indeed, some stern enactments bear ;
 “ But where the hardship on the people ? Where ?

“ Great harm, no doubt, to him who cannot read
“ Debarr’d the senate for his popish creed !
“ Cruel the case of every country clown, 145
“ Who ne’er can glory in a judge’s gown !
“ How should such visionary wrongs oppress,
“ Excite rebellion or demand redress ?”
Deluded men ! ah, little do they know
What tender thoughts in parents’ bosoms glow ! 150
Each mother deems the infant on her breast
Shall strut a chancellor—a peer at least ;
And vows her booby, just escap’d from school,
Should kindly teach the ministers to rule.
To her charm’d eyes all honours deck her sons, 155
Enrich the poor, and consecrate the dunce,
While the pleas’d father fondly seeks to share
Th’ exulting visions that her hopes declare ;
Forgets each present loss, each blighted scheme,
Rapt in the future’s dear delusive dream, 160
And trusts his son’s endeavours may atone
By their success for failure of his own.
I grant parental visions such as these
Are wild—weak—unavailing—what you please ;

Yet pause before their error you condemn, 165
It lies in human nature—not in them !

What! * is it nothing to endure a chain
On freeborn limbs, if carried without pain ?
Nothing for e'en the peasant to belong
To what he deems a persecuted throng? 170

What! is it nothing—nothing—if he sees
His faith insulted in its votaries ?
The nobles banish'd from those very rights
Their fathers bled for in a thousand fights ;
Told that their oaths are venal and disdain'd, 175
Though, by false oaths, each right they could have
gain'd,

But, incorruptible, from each refrain'd ?
Told their allegiance is divided, while
The Pope dare send despatches to the isle ;
Profane ragouts on fasting days impedes, 180
And legislates on relics and on beads !
Yet might the loyalty that Erin yields
Be prov'd from rescued Spain's empurpled fields,

* It is not so much the actual injury that the Roman catholics complain of in the present laws, as the imputation of disloyalty and the appearance of subjection they imply.

Which, with these papists' gore so oft embued,
Beheld them fall—but ever unsubdued. 185

Mix'd in our ranks, through triumphs they rush'd on,
From ocean's wave to Ebro and Garonne ;
Nor less at Mont St. Jean did Irish share
The fame of forming each unshaken square :
Those squares, 'gainst which such thousands vainly
 strove, 190

Which tenfold force might massacre—not move ;
Brav'd every charge, a baffled hero hurl'd,
And vanquish'd here the victor of the world !

Thus then the papists (whom our guilty fears
Proclaim'd a race of would-be mutineers), 195
Join'd us to fight for safety or for sway,
And boundless taxes were allow'd to pay.
Kind, liberal statutes ! they may shed their blood,
May drain their fortunes for the public good ;
All civic burthens they may freely bear, 200
'Tis only favours that they must not share.
The generous tenour of these laws admire,
To take the labour and refuse the hire !
These loyal sons their grateful country spurns,
And from their claims with haughty passion turns, 205

And brands their creed with each insulting name
That Lees can use or bigotry can frame.

Poor Erin! how severe thy fortune grew,
Curs'd with bad laws and with bad judges too!
Though Bushe, for worth and talent fam'd alike, 210
Claims lyres far loftier than my muse can strike;
Generous in secret, good without display,
His deeds deserve, yet shun the light of day;
So unassuming that his worth is shown
Not by parade but by result alone, 215
And every voice proclaims it but his own.
But mark how * * * takes his "usual" fee,
How lives are jok'd away by Norbury!
That grave, great judge, in whose words when express'd,
A condemnation dwindles to a jest; 220
Whose playful puns and laughter-loving style
E'en from the sentenc'd culprit wring a smile.
Obedient juries with a duteous grin
Titter the moment his harangues begin;
The crowded court re-echoes to the roar, 225
And Momus reigns where Themis rul'd before.

If such the conduct which the chiefs pursue,
What will inferiors hesitate to do?

Far from the capital, where dread of blame
 Restrains the guilt that conscience cannot shame, 230

By their own littleness secur'd, no fear
 Arrests their course or guides in their career.

Each bold ambitious rector, who conceives
 Intolerance the passport to lawn sleeves,
 His scourge miscalls a mild, paternal rod, 235
 And hate of catholics a love of God.

Each high-church magistrate, whose leaden scull
 Sense-proof remains, impenetrably dull,
 With just enough of knowledge to compute
 Who by the game-laws may presume to shoot, 240

Compels the poor in tread-mills to atone
 For faults and prejudices all his own ;
 True faith with him makes every error pass ;
 But none have honesty who go to mass ;
 With few ideas, he clings, like every dunce, 245

The more to those he has admitted once ;
 By repetition strengthen'd, like the shield
 Of sevenfold force, great Ajax us'd to wield :
 Experience pleads in vain—his mind will not
 Conceive that catholics can cease to plot ; 250

“ Papists are rogues,” his nurse said long ago,
 Therefore of course he still believes them so ;

The nurse dismiss'd, his mind the tutor next,
 With scarlet * dames and Antichrist perplex'd,
 Told all the crimes of Mary's bloody reign, 255
 And bad him tremble lest it come again ;
 Crediting all his sapient guide commands,
 The more he hears, the less he understands :
 Thus fitted for his functions, view him there
 With vacant look, yet self-sufficient air, 260
 While unheard prisoners quake before his chair,
 Let Coke and Blackstone slumber on the shelf,
 His worship is a Blackstone to himself ;
 He holds " what Cam and Isis taught so long,"
 " The † right divine of kings to govern wrong," 265
 Deems in his zeal for this imagin'd right,
 Pitt half a radical and Canning quite,
 And not one hope for wretched Erin sees,
 Except thy reverend rage, Sir Harcourt Lees !
 Oh, who can doubt if Justice then prevails, 270
 Whilst men like these are balancing her scales ?

* It will be remembered, that till lately the Pope actually was supposed by many Protestants to be the person to whom these prophecies referred !

† See the Dunciad.

Let truth describe how many wretches throng
 Each ample gaol for some imputed wrong,
 And pent within a prison's iron door,
 Expiate in chains the crime of being poor ! 271
 Each single act of tyranny is small,
 Not so the consequences wrought by all :
 As in mosaic tablets every stone
 No value claims, no eye attracts, alone,
 But justly plac'd, each disregarded part 280
 Combines to form some masterpiecé of art :
 Thus petty wrongs accumulate with time,
 Swell to one mass and crowd into a crime !

When in some rash and unforgiving hour,
 A petty despot misemploys his power, 285
 Those who submit still execrate his sway,
 And all detest though none dare disobey.
 Such tyrants show at least a frank, sublime,
 Lothario-like indifference to crime ;
 But doubly curs'd is he who would assume 290
 A mask of brightness for a deed of gloom ;
 Who dares pervert law's venerable name
 To screen his guilt and sanctify his shame.

* * * 'twas for thee reserv'd to show
 How far injustice legally can go: 295
 False without credit, cunning without art,
 A brainless head, and an envenom'd heart;
 A mind which, scorning all that's good and great,
 Strives to supplant but ne'er to emulate;
 With sense so small and prejudice so strong, 300
 That when unbrib'd he still decided wrong.
 All fear'd yet scorn'd him since his sway began,
 The judge they dreaded and despis'd the man.
 Who pays the most to gain his cause is sure,
 Lawsuits are lost by none but by the poor. 305
 Loath'd in existence and in death unmourn'd,
 Oh, may his memory as his life be scorn'd!
 With all the hate that tyranny attends,
 With bribes for wealth and parasites for friends;
 With all the pangs that conscience can impel, 310
 Inflicting an anticipated hell.
 Low let him sink to desolate decay,
 Till death or justice free us from his sway.
 May none his deeds defend, his name revere,
 And be his grave unmoisten'd with a tear! 315

But you, kind men! who know your native fields
 But by the fortune that their produce yields;

Who loathe the very country that maintains
 Your purchas'd pleasures and your lengthening trains,
 Wise, worthy men! what varied pretexts tend, 320
 In soft accordance to one common end!

One has weak health, and finds Parisian air
 The only one his youthful frame can bear;
 One fears he cannot, if at home confin'd,
 Extend his knowledge or improve his mind; 325

One hates the rainy climate and the fogs,
 Another damns his patrimonial bogs.
 Whilst ladies of "that horrid country" prate,
 With pretty tremors and affected hate:
 Lisp of the daily march, the nightly plot, 330

And strive to show the terrors they have not.
 " Their cottages are shocking—without taste—
 " Their gardens little better than a waste:
 " The people too—excessively ill bred—
 " Are always crying vulgarly for bread. 335

" The fools don't understand we shed their blood,
 " And take their fortunes merely for their good.
 " Oh, who would dwell midst famine and alarms,
 " Whilst London woos us with its thousand charms?"

'Tis said—'tis done—into the city pour 340
 The self-doom'd exiles from their native shore,

Where the gay drive, the mazy dance delight, 147
 The thoughtless day or long-expected night.
 How sweet the scene where passion, unrepress'd,
 Glows on the cheek and flutters in the breast! 345
 The love-inspiring glance—the thrilling touch—
 The lips that say so little—yet so much!
 The low, consenting answer—or, still more,
 The speaking silence with its magic pow'r!
 Yet even here, while music's silver sound 350
 Sheds soft enchantment on the scene around;
 While the suspended lustre, calmly bright,
 From crystal shines with day-diffusing light;
 Say do no saddening thoughts their breasts invade
 Of ties abandon'd and a land betray'd? 355
 Say does no pang, avenging Nature's laws,
 On them inflict the wretchedness they cause?
 Yes! e'en above the music's loudest swell,
 Shrieks forth a famish'd nation's fancied yell,
 Recalls that isle of every friend bereft, 360
 Once fondly lov'd, now treacherously left;
 Makes in each eye unbidden drops arise,
 And turns their joyless laughter into sighs!

But ye whom no repentance can upbraid,
 No prayers induce, no arguments persuade 365

Why should we wonder that you haste to fly
 Your spotless plains and unpolluted sky?
 Why should we wonder? is it not confess'd
 That Erin rears no reptile on her breast?
 Soon as they touch her consecrated shore 370
 Their poison fails them and their life is o'er!
 Yet ah! can Erin keep this ancient boast,
 Whilst Harcourt Lees contaminates her coast;
 Pours forth his venom to the tainted day,
 And thrives where kindred vipers would decay! 375

Ah! could you see the havoc you have made,
 Wrongs undisguis'd, and wretchedness display'd:
 Ah, could you hear the half-upbraiding tones
 Of those your cold indifference disowns!
 Unwilling yet completely to condemn, 380
 They show a kindness you deny to them.
 Still, with a feudal feeling unforgot,
 Their cries implore you—and you answer not!
 Ah could you see their tears, e'en you would be
 Repentant—sham'd—alas you will not see! 385
 To him who shuts his eyes no wrong appears,
 And all seems quiet if he stop his ears:
 Attorneys, Agents, Bailiffs, Stewards, Clerks,
 Rule unrestrain'd by orders or remarks.

Such men in your forsaken isle abound, 390
 Your change,—as twenty shillings make one pound.
 Each with * bold rapine or dissembled theft,
 Wrings from the poor the little they had left ;
 And think you, that the guilt shall rest with these,
 Not blight and brand with shame the absentees? 395
 Agents, when harsh, disgrace their lord no less
 Than were himself inflicting the distress.
 'Tis gayer far, no doubt, to live among
 Blithe comrades, than a starving, rebel, throng ;
 But whose self-sparing flight that famine rais'd? 400
 Fann'd by whose sloth has that sedition blaz'd?
 'Tis *your* long absence, *your* inert repose
 Whence half this wretchedness has grown—and grows.
 You're doubtless—so you tell us—“ vastly griev'd,”
 But still your victims linger unreliev'd ; 405
 And now the sad effects of your delay,
 A forc'd obedience or resisted sway,
 Are urg'd as motives still to dwell away !
 But your return those dangers would dispel
 Which distance magnifies and cowards tell. 410

* I am far from applying this character to all agents, many of whom are most humane and excellent men, and whose general character has much improved of late years.

Were you but here, Prosperity would bloom
 In fresh luxuriance from her present tomb.
 Oh come, return, resume your former reign ;
 Ye absentees, be Irishmen again !
 Protect your tenantry—there still is time 415
 To save them sufferings, and yourselves a crime.
 Stand in the station where your fathers stood,
 And dare to seem unfashionably good !
 Let vain Macculloch bawl with all his might,
 That absentees are wholly in the right ; 420
 Let wits or worldlings wonder at your zeal,
 And rail at merit that they cannot feel ;
 Satire grows weak and stingless if it find
 No self-accusing echo in the mind.
 See hapless Erin your support implores, 425
 And woos you to her solitary shores,
 With famish'd lips and faintly-faltering tongue,
 Her shamrock wither'd and her harp unstrung.
 Fly to your parent—fly, each duteous son,
 And strive to do what Grattan would have done ! 430

In vain—in vain !—what words can overthrow
 The sloth unshaken by a nation's woe ?

Think of its game :—perhaps the love of grouse
 May move when love of country cannot rouse.

Think of Killarney :—recollect, a passion 435
 For views is just now very much in fashion.
 Come, then, and join the tourists' gaping pack ;
 Let any—any motive bring you back !
 E'en dulness, long as it remains at home,
 Outweighs world-winning talents, if they roam. 440
 See by the lake those stupid starers stand,
 A pencil and a note-book in each hand,
 To groaning friends at every inn rehearse
 Their verse, or rather their attempts at verse.
 Have they no audience ready? Lo, they scrawl 445
 Their hobbling stanzas on the luckless wall.
 Next they attack the wretched window-pane,
 Expos'd at once to rhymesters and to rain:
 'Twere hard to say whence comes the louder din,
 From storms without, or sonneteers within. 450
 And is this all? Does Erin gain no more
 From all returning to her native shore,
 And merely see her renegado sons,
 With pencils armed, or double-barrell'd guns?
 Are *these* their only visits? No :—they steer 455
 Back o'er the Channel every seventh year.

Smiling they come, and fancy they repay

Years of neglect by cringing for a day.

Then all is smoothness, complaisance, and ease ;

Then falsehood blinds where flattery cannot please. 460

E'en peers, compell'd their notions to relax,

Bend lowly their Right Honourable backs,

While awe-struck fools, who could a bribe withstand,

Cannot resist his lordship's proffer'd hand.

Hoarse with haranguing, the late member tries 465

To gain by hardihood what truth denies—

Boasts punctual visits to "the house"—relates

Imagin'd speeches and unheard debates—

Defends his conduct—strains his fluent tongue

To warp the right, and vindicate the wrong. 470

Ranting abuse of ministers supplies,

With the dup'd mob, the place of being wise.

What matter if his words bely his deeds ?

Fraud ceases to be fraud when it succeeds.

" Sir, did you vote against the window-tax ?"— 475

" No—not precisely—I was at Almack's—

" An old engagement that could not be broken ;

" But else I quite intended to have spoken."—

" But, sir, your Honour was not at your station

" To vote for Catholic emancipation. 480

“ Why weren't you there ? ” — “ My health ! my health !
dear sir !

“ I meant to go, but really could not stir.”

Thus let him, if he will, delude, caress
And triumph, blushing at his own success !

See, when its lord an absentee has grown, 485
Th' ancestral seat stand tenantless and lone.
Cobwebs and dust, on the decaying walls,
Mark the desertion of his father's halls ;
The deerless park and unexploring hound
Proclaim his absence from the glades around ; 490
Wild weeds are gathering round the rusty gate,
The portal clos'd, the chambers desolate.
See, envious ivy, with its darkening shade,
Conceals the ruin which itself has made,
And, clinging round each flower-ensculptur'd stone, 495
Entwines Corinthian foliage with its own.
Here, where the toils of Arras' richest loom
Wav'd in dark beauty round the pannell'd room,
Where ever-welcome guests assembled came,
Clustering around the hospitable flame, 500
Now tatter'd shreds and smokeless hearths recall
The skill that deck'd, the friends that throng'd the
hall.

The fading portraits of th' ancestral race
 Seem frowning o'er their desert dwelling-place,
 While their degenerate descendants shame 505
 Their trophied banners and immortal name.
 To Bath or Brighton they in crowds repair,
 Proud to inhale that fashionable air ;
 Their strolls each morn the self-same streets explore,
 'Mid toyshops yawn'd at twenty times before ; 510
 Yet these again they patiently search through,
 In the faint hope to turn up something new.
 There the same drones, with daily dulness prate,
 Haranguing on the weather or the State !
 From dunce to dunce, from street to street, they stray,
 To banish thought, and saunter time away. 516
 Parties of painful pleasure try their powers
 In vain, to pass the lazy, lingering hours ;
 Yet here each fool continues to reside,
 Not merely without murmurs, but with pride. 520
 And why? Because they see, or think they see,
 Half the beau monde partaking their ennui.
 Thus they, in some dark dirty lodging pent, 1
 Their useless thousands lavish on its rent.
 How much they pay for inconvenience there ! 525
 Each room costs dearer than a house elsewhere.

Such are the scenes, the joys, whose fancied charms
Have lur'd so many from their country's arms.

So many—but not all! Let Erin claim
Some who support her 'mid the crowd that shame—
Some faithful few, who, honour'd and alone, 531
Find in their tenants' happiness their own.
See Leinster, with this rambling rage uncurs'd,
Stand, in example, as in rank, the first;
To grateful vassals equal gifts dispense; 535
Their good his aim, their love his recompense;—
De Vesci, too, within whose glad domains
New towns arise, impartial justice reigns.
These men, and such as these, shall ever find
In grateful hearts their honour'd names enshrin'd;
While he shall sleep forgotten and unmourn'd, 541
His lands who quitted and his duties scorn'd;
Who far remov'd, his tenantry could shun:
Left at the mercy of men showing none—
Attorneys skilful 'gainst the poor to urge 545
Draconic statutes to their furthest verge—
Blind party tools, each striving to attest
Zeal for his own by harshness to the rest—
A church supported not from faith but fear—
A rev'rend clergy no one can revere! 550

Yes, those to preach religion here assign'd,
 Snatch the poor gleanings famine leaves behind ;
 Grasp during dearth *, with unrelenting fang,
 Till thousands perish by one common pang.
 Oh, how unlike the church that loves to smile 555
 In blest protection o'er the sister isle ;
 Whose clergy, to their sacred duties true,
 Instruct by precept and example too !
 The truths they teach, the bounties they impart,
 Convince the head, and captivate the heart ; 560
 And if at times some base unworthy son
 Of England's church, to stain it has begun,
 Whether a bigot or a sinner grown,
 He damns the souls of others or his own,
 E'en he, by his contrasted hue, proclaims 565
 How bright, how pure, the brethren whom he shames.
 Ah, could but Erin's golden cures and sees
 Boast of incumbents similar to these !
 Their clergy's faults the Muse lamenting shows ;
 Wrong to conceal, yet mournful to disclose ; 570
 Reluctant lifts the veil with which they tried
 Not to efface their conduct, but to hide.

* See the extract from Grattan's Speeches in the Preface.

Lo! what a sight expands, the veil undrawn!
 How rapine lurks beneath the sheltering lawn!
 How prompt to tithe, how watchful of their dues, 575
 And damning all who murmur or refuse.
 Sure are their means the tardy to compel,
 A present prison and a threaten'd hell.
 Thus they amass their income; but at last
 What sacred objects claim it when amass'd? 580.
 Does it, in part returning whence it sprung,
 Instruct the wretches from whose hands 'twas wrung?
 Does it the naked clothe, the famish'd feed,
 And cure the misery, itself decreed?
 Ah no!—these holy men, more prudent grown, 585
 No hunger satisfy, except their own.
 Earth, ocean, air—all ransack'd to supply
 Resources to their jaded gluttony.
 Hoarded no more, their treasures soon decline,
 In smoke evaporate, or flow in wine. 590
 Their portly, full-fed forms can best declare
 Whether, cameleon-like, they live on air.
 Yet not unlike cameleons (always found
 Ting'd with whatever colours shine around),
 So they with truly reptile talents range 595
 From hue to hue, and thrive in any change;

To placemen false, but faithful to the place,
 Their friendships vanish with the monarch's grace.
 Punctual at Downing-street, they little care
 What name its new divinity may bear. 600
 A bishop-maker, be he whom he will,
 Act as he may, is bishop-maker still :
 Imagin'd mitres blind their willing eyes,
 And bid them consecrate iniquities ;
 Bid them in turn all principles receive, 605
 'The viewless see, th' incredible believe ;
 Hear with approving smiles the dullest chat,
 And bow assent before they know to what !
 So base their conduct, 't would be, Truth declares,
 Meanness in us not to acknowledge theirs ; 610
 Prone to desert their livings, and to stray,
 They care not whither, so it be away.
 Bath ! Cheltenham ! your gay circles best can tell
 How much at home these faithful pastors dwell.
 There rev'rend fops and epicures combine, 615
 Nimble to dance, or fervently to dine.
 'Such are their deeds ;—the sequel would you search ?—
 A crowded jail, a solitary church :
 Ah ! were but theirs the candour which atones
 For half the faults and failings that it owns ; 620

Which by a frank confession, made at last,
 Might cheer the future and efface the past ;
 'But no !—still bent upon obtaining more,
 They disavow the wealth obtain'd before.
 Since Goldsmith's tale * how alter'd they appear ! 625
 Not " passing rich with forty pounds a year,"
 But grown far more enlighten'd, seem agreed
 With twice four hundred † to complain of need ;
 Whilst in the hope their opulence to share,
 Hir'd partizans their poverty declare. 630
 Ye half-starv'd curates, learn this path to go,
 Unless you call them poor, they 'll leave you so.
 Tithes, glebes, grants, dues, fines, deaneries and stalls,
 Mere nothings, if we credit these cabals.
 True, judging from the portions that proceed 635
 In charities, they must be poor indeed !
 Yet, wherefore strive their statements to deny ?
 Leave them to Erin's curses for reply.

With how much justice, piety, and sense,
 Each pamper'd rector preaches abstinence ; 640

* See the Deserted Village.

* Eight hundred a year has been computed as the average income of Irish livings ; and it is shown in the Preface that this is by no means an excessive calculation.

Condemns the poor for daring to complain,

And bids them famish in unpitied pain !

See, at his call, tithe-proctors * prowl about,

With lynx-like eyes each farthing ferret out ;

Ready to pounce on prey, and all but snatch. 645

A tithe of stubble from the cottage-thatch ;

Drain the small profits of the peasant's purse,

And make him deem fertility a curse !

Crush'd by the weight, the people vainly writhe

'Neath countless fines and all-exacting tithe ; 650

In vain they weep, pray, swear, implore, accuse ;

It matters not,—“ the church must have her dues.”

True, we behold Trench, † Jebb, and many more,

Friends to distress, and fathers of the poor :

The needy plac'd beneath their pious care, 655

Never sigh'd forth one unavailing prayer.

Amidst their brethren's wide-extended stain,

Like Gideon's fleece unsullied they remain :

* This class of persons was happily described by Mr. Grattan as “ a sort of wolf left by the shepherd to take care of his flock in his “ absence,” and their chief use is to obtain from the poor what the clergyman would have blushed personally to require. I believe, however, that in many cases the clergy were really not aware of the extreme oppression and tyranny of these delegates ; yet even then such negligence is surely very culpable.

† The archbishop of Tuam, and bishop of Limerick. It would be difficult to pay a higher compliment to the charitable exertions of

Yet these, we must to rigid justice true,
 Own—blushing own—comparatively few. 660
 'As for the rest—but hold!—how should I dare
 Their wealth to reckon, or its use declare?
 'Twere raising boldness to the highest pitch
 To censure men so mighty and so rich.
 Besides, the world would ne'er believe my song; 665
 “Can rev'rend prelates possibly be wrong?”
 But should you truly, frankly seek to know,
 If they are sway'd by avarice or no,
 Take Derry's see, and from it judge the rest;
 The richest prelate ought to be the best. 670

Look then to Derry's bishop;—he whose name
 With Scotland's great reformer's is the same;
 Poor, needy* prelate! who possesses clear
 No more than twenty thousand pounds a year;
 And lo! fresh claims upon his purse appear! 675
 From long neglect his unfrequented fane
 Its pillar'd pride is bending to the plain;

the former during the famine of 1822, than by saying that they have not been obliterated even by his subsequent bigoted and intemperate zeal for proselytism.

* It is well known that the Bishop of Derry, the richest bishop in Ireland, or perhaps the world, applied to government for funds to repair the dilapidations of his cathedral.

What then, shall he, retrieving his neglect,
 Repair the church, and pay an architect?
 Repair the church! 'twere profligate expense 680
 Of funds allotted him by Providence;
 No doubt, intended solely to afford
 Wines to his cellar, dainties to his board.
 'Tis not for him to dissipate what Heaven
 Towards other ends has bountifully given; 685
 No! far from him be such an impious plan;
 "Write word to Dublin, Goulburn is the man.
 "Say the cathedral totters,—and must fall,
 "(My lands* so few, my revenues so small),
 "Unless his coffers open at my call. 690

* The bishop of Derry, in his evidence before the Lords' Committee, in 1825, states (page 453), that he "thinks the see lands in his diocese are a hundred thousand acres!" A return of all the bishops' lands was ordered by the House of Commons, in 1824; but of the twenty-two dioceses there were three of which the exact amount could not be ascertained, and of the others Mr. Leslie Foster remarks, that the amount given is probably below the truth, as the tenants (who furnished these returns) have an obvious interest in depreciating the apparent value of their holdings. Without allowing for this cause, and judging from the averages of the rest, Mr. Leslie Foster computes the total amount of the episcopal lands in Ireland at 617,598 Irish acres. To this must be added the parochial glebes, amounting, from official returns, to more than 83,000 acres, besides the dean and chapter lands, of which no computation was made.

- " Laymen are bound in conscience to assign
 " The sums demanded by a sound divine ;
 " 'Tis ours to read them lectures, sermons, prayers,
 " To pay whatever we request is theirs.
 " Enough for us, if charity we teach, 695
 " Leave them to practise what we only preach."

Such *is* the present bishop !—let him pass,
 And notice what his predecessor *was*.
 Fortune on him a double rank conferr'd
 Of Derry bishop, and of Bristol * lord ; 700

Thus, exclusive of the dean and chapter lands, the church lands amount to more than 700,000 Irish acres. Now, Irish acres are to English acres nearly in the proportion of five to eight, and thus it appears that the estates of the church of Ireland amount to nearly *twelve hundred thousand English acres*. Yet, in spite of this immense property, of oppressive tithes, and of parliamentary grants for first fruits and other objects, the Irish clergy still, it seems, consider their incomes insufficient; and we find the bishop of Limerick pathetically complaining in the House of Lords of the "poverty and privations of these respectable men!"

* Forsyth, an author whose general authenticity is admitted by all travellers into Italy, says of this prelate, "His conversation ran generally in support of atheism, yet when others attacked revelation he would for the moment defend that religion which doubled his income.—His conversation was obscenity itself; no modest woman could talk with him."

The Countess de Lichtenau (mistress to the late king of Prussia)

His place so sacred, and his vices such,
 You scarce can blame too little or too much ;
 Despising Heaven, and yet afraid of hell,
 At once a bigot and an infidel ;
 Right Reverend Deist ! who from Christians drew 705
 The wealth that serv'd to break their tenets through :
 With unbelief so bold in its displays,
 His very chaplains nearly ceas'd to praise.
 A mind that shock'd e'en those his manners won,
 A hand for all men, and a heart for none, 710

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received from him, amongst others, a letter against the immortality of the soul, which she has however scrupled to publish in her Memoirs. She has only given its first sentence, which is as follows :

“ Au diable, ma chère Wilhelmine, avec ton Roman de l'Âme ! ”

See her Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 46.

How few bright epochs shine to break the gloom
 Of Erin's dreary and unvaried doom !
 Wrongs unprovok'd, oppression without cause ;
 Decoys for schools, and bayonets for laws ;
 To see expos'd in vain a thousand times 715
 Each bigot corporation's charter'd crimes ;
 Men, who in justice to their deeds, should bear
 No golden * chain, but such as convicts wear :
 With wrongs like these, say who can deem it strange
 The madden'd peasants panted for revenge ? 720
 Forc'd to enrich a faith they disbeliev'd,
 Spurn'd by the prelates who that wealth receiv'd,
 While rev'rend *clerics* in high-church factions bred,
 Oppress'd them living, and denounc'd them dead ;
 With nought to fear—all hope, in any change, 725
 Rights to regain, and murders † to avenge ;
 Oh ! who can wonder, if they seiz'd at length
 The last—the worst alternative—of strength ;
 Dar'd their rude ranks undisciplin'd oppose
 To mustering squadrons and experienc'd foes ? 730
 Cease to condemn, or ponder ere you blame ;
 Who, goaded thus, might not have done the same ?

* The common badge of mayoralty.

† The often unpunished assassinations of Catholics by Orangemen.

Thin is the line at times, which reason draws
 Between a hero's and a traitor's cause ;
 Deeds much the same in turns we blame or bless, 735
 Check'd by defeat, or favour'd by success.
 Had Nassau fail'd, when striving to restore
 The sacred rights that England held before,
 How then against " this impious, foul design"
 Had thunder'd each sound lawyer and divine ! 740
 But soon as victory on his side declares,
 What zealous statutes ! and what loyal prayers !
 Soon as his arms have made success his own,
 Success is wish'd him in the loudest tone.
 Alas ! why should this monarch's injur'd name 745
 Now sanction deeds so foreign to his fame ?
 His memory grown a watchword to oppress,
 From Orange scribblers of the daily press !
 Those insects, whose continued buzz annoys,
 More from its never ceasing than its noise ; 750
 Who the same lie unblushingly renew,
 Until at length e'en they believe it true ;
 Who, self-elected, self-applauding sit,
 Judges of reason, eloquence, and wit ;
 Marring with pompous phrase the plainest news, 755
 And never harmless, but when they * abuse !

* A fool quite angry is quite innocent. POPE.

Small harm at least could all their yelpings do,
 While "village politicians" were but few ;
 But now the mischief spreads as times proceed,
 So few can reason, and so many read. 760
 Now that mechanics criticise the state,
 Preside at clubs, and prattle in debate,
 Forsake their useless loom, their idle spade,
 Kind men ! to teach us principles of trade.
 With readers such as these, no doubt we fear 765
 Each petty scribe, each daily pamphleteer ;
 Thanks to their toils *, each half-forgotten feud,
 Each slumbering party-feeling burns renew'd :

* The extraordinary lengths to which the Orange newspapers usually go are quite unparalleled, and equally apparent, in the injudicious praise of their adherents and the excessive censure of their antagonists. Thus (to give two instances only out of a thousand), whilst we are assured in the Correspondent of June 8, 1826, that Mr. George Moore, the new member for Dublin, "seems like a man of Providence—the baptist of the constitution, sent to announce its second redemption,"—we find in the Evening Mail of June 12, that not even the learning, the eloquence, or the high official situation of Mr. Plunkett can shield him from the most unmeasured reproaches for his opinion on catholic emancipation. We are told that he is a "golden calf," set up by "these idolaters," (a polite way of alluding to Roman catholics), and that the voters in his favour are "creatures who have forfeited every claim to the name of protestant by the support they afford this man !"

It must be confessed, however, that the Orange newspapers de-

Rous'd at their call, as to redoubled life,
 The Orange champions rush again to strife. 770
 See how they turn and twist the pliant laws !
 See by what arts they justify their cause !

rive but too ready a pretext for their violence from the intemperate language of some of their opponents. Whilst we in this country are too apt to imagine that the Irish adversaries to emancipation are influenced by the same conscientious and honourable motives which animate the English ones, some catholics seem to lie under the opposite mistake, and to judge of the English anti-catholic from the Irish Orangeman. Thence it is that we find them speaking of the statesmen opposed to them in terms of such severe obloquy, and imputing to them sentiments of malignity and detestation which appear almost ludicrous to an Englishman from their utter improbability. It can require no argument to prove that those who claim liberality from others should be the first to exhibit it themselves; and it may safely be predicted that the Roman catholics have not less to fear from their own exasperation than from that of their antagonists. Such excesses may, however, be pardoned in men still impressed with the memory of former persecution, and debarred by exclusive laws from the professional advancement to which their talents might entitle them. Yet there is one instance to which it is impossible to apply the same excuse, and which can scarcely be mentioned without feelings of regret and indignation. I allude to the speech against the duke of York, said to have been made by Mr. Shiel, at a public dinner during last September, when he blamed the chairman for having given the health of his royal highness, and entered into a long attack of his private character. This conduct appears still more unjustifiable when we recollect the illness with which his Royal Highness was then afflicted, and of which we have so lately had to deplore the fatal termination. I am willing to hope that the expressions then used

Zeal that might grace the highest and the first,
A settled rancour, worthy of the worst!

But you whose bosoms burn with *honest* zeal, 775
The faithful phalanx of the common weal,
Ye landed gentry!—not the absentee,
That heartless fugitive from fealty,—
But ye, who, ne'er to stranger's hands consign'd
The sacred charge your fathers left behind; 780
Ye, whom your country when her fortunes frown'd,
Has often tried—and faithful ever found;
Still—still continue in your proud career,
Careless of clamour, unassail'd by fear!
May bigots ne'er your own right sense obscure, 785
No threats alarm, no flatteries allure;

by Mr. Shiel may be attributed rather to momentary excitement than to settled animosity; and, at all events, I am convinced that such sentiments were strongly at variance with those of the great body of catholics in Ireland. However much they may have deplored the unfortunate prejudice which his royal highness entertained against them, they, knowing it to proceed from the most honourable motives, rather sought to dissipate it by their unabated loyalty than to confirm and justify it by intemperate feelings; and had it ever pleased Providence to call him to the throne, he would have found no subjects more faithful to him and to the constitution than those very catholics whom he so strenuously endeavoured to exclude from all participation in its privileges.

Strive for the claims your brethren have implor'd,
To equal merits equal rights accord !

Will men proscrib'd such partial edicts bear,
Or love the liberties they cannot share? 790

Thus as you wish them to defend the throne,
Bound not its gifts to protestants alone ;

Let education o'er the isle extend,

Not to convert the people, but amend ;

Let not the awe to churchmen justly due 795

Conceal their faults from your deluded view ;

But own their rapine and correct it too :

Let laws unbought a purer course assume,

And grant th' excluded papist equal room ;

Join in this cause—with common hearts unite,— 800

Resist abuse, and battle for the right :

Soon shall success your patriot names endear,

Inshrin'd, for ages :—only persevere !

APPENDIX.

* ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

*Extracts from the Evidence before the Lords' Committee
in 1825, ordered to be printed 4th July, 1825.*

J. DOHERTY, Esq. M. P.

HAS not the practice of sheriffs been of late much more consonant to their duty than it was formerly?

I have been informed that it has.—Page 132.

The information you received as to the misconduct of sheriffs leaves, however, no doubt in your mind of its correctness?

I believe there is much misconduct on the part of sheriffs still.—Ibid.

* It was my original intention to have made extracts from the evidence before the committees of the House of Commons, as well as from that before the committees of the House of Lords; but I found that this would have occasioned much useless repetition, as in both nearly the same witnesses were examined, and a similar course of investigation was pursued. It may be added, that the evidence before the House of Commons is not taken on oath, as it is before the House of Lords.

A. R. BLAKE, Esq. one of the Commissioners of Education, and Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer in Ireland.

Do you think the people are generally aware of the extent to which offices are open to them in Ireland?

I think the people consider that there is in the law a spirit of hostility to them and their religion.—144.

Do you think the feeling you have described general among the catholics at present?

So far as my opinion goes, it certainly is.

D. O'CONNELL, Esq.

Have you observed in the administration of justice in the superior courts, any disposition towards undue partiality?

In particular instances I have. . . . Whatever may be the result in individual cases, it leaves a general impression upon the mind of the Roman catholics that their property, or, in cases of criminal offences, their lives and liberties, are not secure. I know that that prevails to a very great extent, so that a Roman catholic, the most cool and rational amongst them, and dispassionate as to parties, would rather submit to great wrongs than attempt a trial at Dublin.—189, 190.

Although catholics are competent in point of law for the last two or three and thirty years, to be on the term grand juries in the city of Dublin, I believe I am quite safe in saying that not one has ever been upon those

grand juries. Indeed, what we call liberal protestants are almost equally excluded.—190.

Is there any reason to suppose that there is any unfair or unnecessary taxation by grand juries in Dublin?

There is not the least doubt upon the public mind that there is a great deal of unfair and unnecessary taxation. We are quite convinced of that, though I am not prepared to give the details.—191.

I have seen instances of the grossest and most-outrageous opposition in particular jurors to the administration of justice.—193.

The practice of the civil bill courts has introduced a most frightful extent of perjury, and tends extremely to demoralize the Irish people.—195.

Stealing decrees has become a familiar phrase; that means obtaining a decree without the service of any process; a service sworn to but not made, and where frequently debts do not exist at all.—197.

Where any of these bad results follow, do you know of any instance of prosecution and punishment for stealing decrees, and so forth?

I have known of a few instances of punishment, but many more where punishment has been impossible.—Ibid.

What is your opinion of the administration of justice in Ireland by individual magistrates?

My opinion upon that is certainly very unfavourable. . . . The magistrates are very much in the habit of receiving written informations brought to them ready prepared, drawn up in general by some person who was

sometimes a schoolmaster, and in general called a hedge attorney (that is, did not belong to the profession, but had the name), who put down the most violent terms that his knowledge of the law admitted, introduced felony and burglary into every case—"feloniously milking a cow," I recollect, and "feloniously digging potatoes." Then upon these informations the magistrates were in the habit of committing persons to gaol upon charges of felony, and they lay in gaol then until the ensuing assizes, sometimes three, four, five, and six months, and sometimes seven, between the autumn assizes and the ensuing spring assizes. Then, when the judges arrived, it turned out that the utmost the charge could be was a civil trespass or some light misdemeanour; but the man had lain in gaol months. That was a thing of by no means unfrequent occurrence.—200.

Would a repetition of such conduct (oppression in a tithe case by two magistrates) not subject them to a species of disgrace with the bench which would have an effect?

The individuals to whom I allude cannot be more disgraced than they are; one is in the depot for convicts to be transported as a felon, and the other was discharged the other day as an insolvent debtor. I saw him discharged. These individuals cannot well be more disgraced.—202.

Have not many magistrates been lately dismissed in consequence of their misconduct?

There has been lately what is called a revision of the magistracy. Many bad magistrates have been certainly

excluded. In particular counties the exclusion ran more according to religion than misconduct; and in the county of Cork, almost every catholic magistrate was struck out. I think, but I may be mistaken as to number, eighteen out of twenty-one.—203.

Have not a great number been restored?

A great number have been restored: a great majority have since been restored.—Ibid.

Do you think there is at present a fair proportion of Roman catholics in the commission of the peace in the counties with which you are acquainted?

I do not think there is.—204.

Are you acquainted with the administration of justice by the magistrates of corporate towns?

It is extremely complained of, in both civil and criminal matters. They have civil jurisdictions called courts of conscience, that set at defiance certainly every notion of conscience. They are considered as the worst receptacles of perjury; they are very much complained of, and I believe most justly complained of. The magistrates in corporate towns derive very considerable emolument from that miserable species of litigation; and wherever men derive emolument from it, it is not to be expected that they will discourage it.—209.

In the town of Tralee there was a person, a provost there, who was understood to have a regular scale of money for which he bailed any offence whatsoever. . . . His rate was ten guineas for a capital felony of an atrocious kind, five for a minor offence.—Ibid.

Supposing a person to have been found guilty on a

criminal information, would he still remain a magistrate?

Yes; in a corporate town he would: it would not create a disqualification.—*Ibid.*

Will you state your opinion of the manor courts?

The manor courts are extremely bad; it is hardly possible to convey to the committee an idea of such a grievance as the manor courts are: in general the seneschal is a very obscure person; he holds his court in a whiskey-house. The jury that are sworn must have a certain quantity of whiskey before they will go together.—214.

Are those manor courts of any use?

In my humble judgment, of not the least use.—215.

Have any other instances of abuse come to your knowledge in the administration of corporations than those you have stated?

Yes; the corporations in Ireland exact tolls to an enormous amount, to which, in my judgment, they have no title whatever.—222.

Have you ever known the funds of a corporation applied to purposes of private advantage?

I have known the public money levied by corporations for private advantage, and; of course, so applied.—*Ibid.*

If those corporations continue to levy tolls to which they are not liable by law, does not there exist a remedy at law?

There does, but surrounded by very many difficulties.—223.

Major-General BOURKE, a Magistrate in the County of Limerick.

When you state that there exists, upon the part of the people, an indisposition to respect the laws, to what particular causes do you attribute that indisposition?

Chiefly to the mal-administration of the law by inferior tribunals, and especially by justices of the peace.—
270.

There were, and there are, several persons now in the commission of the peace in the county of Limerick whom the sheriff would not place upon the grand jury.—Ibid.

To what degree do you consider the reform, which is understood to have taken place within the last two years in the magistracy, to have been attended with the removal of that description of persons?

It has removed some very improper persons, beyond a doubt; but some so removed have since been restored, and I should say it has not gone the length it ought.—
Ibid.

Do you conceive that a sufficient number of persons, properly qualified in all respects to exercise the duties of a magistrate, could be found?

I have no doubt that the materials of a very good magistracy could be found in the county of Limerick. I think it is quite clear that it was not the necessity of the case that brought improper persons into the magistracy, as I find objectionable persons, and very respectable persons, situated close to each other, and that there are improper persons found where there is a greater

number of magistrates than are required for the due administration of the law within their district.—Ibid.

Various important matters, required by act of parliament to be done at the sessions, are totally and wholly neglected in Ireland.—272.

It is very generally believed that there is a great deal of false swearing produced by the civil bill process.—275.

What remedy has the person aggrieved by that false swearing? How is he to find out and follow the person who has sworn falsely?

I hardly know; I hardly know an instance of a trial for perjury. I once discovered a perjury myself in the case of a person for whom I was interested; and on consulting the assistant barrister as to the prosecuting him, and being anxious to do so, he advised me not, as it would be in vain.—Ibid.

With respect to grand juries, is their constitution satisfactory, or have you any observation to make as to any better mode of constituting grand juries?

I do not think that the system of grand juries, as far as relates to the granting of money for the construction or repair of roads, is by any means satisfactory. I think it has been productive, among the higher orders, who usually compose grand juries, of a very loose and irregular practice in levying public money, and amongst the lower orders it has assuredly introduced habitual perjury.—277.

With respect to corporate cities, Limerick, for instance, which I know better than any other, the grand

juries have not been selected from the wealth, respectability, or intellect, of the city and liberties of Limerick.—281.

Colonel W. S. CURREY.

I am perfectly convinced that there is a feeling generally of superiority among the protestants, that even the lower orders of protestants consider themselves as superior to the catholics.—296.

Mr. JOSEPH ABBOTT, a Solicitor of the Court of Chancery in Ireland.

What sort of impediment did you meet with in the office of the sheriff to the execution of your process?

In Ireland, notwithstanding there are very strong enactments against the continuance in office, from year to year, of the under-sheriff, it is very generally the case that it is held by the same person for a number of successive years, and frequently for life; and the under-sheriff goes into it with very little idea, I may say, of doing any duty, save what may be productive to himself.—310.

What governs the amount of the extra fees?

Merely, I apprehend, either the pleasure of the sheriff, or, more commonly, the usage or custom which prevails on granting special warrants.—312.

Is there any fee for giving notice?

I apprehend not any fee so called, but the course is this: the sheriff expects of the two the defendant will be a better customer to him than the plaintiff; the de-

defendant is in his bailiwick, the plaintiff is not. It is, therefore, I apprehend, the usual practice to get the fees from the defendant to which the sheriff would be entitled upon executing the writ for the plaintiff: he therefore does not get any fee specifically for not executing the writ, but he gets the fee to which he would be entitled had he executed it. And, therefore, I have known an equivocal creep into evidence given on that subject; that is, that the sheriff did not get any thing for obstructing the course of justice, but he gets the same as if he did his duty.—*Ibid.*

HON. ROBERT DAY, one of the puisne Judges of the Court of King's Bench.

From the many and high duties you have performed for a long series of years, has it not fallen under your observation, that great jobbing has taken place in money matters on the grand juries?

Most disgusting—insomuch as to let down the character of the Irish grand jury.—855.

In the city of Dublin, with which I was perfectly acquainted, I never saw a Roman catholic grand juror.—859.

Is the magistracy in towns corporate of a description equally respectable with that of the magistracy of the county?

In property they are inferior.—*Ibid.*

Is their administration of justice equally satisfactory?

I believe, very far from it. Some strong recent instances have occurred to the contrary.—*Ibid.*

The sheriff or sub-sheriff was too much in the habit of seeking pretences for evading the execution of their duty.—862.

Extracts from the Evidence before the Lords' Committee, in 1824, appointed to examine into the Nature and Extent of the Disturbances which prevailed in those Districts of Ireland, then subject to the Provisions of the Insurrection Act. Ordered to be printed May 21st, 1824.

Major R. WILLCOCKS, Inspector of Constables and Police, under the Constabulary Act, in the Province of Munster.

Have any cases come to your knowledge in which magistrates have improperly taken fees or rather presents?

Of my own knowledge I cannot speak to the positive fact, but I believe many have done it; I have reason to think so.—84.

Do you consider the improper conduct of those justices as one of the main causes of this spirit of insurrection?

I think that in some instances it was.—Ibid.

Are any of those magistrates who have committed those acts still remaining in the commission of the peace?

All the magistrates of that character have been dismissed who were under the controul of the chancellor, as I believe.—92.

Are there any magistrates who are not under the controul of the lord chancellor?

There are some in corporate towns.—Ibid.

Have you ever heard that those magistrates (in the corporation of Limerick) or any portion of them have been supposed to act under party bias?

Yes, I have heard that.—93.

Has it ever fallen within your knowledge that they have so done?

I think it has, certainly.—Ibid.

In many instances?

I have heard of it in many instances.—Ibid.

Are you to be understood, generally, that you entertain a belief that the magistrates sitting in the county and city of Limerick have been biassed in their magisterial capacity by party motives?

I have heard it, and I believe it.—Ibid.

Major POWELL, Inspector of the Constabulary in the
Leinster District.

You are acquainted with the county of Meath?

Yes, in the same proportion as I am with the other counties.—182.

Do you know of any occurrence in that county of a man being shot?

There was a man shot there; the police-man had a warrant against an individual whom he supposed was attempting to make his escape, and he fired and killed him.—Ibid.

He was not the individual against whom the warrant was ?

He was not.—Ibid.

What was the result of that trial ?

The constable was found guilty of manslaughter.—Ibid.

What was the sentence ?

Twelve months' imprisonment, and to be burnt in the hand.—Ibid.

W. W. BECHER, Esq. M. P.

Are you aware of any additional causes of dissatisfaction beyond those you have already stated ?

I think the way in which the magistrates in that county in general did their duty, and the description of persons that held that office, contributed to bring it into disrespect and dislike. . . . It was no uncommon thing, on the part of some magistrates, when a friend had incurred a penalty under a particular law, the Road Act, for instance, to remit the fine to him, while, very probably, it would be levied strictly against another, and merely because he was an object of dislike to the magistrate. When any affidavit was to be made, it was by no means uncommon to dispense with the form of kissing the book to a gentleman or a friend, while it was insisted upon strictly in other cases. In short, I think there was any thing but impartiality and fair-dealing among the magistrates.—240.

W. H. NEWENHAM, Esq

You were high-sheriff last year (in the county of Cork)?

I was.—347.

Of what class of persons are the sub-sheriffs?

In general attorneys.—Ibid.

Are there any instances of any of them taking bribes for not executing their duties?

I have heard of such.—Ibid.

Rarely, or frequently?

I cannot bring any instances; but I have heard of them frequently.—Ibid.

Has not an improvement in the conduct of sub-sheriffs taken place within the last few years?

I think it has been for some years past better conducted in the county of Cork than in some other counties.—348.

Was not the office of sub-sheriff very much sought after heretofore?

Yes.—Ibid.

Did they serve that office without expecting or demanding from the high-sheriff any remuneration?

In the county of Cork they never demand any remuneration from the high-sheriff.—Ibid.

The Duke of LEINSTER.

Your grace is almost a constant resident in Ireland?

I am.—352.

You act as a magistrate in the county of Kildare?

I do.—Ibid.

Was it on a requisition of the magistrates that the Insurrection Act was extended to that county?

Yes, it was.—Ibid.

Did it appear to you that the state of the county of Kildare was such as to require the operation of that act?

Certainly not.—Ibid.

In point of fact, have any outrages taken place in the county of Kildare to your knowledge, which called for any extraordinary power to be given to the authorities?

There were some houses burnt and there was an unfortunate murder at a fair; but all the people were taken up, and two or three were hung for the murder; and I conceive when we can take culprits and convict them, the Insurrection Act is not necessary.—353.

Is there a habit and custom among the magistrates in Ireland of taking private information, which frequently tends to mislead the magistrates or the government?

I think the magistrates are too apt to take private information.—358.

Do you think it was in consequence of the representations obtained privately that the county was proclaimed?

Yes, I do.—Ibid.

By what description of persons was such information usually brought?

I think there are people that make a trade of it almost.—359.

Has the information so obtained by the magistrates to your knowledge been frequently incorrect?

To my knowledge it has now and then been incorrect.—Ibid.

Marquis of WESTMEATH.

Your lordship is best acquainted with the county of Westmeath?

I have resided a considerable part of my life in it.—403.

Do you attribute any part of the disposition to insurrection that prevails in Ireland to the manner in which the laws are administered?

Yes, I think very often, from the ignorance or the insufficiency of magistrates; the improper appointments that have crept into the magistracy; very often from persons having been appointed who were not capable of executing the duties, or of understanding what the laws were.—404.

Have such magistrates been lately removed?

No, not that I know of.—Ibid.

In point of fact, you have known great misconduct on the part of the sub-sheriffs?

I cannot say that it has come so closely within my own observation as to swear that I know the fact; for one ought to have been in some degree an actor to say that so positively; but it has come within my knowledge as a country gentleman, and as a fact sufficiently notorious, so that no one could deny it.—405.

In point of fact, you think the misery of the occupying tenants, the peasantry of Ireland, arises in some measure from the defective state of the law between landlord and tenant?

I think so certainly. I have observed a great deal of it depending upon that.—Ibid.

Have you been witness to any abuses in the administration of matters by grand juries?

I think I may say I have certainly seen what is called jobbing; I am bound to say so.—406.

The fact is not very uncommon in Ireland, is it?

I believe it not to be very uncommon in Ireland.—Ibid.

In consequence of the sort of person who has served the office (of sub-sheriff) abuses have occurred?

Upon my word I believe very great oppressions upon the people. I believe it has been necessary that those persons who have exercised the duties of the office hitherto should derive a trade and commerce upon it, and the more honest they might choose to be, the less valuable their situation would be to them.—407.

ORANGEMEN.

Extracts from the Evidence before the Lords' Committee in 1825, ordered to be printed 4th July, 1825.

D. O'CONNELL, Esq.

Of what nature were those (Orange) processions?

On particular days the Orangemen go from the lodge

with flags and banners and Orange insignia ; they carry fire-arms, and murders have been committed upon those days of procession. The 12th of July, 1822, there was a person murdered in the county of Armagh by an Orange procession ; the 12th of July, 1823, there was another person murdered by an Orange procession.—266.

Did punishment follow those murders ?

No ; prosecutions followed, but no convictions of any kind.—267.

Can you state, whether in the prosecutions and trials to which you have alluded any catholic served upon the juries ?

I understand that not one, and scarcely a protestant ; distinguishing, as we always do, the protestant from the Orangeman.—Ibid.

Major-General BOURKE.

In the original appointments (of Policemen) were Roman catholics and protestants taken indiscriminately ?

No ; I believe not. I understand that almost all the police who were sent down into the county of Limerick, on the proclamation of the county under the peace preservation act, were taken from a part of the Queen's County, where there were a great many Orangemen ; and such, I think, must have been the fact, because, shortly after their appearance in the county, they began to wear Orange symbols. I recollect particularly in our part of the county, where we have been exceedingly peaceable, we have heard very little of religious distinctions ; in the village of Castle Connel, on some day

APPENDIX.

in July, almost immediately after their appointment, some of those police began to wear Orange insignia; and but for the prudent and proper interference of the catholic clergyman of the parish, I think very considerable disturbance would have occurred in consequence. The same thing occurred in another place, about six or eight miles from that district, where the police adopted the same insignia, and where the same interference was necessary to prevent a breach of the peace.—283.

When did this take place?

In the year 1820.—Ibid.

Rev. HENRY COOK, M. A., Moderator of the Synod of
Ulster.

Dr. Drumgoole was pleased to prophesy the destruction of the protestant church; with us, unfortunately, whenever we hear of the destruction of the protestant church, the common people think of the year 1641; this excited their fears, and consequent disapproval of catholic claims.—352.

Do any enlightened protestants believe in those prophecies to which you have referred?

I think some enlightened protestants do.—Ibid.

General EGERTON.

Have you had any occasion to observe processions and public manifestations of religious opinion in the districts under your order, and to observe their effect?

Constantly in Ulster, processions on the 12th of July:

the Orange lodges meet on that day. It gives rise to a good deal of irritation in the minds of the catholic population.—355.

Have you observed in general the spirit of religious animosity to be much stronger in those parts of the country where such processions and public manifestations, are most frequent?

Yes, I have always considered it desirable to put those processions down, on account of their producing that irritation which was likely to cause disturbance.—Ibid.

Bishop of DERRY.

Does your Lordship know what is the feeling of the protestant population in your diocese, in respect of the removal of the civil disabilities operating on the Roman catholics?

I believe it is universally against it.—455.

Does your Lordship know what is the particular ground of apprehension which is stated by those who are most hostile to the removal of the civil disabilities?

I do not think that they ever gave a reason for it.—Ibid.

They do not like it?

They do not like it; it is very much that, I think.—Ibid.

Are there not Orange societies (in your diocese)?

There are, but they do not meet to beat the catholics.—455.

Are there not Orange processions?

They are very much put an end to, but they still exist

in some measure; they may hurt their feelings, but not their bodies.—456.

Do not you think feelings much hurt may tend to hurt their bodies?

I think they may think so; but the processions took place when I first went into Derry; they were nothing but shows.—Ibid.

Do you not think that those shows are very offensive to the catholics?

I have no doubt now they are; and it is natural they should be so.—Ibid.

Right Honourable SIR JOHN NEWPORT, Bart. M. P.

Have you had occasion to be acquainted with the difficulties under which Roman catholics labour in obtaining the freedom of corporations and other local privileges, to which they are now by law entitled?

I believe that in most of the corporations of Ireland they find very great difficulty in admission to be free-men. I feel great satisfaction in being able to say, that in the corporation with which I am best acquainted, they have found no difficulty; but that, on the contrary, a great number of Roman catholics have been admitted. With regard to those who have rights, there has been no difficulty thrown in their way; and with respect to the freedom by favour, a great many have been admitted since the act of 1793 permitted their being admitted to the franchise.—461.

That is the corporation of Waterford?

Yes.—Ibid.

“You conceive the practice to be the contrary in other corporations?”

“I do. I have no doubt, that in almost all corporations the corporate revenues have been applied to prevent even their legal claims by birth, marriage, or servitude, where they existed, to the freedom of the corporations succeeding.—Ibid.

“Has the circumstance to which you have alluded, as distinguishing the corporation of Waterford from other corporations, been attended with the effect of allaying religious animosity in the community?”

“I have no doubt of it. I believe that the catholics and protestants are on better terms in the city of Waterford, and I attribute it very considerably to that fair conduct in respect of the corporate franchise, different from that in most other cities.—Ibid.

“Will you state whether, in any respect, and in what, the sums levied by the authority of vestries have an unequal operation?”

“The sums levied by vestries have a very unequal operation, because the persons who are to impose them, and the persons who are to assess them, in very many instances constitute a very small portion of those who are to pay them. For example: In districts where there are perhaps four or five protestants, they constitute the vestry; and the consequence is, that they have the power of imposing taxes, unlimited in amount, and without any control as to the expenditure, upon the catholic landholders of the parish. But, more than that, the result of it is, that though the law originally

had contemplated the exclusion of the catholic only from such vestries at which rates might be imposed for building or rebuilding churches, or of the parish-clerk's salary, the result has been, in practice, that all the rates, of whatever nature, have been imposed in the same vestry with the rates for those objects ; and the consequence is, that the catholics have been shut out entirely from any control whatever. . But it also results, that, as there is nobody to control the expenditure, except those half-dozen persons who meet in vestry—and it often happens that those very objects of assessment are portioned out amongst them in their different trades—if they happen to be tradesmen, there is no control whatever ; and the consequence is, that sums are assessed for the repair of the church, and the work is so insufficiently done, that in the course of one, two, or three years, there is a necessity for another assessment ; and still it goes on ; so that the catholic is burthened to an excessive degree, and a protestant too, if he does not happen to attend at the vestry. A very few people generally constitute these vestries ; and as there is no control, the money is all jobbed away. I am afraid there is not quite so much guard in Ireland as there is here ; for the great evil in Ireland is, that there is no public to exercise an opinion ; and whatever malpractices a man may be guilty of, he takes shelter under the party to which he belongs, and they protect him from the consequences.—464.

Colonel WILLIAM VERNER, late Deputy Grand Master
of the Orange Lodge.

What was the date of the (Orange) society ?

The year 1795*.—529.

Since you have known it, has the constitution been always the same ?

Always.—Ibid.

Colonel Verner then delivered in to the committee a copy of the rules and regulations of Orange societies. The "secret articles" are as follows :

" 1. That we will bear true allegiance to his majesty king George the Third, his heirs and successors, *so long as he or they support the protestant ascendancy*, and that we will faithfully support and maintain the laws and constitution of these kingdoms.

" 2. That we will be true to all Orangemen, in all just actions, neither wronging one nor seeing him wronged, to our knowledge, without acquainting him thereof.

" 3. That we are not to see a brother offended for sixpence or one shilling, or more if convenient, which must be returned next meeting, if possible.

" 4. We must not give the first assault to any person whatever that may bring a brother into trouble.

This date becomes peculiarly remarkable when we recollect that it is only two years after the last provisions of the penal laws had been repealed. It might lead us to suspect that the Orange society had been instituted for the purpose of supplying their places, and, if possible, restoring their existence.

“ 5. We are not to carry away money, goods, or any thing from any person whatever, except arms and ammunition, and these only from an enemy.

“ 6. We are to appear in ten hours' warning, or whatever time is required, if possible (provided it is not hurtful to ourselves or families, and that we are served with a lawful summons from the master), otherwise we are fined as the company think proper.

“ 7. No man can be made an Orangeman without the unanimous approbation of the body.

“ 8. An Orangeman is to keep a brother's secrets as his own, unless in cases of murder, treason, and perjury, and that of his own free will.

“ 9. No Roman catholic can be admitted on any account.

“ 10. Any Orangeman who acts contrary to these rules shall be expelled, and the same reported to all the lodges in the kingdom and elsewhere.

“ God save the King.”

In allusion to the clause in the first article, by which loyalty is promised to the king only “so long as he supports the protestant ascendancy,” colonel Verner was asked,

If the parliament chose to pass what is called catholic emancipation, would not the Orangemen think themselves bound to obey the law?

Most assuredly.—533.

What does protestant ascendancy mean?

It means that the king and the church, and the houses

of parliament, and all confidential and principal officers should be exclusively protestant.—Ibid.

Therefore when the Orangemen were bound to support protestant ascendancy, they were bound to maintain the exclusion of the catholics from both houses of parliament?

I do not see that.—Ibid.

In what part of Ireland do you reside?

In the county of Armagh.—538.

Are you acquainted with the yeomanry corps in those parts of Ireland?

I am.—Ibid.

Are there many catholics in the yeomanry?

Not in that part.—Ibid.

Are they principally excluded?

I do not think that any yeomanry corps in that part of the kingdom would admit a Roman catholic; it has not been customary.—Ibid.

If the Orange societies were not hostile to catholics, why did they, by their ninth regulation, exclude all catholics from the society?

Because, from the conduct of the Roman catholics, there was no doubt whatever on the minds of the Orangemen that they were hostile to them.—539.

Could the catholics be hostile to the Orangemen previous to the institution of Orange societies?

They were; and it was out of their hostility that the Orange societies sprung.—Ibid.

Do you think the country ever can be tranquil without some change?

I am afraid not.—542.

Do you think that the country can possibly be tranquil till that question (of emancipation) is set at rest?

I think something should be done, if possible, to set that question at rest.—Ibid.

Would you attempt to set it at rest by giving privileges to the catholics which they have not at present, or by depriving them of those they do possess?

I certainly would not give them more.—Ibid.

Would you take away those they have now?

I should be more disposed to do so.—Ibid.

How far would you go back? Do you think the situation of the catholics previous to 1793 was more consistent with the tranquillity of Ireland than the situation of the catholics since?

I cannot recollect so long ago, but from what I have heard upon the subject, I think so.—Ibid.

Do you think that the concession of what is now called catholic claims would have the effect of composing that disturbed state which has been the subject of regret and complaint?

I do not think it would, because, although we are in a great degree free from it in the north of Ireland, I have heard that the disturbances in the south are in a great measure owing to the subjection to tithes. I am not acquainted from my own personal knowledge with the south of Ireland, but I believe there are other causes also.—Ibid.

Rev. HOLT WARING, Rector of Lurgan, and late Assistant Grand Chaplain to the Orange Society.

If the king had given the royal assent to an act of parliament presented to him, the effect of which might have been to render the houses of parliament no longer exclusively protestant, should you in that case have considered you were absolved from your oath of allegiance?

That is a very abstract question. I am unwilling to state my opinion, but I feel myself bound to loyalty unconditionally; I feel myself bound in allegiance to his majesty and the government, let them make what laws they may; by the government, I mean the legislature.—548.

What do you understand by the words used in this oath, “protestant ascendancy?”

The present constitution, I may say; which means the throne and government essentially protestant.—Ibid.

If then the king should give his assent to an act by which parliament ceased to be exclusively protestant, should you still consider him to be supporting the protestant ascendancy?

I beg to be excused from giving an opinion as to the conduct of his majesty.—Ibid.

Have you ever been present at the processions of Orangemen?

I have.—549.

Does it appear to you desirable, that the laws affect-

ing the Roman catholic should remain in the state in which they now are, unchanged ?

I do not think that they can remain unchanged.—

Ibid.

What is the nature of any alteration in those laws which would, in your opinion, be most consistent with the tranquillity of Ireland ?

I have great hesitation in answering that question, for my opinion would go to set things back to the point from whence they started, and from which I state all the injury to the public tranquillity of Ireland.—*Ibid.*

What point was that ?

From the time that the Roman catholics got the elective franchise.—*Ibid.*

Are you then of opinion that to take away the elective franchise from the catholics would conduce to the tranquillity of Ireland ?

I cannot take upon me to say that ; I think it would do so in my own private opinion.—*Ibid.*

But it is your opinion that it would be better to recur to the state of things as it existed previous to 1793, than to allow things to remain as they are ?

It is.—*Ibid.*

In what way do you conceive it would tend towards promoting tranquillity ?

It would give confidence and satisfaction to the protestants of Ireland, and it could have very little bad effect upon the Roman catholics, who are already in opposition to the government, and are desirous to separate Ireland from England, as we have reason to suppose,

and who were bound, as was lately exposed upon public trials in Dublin, to the extirpation of the protestant religion out of Ireland; therefore, I think, though it would not altogether accomplish tranquillity, it would make us better, and them no worse.—550.

On what grounds do you consider the Roman catholics in opposition to the government of Ireland?

Their being almost universally bound together by oaths of a treasonable nature, and having been convicted of acting up to those oaths in every instance that they have been tried for it; and also, the necessity of the Insurrection Act.—Ibid.

Can you point out any one public declaration of the sentiments of the Roman catholics of Ireland, in which the object of a separation from England was avowed?

I cannot; not expecting this course of examination; I was not prepared to do so.—Ibid.

Are you aware that this object has been distinctly disavowed on oath by the Roman catholics of Ireland?

I am; I believe they have disavowed it.—Ibid.

Do you believe a Roman catholic on his oath?

On points of that nature I should certainly hesitate very much to believe them upon their oath*.—Ibid.

* The extreme fanaticism of the leading Orangemen may be described in the same words as those applied by Mr. Pitt to the opposite extreme—the republican fury of the French—when he characterized it as “that fatal—that destructive—that exterminating spirit, which carries ruin and desolation with it wherever it goes!” Such sentiments of inveterate rancour as those of the Reverend Mr. Waring would only provoke a smile of pity and contempt, did we not

How does the elective franchise give them a power of separating England from Ireland, or even of contributing towards the separation?

It increased the power of the priests very materially. —551.

Do you apprehend that any Irish catholic expects that the persons for whom he votes as his representatives in parliament will vote in parliament for the separation of England from Ireland?

No; I should suppose not.—Ibid.

Do you really conceive that depriving the catholics of a right they have enjoyed since the year 1793 would conduce to the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, speaking as an Irishman knowing the country?

I do not think any thing which can be done will establish tranquillity in Ireland for some time; whether it would conduce to it I cannot say, but I think it might.—Ibid.

Do you not apprehend, from your knowledge of Ireland, that if a measure of this kind was resorted to, the most direful consequences would probably arise?

consider what extended mischief they are likely to produce. What opportunities may not Mr. Waring possess, as a beneficed clergyman, and perhaps a magistrate, of persecuting his catholic parishioners, and showing as much injustice in his actions as intolerance in his language? When we recollect that there are but too many of Mr. Waring's reverend brethren who share his political opinions, does not this single fact seem almost sufficient in itself to account both for the unpopularity of the Irish church, and the wretchedness of the Irish poor?

I think it is too probable they might. I think it is probable they will at any rate.—Ibid.

What measure would, in your opinion, be best calculated to give tranquillity to Ireland?

If I am at liberty to state my own private opinion, the greatest chance of tranquillity to Ireland would be by the abolition of the Jesuit societies in England and Ireland, and, generally speaking, the abolition of all monastic institutions of the Roman catholic church in both countries, and the prevention of the Roman catholic hierarchy from communication with Rome, except through his Majesty's privy council. In my opinion, these two things would tend to tranquillize Ireland as soon as the first dissatisfaction should subside.—552.

If those points were conceded—if the Jesuits were excluded from Ireland, and the communications of the Roman catholics with Rome were made only by means of his Majesty's secretary of state, do you think further privileges could with safety be extended to the Roman catholic body?

I do not think that with safety any further privileges could be extended to the Roman catholic body.—Ibid.

Do you think that taking away from the catholics the elective franchise would diminish the spirit of disturbance and agitation in Ireland?

I should think it would diminish it.—Ibid.

You think then that the best remedy for discontent is despair?

No; but it may prevent a man acting in consequence of his discontent.—Ibid.

Do you think it possible to coerce, for any length of time, five or six millions of catholics which now exist in Ireland?

I do.—553.

By what means?

I think that the means I have mentioned would probably keep them in quiet after the first ebullition was over.—Ibid.

Do you think that in any case they are likely to relinquish the claims they have made?

I cannot pretend to say; those are questions I never considered. I cannot pretend to say that they are prepared to relinquish any thing; but I think that if they had not had those extensions of privileges which were granted to them, Ireland would have been quiet now.—Ibid.

Do you recollect the year 1792?

I am old enough to recollect that year.—Ibid.

Were the catholics remarkably discontented in the year 1792?

I do not believe they have ever been contented.—Ibid.

Do you recollect in the year 1792 their applying first for the elective franchise?

I do not remember that that was the year; but I do remember the circumstance.—Ibid.

Do you remember the terms in which they applied for the elective franchise?

No, I do not.—Ibid.

Do you remember that they applied for the elective franchise on different terms from those on which it was

held by the protestants, namely the increased qualification of twelve pounds?

I do not know that that was the case.—Ibid.

Do you think the higher classes of catholics are conscientious?

I do.—554.

Do you then think, that if a Roman catholic, on taking his seat in parliament, took an oath not to do any thing to affect the protestant establishment in church and state, he would violate that oath?

I did not wish to impute to any person of rank in life that he would violate that oath; but we have upon record that oaths have been taken and violated by Roman catholics. The common people are notorious for having done so. Several persons at the time of the rebellion in Ireland in the year 1798, who were the protegees of and attached by gratitude to their masters, did actually commit murders upon them, because they were told by the priests that all obligation between them and their masters was inferior to the duty that they owed to their church.—Ibid.

What evidence have you that any Roman catholic priest so said to any one of his flock, or encouraged them to commit such murders?

I am not prepared to give any direct evidence; but it was a matter of public notoriety at the time, that a servant of one of the Mr. Latouches was convicted, and I believe was executed, for a conspiracy to murder his master, and made that declaration. There was the Rev. Edward Turner, a clergyman in the county of Wexford,

whom I knew, who was murdered by a servant whom he had himself brought up from a child as an orphan, and that child, at that time grown up to be a young man, murdered his master, and previous to his execution acknowledged what I have said; and it was upon these grounds I made that assertion, and I believe it was said in many instances at the time, and was a thing publicly and generally believed.—556.

Did either of the unhappy wretches, whom you have described acknowledging they were so instigated by their priest, name the priest by whom they were so instigated?

I believe they did.—Ibid.

You alluded to two particular instances, one in Dublin, and one in the county of Wexford?

I did.—Ibid.

You were understood to say that each of those persons when condemned to be executed, acknowledged that they had been instigated to their crimes by certain doctrines, or by some communication from priests: you were understood also to say, that according to your recollection those persons named the particular priests by whom they were so instigated?

I speak only from a vague recollection of that fact; I believe they did.—557.

You do not recollect the names of the priests whom they named?

I do not.—Ibid.

And you are not confident that they named any priests?

I am not confident; but I believe they did.—Ibid.

Do you recollect any other circumstances relating to the conduct of priests but those which you have stated? You have a vague recollection, which had induced you to form an opinion that priests were in the habit of releasing Roman catholics from their obligations to their masters?

I am not able to state any.—Ibid.

You thought however the cases you have just stated a sufficient ground for you to form that opinion?

Certainly.—Ibid.

THE EARL OF KINGSTON.

Does your Lordship remember the period of the rebellion of 1798?

Very well.—695.

Will your Lordship state to the committee, whether, in your opinion, the causes of the disturbances at that time, and of the disturbances which have taken place at different periods since, have been generally the same?

None of the disturbances that I remember since have been at all of the same character. The rebellion of 1798 was begun by the dissenters and protestants; they were the chief promoters of it; their names are very well known to all your Lordships. Emmett, Arthur O'Connor, Jackson, Keugh, Harvey,—in short, all of them were protestants and dissenters. In the beginning it was begun totally by protestants.—Ibid.

Your Lordship does not therefore consider that rebellion as having in any degree originated in a principle

of hostility, on the part of the catholic population, to the protestant ?

Certainly not ; it originated as the French revolution originated—a rebellion against all existing authorities and against the crown.—696.

As far as your Lordship has had an opportunity of observing or of hearing, what has been the conduct of the catholic priesthood in relation to disturbances ?

As far as I have seen, very excellent.—Ibid.

Have you seen in them a disposition rather to support, than to obstruct, the administration of justice ?

I do not recollect ever seeing an instance in which a priest appeared at all to wish to obstruct the administration of justice ; but, on the contrary, as far as it came to my knowledge, they have wished to give every assistance, and I believe that in the late disturbances all the priests with whom I was acquainted did their utmost to bring the people to a right way of thinking, and to prevent their doing any mischief. I believe they are as loyal a class as any in Ireland.—697.

Does your Lordship conceive the catholic priesthood, in general, to be anxious to promote the education of the poor ?

I am sure they are very anxious ; I do not think any people can be more anxious than they are.—705.

Extracts from the Evidence before the Lords' Committee in 1824, appointed to examine into the Nature and Extent of the Disturbances which prevailed in those Districts of Ireland then subject to the Provisions of the Insurrection Act. Ordered to be printed, May 21st, 1824.

G. BENNETT, Esq. a Magistrate under the Insurrection Act.

Have you never heard that the debates of the Orange societies have tended to keep up religious animosities?

I have never read the debates of Orange societies, but I do believe their proceedings have tended to keep up religious animosities. I have heard, and do believe, that the processions of Orangemen have tended to keep up religious animosities.—52.

Major R. WILLCOCKS.

What situation did you fill at Limerick previous to the Constabulary Act being passed?

I was chief magistrate under the Peace Preservation Act.—82.

At the time of your entering upon that appointment at Limerick, had not some circumstances occurred to excite a peculiar irritation between the population and the police?

There had:—Ibid.

Will you state what those circumstances were?

I think there was a distinction made amongst the

police themselves ; something of an Orange system was allowed to prevail in the establishment, which was very early discovered, indeed before I went down to Limerick, by the government.—Ibid.

What was the effect of that Orange system among the constables ?

It made the police in general very obnoxious to the peasantry, that such a thing was permitted amongst them.—Ibid.

W. H. NEWENHAM, Esq.

What is your opinion of the effect of the associations existing in Ireland ?

I think that both the Roman catholic and the Orange associations tend very much to keep up a state of exasperation in the minds of the people.—350.

Which of the two gave the original provocation ?

I believe the one was the effect, very much of the other.—Ibid.

Before the Roman Catholic Association existed, do you believe that much irritation was produced among the Roman catholic population by the acts of the Orangemen ?

I do.—351.

Have you seen no publications purporting to issue from an Orange lodge of an inflammatory nature ?

Not lately.—Ibid.

Have you seen any publications signed by Sir Harcourt Lees, containing the most furious invectives and the most gross vituperation of the catholics in general, and their clergy particularly ?

I have.—Ibid.

Do you not think that such publications must tend to irritate the catholic population in general, and their priests in particular?

Certainly.—Ibid.

ABSENTEES.

Extracts from the Evidence before the Lords' Committee in 1825, ordered to be printed July 4th, 1825.

J. LESLIE FOSTER, Esq. M. P.

In point of fact, except in some well-regulated estates, is not the situation of the peasantry of Ireland, generally speaking, extremely miserable?

Extremely so; beyond what any person can believe who has not seen their condition.—80.

Are you aware that the protestant middle-men find greater difficulty in enforcing their claims for rent than the catholics?

Certainly not.—81.

What I meant by the phrase "the vicious structure of society," and which I am glad to have an opportunity of defining, was a state of things in which the chief proprietors of the soil were almost all absent from the country, and their place occupied by persons of inferior education and immoral habits, with no gradation of ranks between that class and the mere occupiers of the soil, and those occupiers oppressed and barbarized by tenancy in common, engrafted upon tenancy at will, and rendered still worse, if possible, by the habit of gavelkind; a more vicious structure of society probably never existed in any European nation.—99.

In the whole of that district (one near Shanegolden), including, as before-mentioned, above 800 square miles, there was not, in the year 1821, a single road practicable for a wheel carriage, nor a resident gentleman nor a resident clergyman. . . . This tract of country belongs almost entirely to English absentees.—122 and 123.

A. R. BLAKE, Esq. Commissioner of Education, and Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer in Ireland.

Do you apprehend that the average of the produce of the land, which the Irish landlord receives in rent, is larger than that which the English landlord receives?

I apprehend that the immediate occupier of the land does pay a higher rent than peasant occupiers do in England.—141.

You do not speak of the rent to the head landlord?

Certainly not.—Ibid.

Are there more or fewer intermediate landlords since you have known Ireland?

I think every year produces an addition to the number.—142.

D. O'CONNELL, Esq.

These difficulties (in selecting proper juries) result entirely from the present state of society and property?

They do; so many of the gentry and the landed proprietors not residing at all, so many being frightened away by the disturbances, and taken away by other causes.—199.

Major-General BOURKE, one of the Magistrates for the
County of Limerick.

You stated your residence to be in the eastern part of the liberties of Limerick, and that that was tranquil; were the other parts of the liberties equally tranquil?

No; they were not.—289.

To what do you attribute the tranquillity of one, and the reverse of the other?

I think we have more resident gentry in the part of the liberties where I live.—Ibid.

Colonel W. S. CURREY, Agent to the Duke of
Devonshire.

Do the middlemen reside on or near the estates they underlet?

In some instances they reside on the estates; in other instances they live in England and elsewhere.—294.

BISHOP OF DERRY.

What is the state of the poor within your diocese; is it distressed?

It differs very much; but there is very great distress in some parts occasionally.—449.

Has it occurred to you to consider what would be the best remedies for removing that distress?

To get those gentlemen who live abroad to return to it; but that is not in our power. I know no other way.—Ibid.

Are there many large absentee proprietors?

Very many.—Ibid.

Honourable ROBERT DAY, one of the Puisne Judges of
the Court of King's Bench.

Have the actual disturbances in Ireland originated in religious differences, or what other causes?

The recent disturbances in Ireland have not had any thing to do with religion.—868.

In what causes did they originate, in your opinion?

The poverty of the people, which exposes them to the seduction of every felonious or turbulent leader; the want of employment; the absence and non-residence of landlords, who might superintend, control, and advise.—Ibid.

Does any other circumstance occur to you as likely to amend the condition of the occupier of land?

I am not aware of any thing that the legislature would interfere in. The practice of landlords ought to be very much amended; but those reforms must be left to themselves.—870.

Extracts from the Evidence before the Lords' Committee in 1824, appointed to examine into the nature and extent of the disturbances which prevailed in those districts of Ireland then subject to the provisions of the Insurrection Act. Ordered to be printed May 21st, 1824.

MAXWELL BLACKER, Esq. a Magistrate under the
Insurrection Act.

Is there any perceptible difference in the situation of tenants on the property of non-residents and residents?

I should say there is generally.—29.

Are the tenants of the residents, or those of the non-residents, in the best situation ?

The tenants of the residents certainly.—Ibid.

Are the tenants of the resident gentlemen better disposed than the others ?

I should consider so.—Ibid.

G. BENNET, Esq. a Magistrate under the Insurrection Act.

Do you consider the tenantry under resident gentlemen of a better description than the tenantry of non-resident proprietors ?

I do consider that those residing under resident gentlemen are in general better disposed than those who reside in places where there are no resident proprietors.—47.

Major R. WILLCOCKS, Inspector of Constables and Police under the Constabulary Act, in the province of Munster.

With respect to Tipperary, with which you have been acquainted, what was the state of that ?

Tipperary was extremely bad at the time I was first sent to that county ; it could not be in a much worse state ; there was resistance to the law in all instances where they had the least opportunity.—75.

Do you speak of the whole of Tipperary ?

The whole of Tipperary except the barony of Iffa and Offa West adjoining the county of Waterford, that was tolerably quiet ; that barony was very well watched by one of the noble lords of this house, lord Donoughmore, who is a resident good landlord ; and he has been very active and zealous in preserving its tranquillity.—Ibid.

Was the conduct of the landlords, as far as you have observed, lenient and proper?

I think in some respects the country has been unfortunate; that there is a great deal of the property of the gentlemen left to the management of agents, and I think there has been great mismanagement, and some severity, on the part of the agent, in letting the land too high.—85.

You say that there is no necessity for a force of police (in the parish of Castle Connell); will you have the goodness to state why there is no necessity for a force of police?

I know it has been a very tranquil part.—101.

Will you have the goodness to state why it has been a very tranquil part?

There is a very good resident gentry in that neighbourhood, and I think the condition of the poor is not so bad or miserable as it is in other parts of the county.—Ibid.

Major G. WARBURTON, Inspector of Police in the
Province of Connaught.

Do you think that where there are absences it is not prejudicial to Ireland?

Undoubtedly, I do.—148.

In what sense do you mean prejudicial; do you mean prejudicial to the tranquillity of the country, or to the country in other respects?

I would state it generally, that in the first place it deprives the country of that sort of control that rank,

and education, and information gives, and it also deprives it of considerable revenue.

Major THOMAS POWELL, Inspector of the Constabulary in the Leinster District.

Were you not struck with the contrast between the peasantry of England and that of Ireland, when you first went there?

I was.—185.

Are you acquainted with Abbey Leix, in the Queen's county?

I am.—Ibid.

Do you think the situation of that part of the county is more comfortable with regard to the lower orders than it is in many other parts?

I do think it is.—Ibid.

And the spirit of insurrection less prevalent?

There are no instances of insurrection in that barony.—Ibid.

To what do you attribute that?

To the great care and attention of lord de Vesci, besides its being a very opulent neighbourhood.—Ibid.

Generally, are there more disturbances where there is most poverty and misery?

Certainly: for instance, in the barony of Galway I do not think there is a resident gentleman in the whole barony, and that is one of the most disturbed; there have been thirteen murders committed in that barony in two years, at least from report; and there has been no instance of any man being brought to justice.—Ibid.

Have you observed any difference in the districts in which there is considerable residence, and where the land-owners are absent ?

Very great ; the employment is greater where the landlord resides, and the distress is not so apparent.—186.

JOHN LLOYD, Esq.

Have you been employed in the administration of the Insurrection Act ?

Yes, I was.—193.

What is your opinion of the residents in the south of Ireland, as compared with the north ?

In the south of Ireland, at least the parts with which I am acquainted, the principal part of the gentry have deserted it ; they have become absentees ; and I am sure I ought not to have omitted to enumerate that as a very principal cause of the disorderly state of the disturbed counties.—207.

Do you not think, if circumstances should induce a greater residence in the part you have immediately spoken of, it is most probable there would be a greater degree of tranquillity, from the attention, and comfort, and ease thereby produced ?

Indeed I think it would most mainly conduce to the peace of the country.—Ibid.

Are you aware, whether in those estates that are managed by agents in the absence of land proprietors, large fortunes have been made by persons standing in a situation between the land proprietor and the tenant ?

Yes, I have known large fortunes made by the men.

immediately holding under the inheritors, and who let again to an under description of tenant. I have known a vast deal of money made by those persons ; some of them have become very affluent.—208.

With respect to the agents, generally, you do not know of large fortunes being made by them ?

Indeed I have heard of considerable fortunes made by them also.—Ibid.

ALEXANDER NIMMO, Esq.

Your professional intercourse with Ireland has given you the means of general accurate information on the state of the peasantry of that country ?

I have seen a great deal of the peasantry. I have sometimes slept in their cabins, and had frequent intercourse with them, especially in the south and west of Ireland.—226.

Have the goodness to state your opinion of the state and condition of the peasantry of the south and west of Ireland.

I conceive the peasantry of Ireland to be in general in almost the lowest possible state of existence: their cabins are in the most miserable condition, and their food is potatoes with water, very often without any thing else ; frequently without even salt ; and I have frequently had occasion to meet persons that begged of me, on their knees, for the love of God, to give them some promise of employment, that, from the credit of that, they might get the means of supporting themselves for a few months, until I could employ them.—Ibid.

Do you think the rents paid by the immediate occupiers of land are exorbitant?

I certainly do.—283.

Do you know of instances of more middlemen than one standing between the head landlord and the occupier?

It is so universal, that the instance of single middlemen is very rare.—Ibid.

How many middlemen have you known standing between the head landlord and the actual occupier?

I have known four.—Ibid.

W. W. BECHER, Esq. M. P.

The disturbances in the county of Cork prevailed principally, or at least in a great measure, in that part of it which is best inhabited by resident gentlemen; did they not?

They have continued there longer than in other places, but they did not break out there.—253.

Can you form any idea why that should be so?

The explanation that I should attempt to give (for I cannot say that I can give a satisfactory one) would be founded partly on my observation of what has been the fact. I have observed that description of persons that are called labourers have been the perpetrators of those outrages; no matter who set them on. I think that where the greatest number of gentry reside, the greatest number of those persons were attracted, gentlemen gave more employment to persons of that description. When the distress took place, the gentry were

obliged almost universally to diminish the number of their labourers ; there were, therefore, more unemployed and destitute, and therefore more idle and disorderly persons there than elsewhere. Then again, there was more property there. The war is raised against property, and the destruction of property is one of the objects of the insurgents ; that destruction must necessarily be greater where there is most of it, and therefore there are more outrages where gentlemen live than where they do not.—Ibid.

W. H. NEWENHAM, Esq.

How many instances have you known of a tenant being driven for the rent of the same land by different persons ?

I cannot undertake to say ; but it has frequently been spoken of.—319.

Has this contributed at all to produce outrage ?

Very considerably, indeed.—Ibid.

Are there any other causes of outrage which occur to you, which create it, or dispose towards it ?

I think, in general, the wretched state of the peasantry, where they are not near a resident gentleman, has made them, of course, very ready tools for any public incendiary to make use of.—Ibid.

Does it occur to you, as you have turned your attention to this subject, that there are any remedies for the evils you have enumerated as producing the disturbances in the country ?

Every inducement that can be held out to make the

gentry of the country resident, I consider as one of the first improvements.—332.

Is the distress very great in your neighbourhood?

In a place near my own property, but not belonging to me, there is great distress. I cannot conceive distress can be greater any where; for when I was obliged to go out last winter, for the sake of seeing whether there were strangers in the country, and examining those cottages, it was dreadful to see the state in which they were, both for want of clothing and want of provision.—346.

Are they still in the same situation?

They are much the same.—Ibid.

Are they not a demoralized set of thievish people?

They are.—Ibid.

Whose property is it?

It is the property of a Mrs. Fitzgerald. She lives in the county of Cork, but not on that spot. A great part of the land has only lately got into her possession: it has been held many years by a middleman.—Ibid.

JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Esq.

You are a magistrate of the county of Cork?

I am.—365.

Have the goodness to state some of the principal, in your opinion (amongst the causes that have produced the distressed state of the Irish peasantry).

I conceive the sub-letting the ground, I conceive the want of employment, the want of capital, the ignorance of the people, the want of residents both of the landlords and of the established clergy.—376.

Mr. JOHN DUNN.

Is not Abbey-leix, in the Queen's County, in a superior state, in consequence of the constant residence of Lord De Vesci, and the improvements which take place under his direction?

Yes, in a very superior state, and all very happy, comparatively speaking, that are resident on the estate under that excellent good man.—425.

You say non-residence is very much to be deplored; if an estate is managed well by a good agent on the spot, do you consider that it loses very much by the proprietor not being there, supposing the agent fulfils his duty to the tenantry?

I think no agent can do any thing like the presence of the proprietor; but where there is a good agent, much of the loss of the proprietor is removed; but we never can have sufficient compensation for the loss of the great proprietor.—427.

But where there is a good agent, is not the labour taken very often in payment of rent where there is no residence?

I should take it that the portion of labour, where there is no residence, is very trifling to what there would be if there was a residence; but where there is a non-resident who occasionally visits his estates, as is the case of my lord Lansdowne in our county, his tenantry reap the greatest possible advantage from his visit, and he leaves them all, in a great degree, contented and happy.—Ibid.

IRISH CHURCH.

*Extracts from the Evidence before the Lords' Committee
in 1825, ordered to be printed 4th July, 1825.*

J. LESLIE FOSTER, Esq. M. P.

Have you observed any difference in the conduct of lay impropriators and clerical proprietors?

I have observed that there is not the same discontent, or the same resistance exhibited by the payers of tithe to lay impropriators; and I am disposed to attribute that in part, though not in a very great degree, to the lay impropriator not demanding quite so much as the clergy.—85.

Do you attribute any large portion of the disposition to disturbance which has occurred in late years to a difficulty in paying tithes, and to the manner of enforcing the payment of them?

I have no doubt they have had a very considerable operation.—Ibid.

Do you attribute the larger portion of that insurrectionary disposition to the enforcement of the payment of tithes or of rent?

I should think that of late years, since the great depreciation of prices consequent on the cessation of the war, the rents have been a greater cause of discontent than the tithe; but if we look back for fifty years, I should say, that perhaps, upon the whole, the tithes have created greater disturbance than the rents.—Ibid.

Have the tithes been diminished as much as the rents?

I do not think they have. I think the tithe-owners have submitted to the fall of times still more reluctantly than the rent-owners.—Ibid.

What is your opinion of the operation of the two late acts relative to tithes?

I think that very imperfect justice has as yet been rendered to the real merits of that measure. I conceive it of the greatest possible importance in the restoration of tranquillity in Ireland.—Ibid.

Who vote in vestries?

The protestant inhabitants. It has been a matter of legal discussion in what cases the Roman catholics are entitled to vote, and in what not; but, practically speaking, they do not vote: they do not attend.—89.

In cases of building a new church, are not the catholics excluded from giving their vote?

That is my impression of the law, but I have really not examined it.—Ibid.

To your knowledge have any churches been recently built in parishes in Ireland where few or no protestant inhabitants have existed?

I have known of churches being built where few protestants were to be found; but I have not known of instances where there were none to be found.—90.

Have you had any opportunity of observing the effects of unions injudiciously made in causing the absence of the clergyman from a parish requiring his presence?

Yes, there are instances which have fallen within my

observation of unions very injudiciously, and, I should say, improperly made.—95.

Have not, in point of fact, many unions taken place of livings among the most considerable in point of value?

I know of instances of such within my own time, say within twenty years, of unions that ought never to have been made. They were mere evasions of the primate's rules for restraining pluralities.—96.

By what authority were they made?

By the bishop.—Ibid.

Do you know of any instance in the archdiocese of Cashel lately?

No; I know an instance of a faculty for holding more than two benefices in the archdiocese of Cashel, which I conceive to have improvidently issued. *I apprehend there is now a clergyman in that diocese under engagement to reside six months of the year upon each of three livings.* But this is distinct from the case of union of parishes. It is a case of plurality of benefices.—Ibid.

Has it fallen within your experience that the general conduct of the ministers of the church of England has been such as to confer benefit on the Roman catholic population?

There have been individuals amongst the ministers of the established church, whose conduct is not matter for approbation; but I am persuaded that the number of those who zealously discharge their duty has of late increased in a manner truly gratifying.—102.

Has that improvement taken place lately, or at a distant period?

I should say within the last fifteen years, and in some parts of the country much more than in others.—103.

Are the committee to understand that previous to that change the conduct of the clergy of the established church was not marked by that propriety to which you refer?

I think their execution of duty was much more remiss, and that they were then very generally non-resident, compared with what they are at present.—Ibid.

Are they not still non-resident to too great a degree?
I think they do not yet reside as much as they ought, and I should be glad to see them made to reside more.—Ibid.

Is any considerable proportion of the income of the parochial clergy in Ireland derived from the possession of lands?

Yes; a return has been made to the House of Commons during the last year, by which it appears that the glebe-lands, which are the property of the parochial clergy of Ireland, taken together, are somewhat above 83,000 Irish acres.—106.

Do you consider the value of those glebe-lands as in addition to the tithes for which composition is made?

Yes; they have nothing to do with each other.—Ibid.

Have you any means of knowing the extent of lands in the possession of bishops, and deans and chapters?

About the deans and chapters I am not able to speak ; of the bishops' lands I am. The bishops' incomes in Ireland result from the rents and fines for renewing leases of the lands belonging to the church. A return of them has been made to the House of Commons during the last year ; and it appears that in nineteen of the twenty-two dioceses of Ireland, the episcopal estates amount to 316,017 Irish acres of profitable land, and 161,892 of unprofitable land. There are three other dioceses, which have returned that the amount could not be ascertained. . . . I should, however, add, that this is only an approximation to the truth ; for the bishops seldom are in the actual possession of these lands, and their tenants have an obvious motive for withholding from the bishops a knowledge of their full extent. The bishops have made the returns according to the best information they could procure. The estates are, therefore, rather greater than the amounts stated.—107 and 108.

Do you conceive that, under the present system of letting the bishops' lands, great improvements in the land are likely ever to be made ?

No ; I conceive that the ecclesiastical tenure in Ireland is fatal to improvement ; the lands of the church can be distinguished every where by their non-improvement ; and it is obvious why it must be so,—any improvement effected immediately enhances the renewal fine.—109.

In the whole of that district (one near Shanagolden), including, as before mentioned, above 800 square miles, there was not, in the year 1821, a single road prac-

licable for a wheel carriage, nor a resident gentleman, nor a resident clergyman.—122.

A. R. BLAKE, Esq. Commissioner of Education, and Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer in Ireland.

Do you think, that if the Roman catholics were to obtain what is called emancipation, they would be content without the restoration of the church revenues to the catholic clergy?

I am perfectly satisfied they would rather deprecate that restoration than wish for it.—145.

Do you mean to say, that they would wish that the clergy of the church of England should continue to receive the tithes?

I do not mean to say that; on the contrary, I state, that, in my opinion, they would be very glad to get rid of the tithes altogether. It is one question, Do the Roman catholics wish to transfer the tithes to their own priests? and another, Do they wish for the abolition of tithes? But the feeling against tithes is to the full as strong amongst protestants as amongst Roman catholics.—148.

D. O'CONNELL, Esq.

What is the jurisdiction of magistrates in tithe causes, and how is that exercised?

It has been extended by a recent statute (a statute of a few years ago) to ten pounds. I have known it exercised with great and gross impropriety. The clergyman, or whoever is entitled to the tithes, has his selection of the magistrates who shall try his case: .

whatever two magistrates he cãñ get to act for him he may go before; he has an unqualified selection of them. I have known a very gross instance of that in the county of Kerry.—201.

The ecclesiastical courts are considered, and I believe them to be, an extreme grievance in tithe cases. The expense of a citation is eighteen shillings; the tithes may be but five or ten or fifteen shillings. Frequent adjournments take place, and the ecclesiastical courts are situated in one point of an extensive county; peasants have frequently to travel twenty-five and thirty miles, and to go back again with the case untried; then, when it comes to be tried, there is no great confidence in the decision—none at all. . . . Frequently five or six times the amount of the subject-matter of dispute is accumulated in costs, exclusive of the expense of attending the tribunals.—208.

Does not the expense of the law process fall on the tithe-owner?

He recovers it, as he does the tithe itself, with his costs.—Ibid.

Tithes bear universally on the people, and they are, I would say, odious both to the catholic and protestant in Ireland, and we would revolt extremely at the idea of our clergy getting any share of them.—236.

Reverend JOHN BURNETT, Independent Minister of
Cork.

I live in terms of the strictest friendship with the clergy of the protestant church in Cork.—302.

What do you consider as the reputation of those gentlemen, and the degree of their influence and character ?

They are in general respectable in Cork.—309.

As far as you are acquainted with the clergy of the established church, is that the case generally ?

I am not prepared to say that is the case generally ; many of them are not so respected in the country as they are in Cork. However, I think they are improving of late very much.—Ibid.

Do you speak of those who are resident, or those who are absent ?

Of those who are resident. Some of them, in consequence of their peculiar circumstances in reference to tithes and church rates, have gathered around them a good deal of the acrimonious feeling of the parishes to which they belong.—Ibid.

Do they appear zealous in the discharge of their religious duties ?

Not so much so, in general, as the catholic priests.—Ibid.

Right Reverend DR. DOYLE, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.

Is it usual, in cases in Ireland, for the Roman catholic clergy to be charged for their tithe by the protestant clergyman ?

I do not know ; but I know that I have been charged by a dignitary of the established church, who is the

incumbent of the parish in which I live, and who has never resided in it; and in the same year, when I was obliged to spend my last shilling in seeking to support the famishing neighbourhood, he applied to me, and obliged me to pay tithe, which tithe has been doubled within the last year.—378.

Right Honourable Sir JOHN NEWPORT, Bart. M. P.

Can you state the proportion of the catholic to the protestant population, and any relative change which may have taken place in that, of late years?

I am quite sure that the catholic population has increased with very great rapidity, as contradistinguished from the protestant, in the country parts of Ireland with which I am best acquainted.—459.

Are you aware of any instances of large payments, which ought not to have been called for, being imposed on the catholic landholders, in consequence of their exclusion from the vestry?

It appears from the church rates, which I believe have been returned to the house of peers as well as the house of commons, that in the parish of St. Peter's, Drogheda, there has been an accumulation of every species of abuse which it is possible to conceive, inasmuch, that sums of three or four hundred pounds were presented and levied upon the people for building houses for the parish-clerk and sexton, and two years afterwards above 30*l.* was presented for additional accommodation for the parish-clerk; and whereas the law has set limits to the provision for the parish-clerk, they have

allotted 10*l.* annual and more, beyond that which the law allows. They have assessed also in many parishes for organists, and every other gratification which became an object of desire to the protestants who resided there.—465.

W. SHAW MASON, Esq., Remembrancer and Receiver of First Fruits in Ireland.

Will you state what has been the state of the administration of the funds of the Board of First Fruits since you have been connected with it?

I can speak only in reference to my own department. I am remembrancer and receiver of first fruits, and having been called upon by the house of commons, about two or three years ago, for a return of the produce of that fund, the result was, that in ten years it amounted to a sum not exceeding 3000*l.*—480.

Have not the Board of First Fruits more at their disposal?

Yes, they receive large grants from parliament.—481.

How do you account for the smallness of the sum passing through your hands?

From the charges being taken on the ancient or nominal valuations; some of them made as early as Henry the Eighth, others James the First, and, I believe, the latest in the reign of Charles the First.—Ibid.

Are the grants adequate to the demands of the several dioceses in Ireland?

I cannot answer to that; I rather think they are not now sufficient.—Ibid.

Are you aware, whether any measures have been in contemplation to render it more productive?

I can speak only with respect to myself.—Upon the death of the late primate, I thought it my duty to put all ecclesiastical benefices in charge for the just and true values, according to the powers which I conceive are given to me by the patent. This step did not certainly meet the views of the Board of First Fruits, and further proceedings fell to the ground.—Ibid.

M. BARRINGTON, Esq., Crown Solicitor for the Munster Circuit.

Do you by your office obtain accurate information of the crimes that have been committed on that circuit during the disturbances?

I do.—489.

Have the goodness to state to the committee what those crimes were, and what you conceive were the sources from whence they were derived?

The nature of the crimes were murders, attacking of houses, searching for arms.—Ibid.

Did they not state what their objects were?

To get possession of the land, and to remove tithe-proctors.—490.

Did they state any other object?

I do not recollect any others.—Ibid.

Any religious object? •

No, indeed.—Ibid.

Any object of getting at lands generally by confiscation or otherwise?

No, I am not aware of any.—Ibid.

You could not trace any connexion between these outrages and the question of catholic emancipation?

No, in no case.—493.

Archbishop of DUBLIN.

What was the nature of the advantages held out to the Roman catholic converts by the act which has now ceased?

Forty pounds a year for each.—635.

Can you state how long that act had been in force?

I believe a considerable time; but I am not well acquainted with the history of it.—Ibid.

Are not the bishops more attentive to the discharge of the duties of the parochial clergy now than they were formerly?

I was rather reluctant to assign this as a cause; but being asked that question, I must say that I think it is so.—637.

Does your grace in any manner attribute the present state of religion in Ireland, and the present proportion between the Roman catholics and the protestants, to the former inattention and negligence on the part of the protestant clergy?

Their exertions were by no means so great. The views of the clergy as to their duty were not the same.—I think there is a great improvement in the character of the clergy.—Ibid.

Does your grace think that in point of fact it was formerly, in many instances, culpably remiss?

I do.—Ibid.

Do not many protestants hold that the Roman catholics are idolaters?

I believe that many do.—688.

If the belief that the sovereign is a heretic is likely to shake the obedience of a Roman catholic to a protestant sovereign, is not the belief that the sovereign is an idolater equally liable to shake the allegiance of the protestant?

I do not see that.—Ibid.

The Earl of KINGSTON.

Will your lordship state what in your opinion has been the cause of the successive disturbances which have since (1798), at different periods, more or less affected the country, as far as they have fallen under your observation?

A great many, which did not last very long, were on account of tithes, on account of the manner in which the tithe was collected, particularly when they dug a few potatoes; that was called a subtraction of tithe, and they were persecuted by the proctors.—696.

Are vestries in general properly constituted for the discharge of the functions with which they are vested by law?

I think very often the vestries assume a greater power to themselves than they have by law.—The Roman catholics have nothing to say at the vestries. I never

recollect to have seen a Roman catholic at a vestry in my life, though it is their money that is expended.—699.

Is it not common for vestries summoned for church purposes, from which on that account Roman catholics are excluded, at the same meeting to take into consideration other matters at which by law Roman catholics might assist?

Certainly, I believe so: I have seen it so.—Ibid.

Are a large number of your lordship's tenantry catholics?

I cannot state the proportion, but some hundreds to one. In the towns most of the protestants live, but of tenants holding land, three hundred to one, I should think, take all kinds of tenants.—708.

Have you had occasion to observe any circumstances connected with the mode of serving process and decrees which affect the general peace of the country?

I think that nothing affects the peace of the country more; for, in general, the person employed to serve the process is the greatest rascal that can be found; he will swear to any thing.—711.

THOMAS BROWNE, Esq.

What profession are you of?

I reside in Tuam, I live on my property.—735.

There has been the sum of 1500*l.* laid upon the union (of Tuam) for the repairs of the cathedral.—Ibid.

What is the proportion between the protestant and the Roman catholic population of Tuam?

The protestant population of the union is chiefly con-

fined to the town of Tuam, and that, I think, consists of about 100 families.—Ibid.

What is the total population of the union?

I should take the total population of the union to be about 16,000 persons.—Ibid.

Is the poverty of the people such in general as to make the augmentation of cess you have described a severe burthen?

It is perhaps one of the poorest parts of Ireland. The peasantry are in a state of extreme wretchedness.—Ibid.

Has any estimate been made of the expenses of the repairs of the cathedral, or any account given?

No estimate of the expenditure of the necessary repairs has been submitted to the parish for inspection; the archbishop came to a vestry, and said that he could levy 1500*l.* whether the parish liked it or not.—736.

Was any objection made by you or any other person?

I objected on account of the dean and chapter having property applicable to that purpose.—Ibid.

Have any part of those funds been applied to that purpose?

None to that purpose; they pay, I understand, something towards the organist and the support of the choir; but I do not know that they have contributed in any other way either to the repairs or to the current expenses of the church.—Ibid.

What is the amount of the funds you refer to?

They have large property of various descriptions.—Ibid.

Can you state what proportion of the assessment fell on Roman catholics ?

The entire of it.—737.

Until lately did the dean and chapter of Tuam always keep the cathedral in repair ?

I have understood that they have till within the last ten years.—Ibid.

Have there been any other rates made that appear to have been felt oppressively by the population ?

After paying for the expenses of this church, the union is, I understand, about to be cessed for the building of a new church in one of the out-parishes, where there are not, I believe, more than three or four protestants.—738.

Are there many catholic chapels in the union ?

There are a great many. They are extremely wretched.—Ibid.

Do the chapels, such as they are, afford accommodation for the Roman catholic population * ?

Not for half.—739.

* Mr. Browne's evidence, like all the rest, was given on oath, and is therefore entitled to the greatest credit ; but his grace the archbishop of Tuam seems to have cleared himself from taking any blamable part in the affair, by a letter addressed to the lords' committee, and published in the Appendix to the Evidence. It consists of several very closely printed folio pages ; and being too long for insertion here, it will be sufficient to refer the reader to it.

Extracts from the Evidence before the Lords' Committee in 1824, appointed to examine into the Nature and Extent of the Disturbances which prevailed in those Districts of Ireland, then subject to the Provisions of the Insurrection Act. Ordered to be printed May 21, 1824.

RICHARD GRIFFITHS, Esq., a Civil-Engineer, employed by the Government in conducting Public Works in the Southern District of Ireland.

Have the protestants diminished in consequence of the absence of resident ministers in those parishes (county of Cork)?

I understand there have been at former periods more protestants of the lower order than at present; their diminution has been attributed to the non-residence of protestant clergy.—67.

Major R. WILLCOCKS, Inspector of Constables and Police under the Constabulary-Act in the Province of Munster.

Have you known instances of peculiar severity on the part of the proctors or tithe-agents in the collection of tithes?

Yes; and I have known some of them to be shot for it.—85.

Are not the parishes which you describe let to tithe-farmers, a great proportion of the parishes of the country?

A great many of them are.—83.

Let by the clergy to those tithe-farmers at whatever rent these people may agree to give them?

I have known that to a considerable extent.—Ibid.

Have you heard, and do you believe, that those tithe-farmers have been grievous in their exactions upon the people over whom they have control, in collecting the tithe?

I do believe it, and I have known it.—Ibid.

Are the beneficed clergy resident or not in the county of Limerick usually?

I do not know; I think there are a great many of them absent; I cannot speak of my own knowledge.—Ibid.

W. W. BECHER, Esq. M. P.

Have you had occasion to observe the mode in which tithe has been collected in the country with which you are acquainted?

I do not pretend to know accurately all the details; but I have a general knowledge of the way in which it is done.—237.

Has that contributed in any degree to the production of the disturbances which have taken place?

Very much.—Ibid.

Is the tithe on potatoes generally collected in that part of the country with which you are acquainted?

It is.—238.

Upon the smallest quantities?

Upon the smallest quantities.—Ibid.

Are there not a much greater number of tithe payers in the parts of the country where the tithe on potatoes is levied than in others?

There are.—Ibid.

W. H. NEWENHAM, Esq.

Have you ever known an instance of the tithe being so highly valued, that the person who owed it would rather give it in kind than pay the valuation?

Very frequently; I speak generally, not in my part of the country; for the clergyman we are under is a very liberal and fair man.—339.

Do they not sometimes pass notes for the tithe?

They do; then it becomes a common debt.—340.

Are not the notes so passed usually passed at a meeting, held at an alehouse, between the tithe-farmer or proctor and the tithe payers, when all parties drink very freely?

I understand so, very frequently.—Ibid.

Is not the tenant very frequently in the habit of signing those notes, having so drank?

Very often, I am afraid.—Ibid.

Have you any opportunity of knowing whether the tithes were raised as much during the dear times as the rents?

They were.—Ibid.

Have they been lowered in the same proportion as the rents?

In some instances they have, in some they have not.—Ibid.

Does the protestant clergyman generally live in a degree of comfort ?

He does ; there are some very valuable livings in the county of Cork.—Ibid.

What is the situation of the catholic clergy in the county of Cork ?

They are generally poor.—Ibid.

Much poorer than the protestant ?

Oh, considerably.—Ibid.

Are there any who live in any degree of comfort ?

Not what I should consider comfort.—Ibid.

JUSTIN M'CARNEY, Esq.

You are a magistrate of the county of Cork ?

I am.—365.

Were the attacks (in the late disturbances) made equally on the property of catholics and protestants ?

In our country they were almost all made on the individual property occupied by Roman catholics.—367.

Were the attacks levelled against the protestant clergy particularly ?

In some instances they were, with respect to tithes, and with respect to individuals who had taken tithes. In many instances there was a general notice against the payment of any tithes.—Ibid.

Have the goodness to state some of the principal, in your opinion, (amongst the causes that have produced the distressed state of the Irish peasantry).

I conceive the sub-letting the ground ; I conceive the want of employment, the want of capital, the ignorance

of the people, the want of residents both of the landlords and of the established clergy.—376.

Have there been any instances in that part of the country, with a view to the encouragement of the growth of flax, of the remission of rent or tithe from the landlord or the clergyman?

I have heard that there have been instances in which the landlords have remitted the rent. I have not heard of more than one instance of tithe being remitted.—379.

In point of fact, the benefices in the diocese of Cloyne are very rich?

They are uncommonly rich.—380.

At what should you take their value?

I should take the average value in the diocese of Cloyne (I do not mean for the last two years, for I believe the clergy have received very little the last two years), but I should take the average at eight hundred pounds a year. I might go higher; there is one of them, I understand, was three thousand pounds, and twelve hundred pounds was a general rate. They have fallen considerably now.—Ibid.

In what proportion are the incumbents of those livings resident on their livings?

I cannot say through the diocese. In my own immediate neighbourhood there are several not resident.—Ibid.

In the parishes of your neighbourhood, do you know any instances of tithe having been exacted with severity by the resident or non-resident clergymen?

I have known instances of the tithe being enforced strictly; in others it has not been very strictly enforced, though large tithes have been demanded.—Ibid.

Will you state the proportion of protestants to catholics in your neighbourhood?

In my neighbourhood the proportion of protestants is very small indeed.—Ibid.

In any of those parishes in which there is no church, is divine service ever performed by the protestant clergyman?

Never.—Ibid.

He never performs it in his own house or any other place?

Not in the parish.—Ibid.

In many of the benefices where the clergymen are not resident there are no glebe-houses?

There are no glebe-houses in many. I know one instance where a curate has been forced to leave the glebe-house in consequence of his not paying a rent for it to the rector.—381.

Do you think the state of the established church in that part of Ireland, such as you have described it, has contributed to the spirit of insurrection which has prevailed there?

I think the tithes have in some degree contributed; they have been one of the grounds that have been stated.—Ibid.

To what circumstance was it owing the composition (for tithes) did not take place in your parish?

We wished to ascertain what the rector would take;

we made him an offer of seven hundred pounds a year ; we found that the tenth was eight hundred and seventy-five pounds, and it was considered by the parish that they had offered him a sufficient sum considering the additional security he got by it, having the first charge on the land. They conceive that the person, having the first charge on the land, ought to sacrifice something for the benefit he had attained. He would not state what he would take, and it was known that his averages were exceedingly high, though I must state, that I believe his receipts had not been great of late, and the parish, of course, declined to go into the composition till they ascertained what he would take.—382.

The committee are to understand that the composition did not take place in the parish to which you allude, because that being unable to come to a previous understanding with the clergyman as to the amount of composition, you were unwilling to take the first step, having no power, by the act of last session, of stopping when that first step should be taken?

Precisely so.—383.

Is the clergyman in that parish resident?

He is non-resident.—Ibid.

Has he ever done any duty in his parish?

He has done duty ; he generally does it two or three times a year.—Ibid.

Does he keep any curate?

Yes, he does ; the curate is non-resident, but was not for several years. The rector is an official character, and therefore is excused ; he has no glebe.—Ibid.

Do you know what allowance he makes his curate?

Seventy-five pounds a year.—Ibid.

Is that sufficient to maintain him in the situation of a gentleman?

No; it is not.

Do you recollect any period in which there were more protestants than there are now?

In several of the parishes immediately adjoining me I do.—Ibid.

What has become of them?

They are most of them gone to the Roman catholic church.—Ibid.

For what reason?

I conceive the inattention of the clergy.—Ibid.

Have the clergy, in any cases, contributed largely to the rebuilding or the repairing of the churches?

The only instance I have known is in that parish I am now speaking of; the rector did give a sum of money towards building the steeple. I know no other instance of the clergy contributing to the erection of churches.—384.

Generally, in fact, the assessment is by the protestants?

Yes.—Ibid.

Is the Roman catholic excluded from attending vestries?

Not from attending vestries, but from voting at vestries.—Ibid.

When you speak of the assessment being exclusively with the protestants, you mean the imposition of it, not the payment of it?

No; not the payment certainly.—Ibid.

Is there not a great improvement in the management of the church, and the attention of the clergy to their duties?

There has been, within the last few years, a very considerable improvement in many parts of the country, particularly among the younger part of the clergy.—
Ibid.

Have you ever known the corpse of an adult protestant interred without a protestant clergyman attending, from the impossibility of procuring a protestant clergyman?

Yes, I consider I have. I have heard of a person nominally dying a Roman catholic and being buried, in consequence of the clergyman not having either leisure or attention to come to him. He has been a protestant within a few hours of his death, and probably did die a protestant, though having submitted to the forms of the Roman catholic church.—385.

Have the protestant clergy attended to the moral instruction of the people?

Not, I think, to the extent that they ought to do.—
397.

JOHN O'DRISCOL, Esq.

Will you state the circumstances of that occurrence (Mr. Morrith's case), and the effect it produced on the minds of the people, as far as you had an opportunity of observing it from your residence in the neighbourhood?

Mr. Morrith's mode of proceeding with respect to his tithe was to send out his valuers at an early period of

the season. These valuator's went over the parish and assessed the tithe, or what was to be the future demand for tithe on each farm. What their demand was to be was always concealed from the people: they never knew of course what they had to pay. There was hardly ever any demand made until it was made in a summary way, all at one time, on the whole of the parish; and those demands were very seldom paid, because the people were generally in Mr. Morrith's debt on previous demands. Mr. Morrith's habit was then to go before two magistrates, and he always went before magistrates who were themselves interested in tithe and had tithe property; and to these two magistrates he produced a long list on a large sheet of paper, containing three or four hundred names, and opposite each name was the charge which the valuator's had made for the tithe. These names were submitted to the magistrates, and they were all disposed of in the course of a few hours. The people hardly ever attended, and the magistrates sat in Mr. Morrith's own house; and it appeared to me to be a mere form—Mr. Morrith's producing his sheet of paper, and the magistrates signing that paper. They then issued warrants against every one of those parties; and, in the instance I am speaking of, the constables and some military proceeded with those warrants to levy the tithe that had been assessed by the magistrates; and it is notorious that upon that occasion they proceeded very early in the morning, before daybreak, as it was said; that, however, was a disputed point, but at all events it was very

early, and the people were asleep, and it led to a kind of insurrection. There was a great crowd of people assembled, and they met the police and made them retreat, and two persons were killed on each side. I should mention, that that is not to be taken as a solitary instance, because it was previously the habit of that part of the country; and I understand it has been practised since, and that there have been warrants subsequently attained and signed in that way for some hundreds of tithe processes.—411.

Have you known other instances of the same sort, though not to the same extent?

I have known other instances of the same sort, and to very nearly the same extent.—412.

Then they complained of three circumstances—the amount of tithe, the non-communication of that amount, and the sudden, summary, and oppressive way of levying it?

They did.—Ibid.

In point of fact, those three modes are very often practised in the levying of tithes?

They are very frequently practised.—Ibid.

Do the clergymen of the establishment in that part of Ireland (the counties of Cork and Limerick) perform well the duties of their office?

I should think they do not. They are less in the character of clergymen than of country gentlemen; I think.—Ibid.

Are there not many parishes, and unions of parishes, where there is no resident clergyman at all?

There are some parishes and unions of parishes where there is no resident clergyman.—Ibid.

Are you enabled to state the nature of the emoluments now enjoyed by the Roman catholic clergy, and the sources from whence they are derived?

The emoluments of the Roman catholic clergy generally are extremely small; they are derived from marriages and christenings, and from small annual sums which are paid by the farmers and labourers.—417.

Have you any idea of the comparative value paid to Roman catholic clergymen and protestant, taking it collectively, over the whole country?

I should think the average income of the Roman catholic is about one-fifth, or something less, of what the protestant receives.—419.

MR. JOHN DUNN.

In what part of the country are you resident?

Ballynakill, in the Queen's County.—421.

Can you state whether there exists generally in the parts of the country with which you are acquainted any disaffection; and if there does, what are the grounds of it?

There is very considerable disaffection on the score of the excessive exaction of tithes; that is a great cause of disaffection in the county, and the heavy local burthens that fall exclusively on the occupiers of the land.—423.

Do you conceive those to operate generally, or more particularly on some parts of the country?

I conceive them to operate generally.—Ibid.

When you speak of excessive exaction of the tithes, do you mean that the clergyman exacts more than the value of one-tenth of the produce?

I do; in such cases where the clergyman lets his tithes away to a tithe-farmer, I believe a greater proportion than one-tenth of the produce is exacted by the farmer or tithe-proctor.—Ibid.

Are the tithes in general, in the parts of the country you are acquainted with, collected by means of proctors and tithe-farmers?

They are.—Ibid.

Official Return of the Number and Names of Benefices in the several Dioceses of Ireland, with respect to which Certificates of Composition for Tithe have been registered, and of the Amount settled in each, from the Document delivered in by J. Leslie Foster, Esq. M. P., Feb.-1825.

PROVINCE OF ARMAGH.

ARMAGH.

Benefices.	Amt. of Composition.		
	£.	s.	d.
1 Ardtrea	800	0	0
2 Caledon	660	0	0
3 Desertcreight	550	0	0
4 Desertlyn	250	0	0
5 Killyman	525	0	0
	<hr/>		
	2,785	0	0

CLOGHER.

Benefices.	Amt. of Composition.		
1 Carrickamacross	1050	0	0
2 Donaghmoine	1550	0	0
3 Derrybrusk	84	0	0
4 Devnish	320	0	0
5 Inniskean	485	0	0
6 Killany	500	0	0
7 Killeevan	562	4	2
8 Kilmore	300	0	0
9 Rossory	260	0	0
10 Tedonagh	720	0	0
11 Trory, Per. Cur.	126	4	6

5,957 8 8

MEATH.

1 Kilkenny West	300	0	0
2 Gallen	450	0	0
3 Slane	441	18	4
4 Farbane	300	0	0
5 Clonmacnoise	286	2	5
6 Kilmore	358	5	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
7 Tullamore	150	12	4
8 Clonfadforan	170	0	0
9 Moymet	250	0	0
10 Churchtown	195	9	0
11 Killalon	350	0	0
12 Leney	127	19	0

Carry forward 3,380 6 6 $\frac{1}{2}$

Benefices.	Amt. of Composition.		
Brought forward	3,380	6	6½
13 Rathmolcon	475	0	0
14 Rathbeggan	175	0	0
15 Ardbraccan, and other parishes in union	1,028	14	0
16 Enniscoffey	122	0	0
17 Athlone, St. Mary's	330	0	0
18 Lemanaghan	450	0	0
19 Syddan, and other parishes in union	765	0	0
20 Newtown Fertullagh	260	0	0
21 Killeagh	220	0	0
22 Killyon, and another parish in union	675	0	0
23 Vastinay	17	0	0
24 Moate	300	0	0
	<hr/>		
	8,198	0	6½

DOWN AND CONNOR.

1 Billy, and another parish in union	675	0	0
2 Ballymoney	1,100	0	0
3 Ballintoy	450	0	0
4 Lambeg	112	12	6
	<hr/>		
	2,337	12	6

DERRY.

None.

RAPHOE.

1 Clondevaddock	501	17	6
2 Drunholm	796	8	10
	<hr/>		
	1,298	6	4

DROMORE.

None.

KILMORE.

Benefices.	Amt. of Composition.		
1 Lurgan, and another parish in union	410	0	0
	<hr/>		
	410	0	0

ARDAGH.

1 Drumlummon, and other parishes in union	1,749	0	0
2 Killglass, and other parishes in union	436	17	8
3 Clonglesh	500	0	0
4 Killoe	880	0	0
5 Clonbroney	440	0	0
	<hr/>		
	4,005	17	8

PROVINCE OF DUBLIN.

DUBLIN AND GLANDELAGH.

1 Rathdrum	144	19	7
2 Ballykine	196	10	11½
3 Ballinacorr	112	10	8½
4 Knockrath	145	18	9
5 Delgany, and other parishes in union	644	10	9¾
6 Dunlavin, and other parishes in union	511	7	6
7 Coolock	270	0	0
8 Powerscourt	400	0	0
9 Ballintemple	112	0	0
10 Castle M'Adam	250	0	0
11 Rathfarnham, and other parishes in union	945	0	0
	<hr/>		
Carry forward	3,732	18	3¼

Benefices.	Amt. of Composition.		
Brought forward	3,732	18	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
12 Malahide, and another parish in union	393	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
13 Fonstown	290	0	0
14 Donoughmore	500	0	0
15 Maynooth	400	0	0
16 Kinsaley	224	16	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
17 Kilbride	200	0	0
18 Enorley	110	0	0
19 Kilgorman	65	0	0
20 Howth	250	5	6
21 Newcastle	300	0	0
	<hr/>		
	6,466	1	11 $\frac{3}{4}$

KILDARE.

1 Lea	900	0	0
2 Rosenallis, and other parishes in union	977	9	4
3 Clonsast	681	0	0
4 Nurney	95	0	0
5 Ballycommon	150	0	0
6 Castropetre, and another parish in union	720	0	0
7 Kilrush	240	0	0
8 Kilbracken	150	0	0
	<hr/>		
	3,913	9	4

OSSORY.

1 Killermogh	152	6	10
2 Comer	1,050	0	0
3 Lisertlin	288	0	0
4 Kells, and other parishes in union	500	2	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
	<hr/>		
	1,990	9	6 $\frac{3}{4}$

FERNs.

Benefices.	Amt. of Composition.
1 Kiltannel	167 14 4
2 Newtown Barry	400 0 0
3 Kilmaclogue	253 13 3
4 Kilnemanagh	137 10 0
5 Bannow, and another parish in union	552 0 0
6 Kilenohue	472 3 2½
7 Crosspatrick, and other parishes in union	967 2 0
8 Kilrush	752 0 0
9 Rosdroit	640 0 0
10 Templeudigan, and another parish in union	578 19 2
11 Whitechurch, and another parish in union	700 0 0
12 Kilgarvan, and other parishes in union	477 11 10
13 Carnew	900 0 0
14 Killegney, and another parish in union	518 0 0
15 Ferns	900 0 0
16 Rosmanogue, and other parishes in union	700 0 0
	<hr/>
	9,016 3 9½

LEIGHLIN.

1 Killabin	1400 0 0
2 Tullow	650 0 0
3 Moyne	200 0 0
4 Wells	425 0 0
	<hr/>
Carry forward	2,675 0 0

Benefices.	Amt. of Composition.
Brought forward	2,675 0 0
5 Hacketstown	600 0 0
6 Ballyadams	437 10 7
7 Shrule	50 0 0
8 Ballinakill	440 0 0
9 Abbeyleix	550 0 0
10 Crycrim, and other parishes in union	983 15 6½
11 Barragh	750 0 0
12 Dunleckney, and another parish in union	1350 0 0
13 Ballinure	325 0 0
14 Kilranelagh	210 0 0
15 Baltinglass	670 0 0
16 Old Leighlin	500 0 0
17 Teacalm	36 5 0
18 Nurney	250 0 0
19 Timohoe	420 0 0
20 Ballyroan	450 0 0
<hr/>	
Total in Ferns and Leighlin	19,713 14 10½

PROVINCE OF CASHEL.

CASHEL AND EMLY.

1 Ballingarry	800 0 0
2 Clonoulty	500 0 0
3 Newchapel	500 0 0
<hr/>	
Carry forward	1,800 0 0

Benefices.	Amt. of Composition.		
Brought forward	1,800	0	0
4 Clonbullogue, and other parishes in union	748	0	0
5 Lattin, and another parish in union	241	11	7½
6 Clonmore, and other parishes in union	865	0	0
7 Brickendown	70	0	0
8 Templetonhy	542	0	0
9 Killoscully	350	0	0
	<hr/>		
	4,616	11	7½
LIMERICK.			
1 Athnassey	244	7	2
2 Rathkeale	711	0	0
3 Killonehan	135	0	0
	<hr/>		
	1,090	7	2
ARDFERT AND AGHADOE.			
1 Aghadoe	414	0	0
2 Killurey	425	0	0
3 Ballinacourty, and other parishes in union	437	0	0
4 Aghavallin, and other parishes in union	1199	0	0
5 Nohovale, and another parish in union	439	4	0
6 Armagh, and another parish in union	620	0	0
7 Kiltorney	130	0	0
8 Balass	365	0	0
	<hr/>		
Carry forward	4,029	4	0

Benefices.	Amt. of Composition.		
Brought forward	4,029	4	0
9 Currens	63	0	0
10 Kilcoleman	380	0	0
11 Killern	469	0	0
12 Balleyheigh	315	0	0
13 Currens	203	0	0
14 Tralee	442	8	0
15 Killahan	136	10	0
16 Templenoe	132	10	0
17 Ardfert, and another parish in union	475	0	0
18 Duagh, and another parish in union	240	0	0
19 Kenmare, and another parish in union	490	18	5
20 Killarney, and another parish in union	500	0	0
<hr/>			
Total in Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe	8,966	17	7

WATERFORD AND LISMORE.

1 Mora	281	0	3
2 Ringagonagh	240	0	0
3 Donoghmore	150	0	0

671 0 3

CORK AND ROSS.

1 St. Anne, Shandon	260	3	9
2 Innishannon	686	0	0
3 Dunbulloge	500	0	0
4 Inniskenny	400	0	0

Carry forward 1,846 3 9

Benefices.	Amt. of Composition.		
- Brought forward	1,846	3	9
5 Ballymartle	460	0	0
6 Temple Michael	266	0	0
7 Castlehaven	650	0	0
	<hr/>		
	3,222	3	9

CLOYNE.

1 Castlelyons	1,856	6	11½
2 Mallow	650	0	0
3 Dungourney	720	0	0
4 Britway, and another parish in union	699	2	2½
5 Kilshannig	800	0	0
6 Mournabbey	600	0	0
7 Rostellan	312	7	11
8 Gortroe, and another parish in union	450	0	0
9 Carrigrohanbeg	183	9	3
10 Killavilling	60	0	0
11 Rahan	525	0	0
	<hr/>		
	6,856	6	4

KILLALOE AND KILFENORA.

1 Dolla	175	0	0
2 Corbally	436	18	0¾
3 Modcreeny, and another parish in union	911	4	2¼
4 Kilmore, and other parishes in union	985	0	0
5 Roscrea, and other parishes in union	1,022	0	0
6 Kilfedane, and other parishes in union	735	0	0

Carry forward	4,265	2	3
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Benefices.	Amt. of Composition.		
Brought forward	4,265	2	3
7 Killaloe	400	0	0
8 Kinnetty, and other parishes in union	361	0	0
9 Castletonnarra, and other parishes in union	1080	0	10
10 Kilneane, and another parish in union	539	18	10
11 Kilneboy, and other parishes in union	770	12	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
12 Kilnegariff	294	7	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
13 Tomgraney	450	0	0
14 Cullenwayne, and another parish in union	400	0	0
15 Kilcommon, and other parishes in union	630	0	0
16 Kilbarron	390	0	0
17 Clare Abbey, and other parishes in union	539	0	0
18 Birr	300	0	0
19 Killordiernan	250	0	0
20 Templemackey, and another parish in union	416	13	4
21 Killokennedy	115	0	0
22 Templedowney	90	0	0
23 Dunkerrin, and other parishes in union	1,000	0	0
24 Quin, and another parish in union	380	0	0
25 Aglishcloghane, and other parishes in union	1,100	0	0
26 Kiltenaulea	370	0	0
27 Killadysert	450	0	0
	<hr/>		
	14,591	14	11 $\frac{1}{4}$

PROVINCE OF TUAM.

TUAM.

Benefices.	Amt. of Composition.		
1 Cong	530	0	0
2 Crossboyne	532	13	3
3 Kilcolman	330	0	0
4 Kilcommon	433	0	0
5 Robeen, and another parish in union	272	15	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
6 Turlough, and another parish in union	287	13	3
7 Annadown	600	0	0
8 Kilmainmore	433	0	0
9 Umma, and other parishes in union	180	0	0
10 Mayo	260	0	0
11 Kilvine	126	10	0
12 Killursa, and other parishes in union	959	2	4
13 Dunmore	700	0	0
	<hr/>		
	5,644	14	9 $\frac{3}{4}$

ELPHIN.

1 Tarmonbarry	247	0	0
2 Ahascreagh	350	0	0
3 Taghboy, and another parish in union	216	13	4
4 St. John, Sligo, and other parishes in union	1,119	18	3
5 Drumcliffe	780	0	0
6 Killbegnet, and another parish in union	395	0	0
	<hr/>		
Carry forward	2,208	11	7

Benefices.	Amt of Composition.		
Brought forward	2,208	11	7
7 Roscommon	240	0	0
8 Kilgeffin, and other parishes in union	470	0	0
9 Kilmactrany, and other parishes in union	193	0	0
10 Clonfinlogh	85	0	0
11 Boyle, and other parishes in union	1,029	0	0
	<hr/>		
	5,125	11	7

CLONFERT.

1 Kilmalinoge, and other parishes in union	741	10	0
2 Killoran, and other parishes in union	432	13	4
3 Kilquaine, and other parishes in union	705	10	0
4 Ballymakill, and other parishes in union	699	0	6
5 Tynagh, and another parish in union.	372	0	0
6 Kilcluny, and other parishes in union	442	12	6
	<hr/>		
	3,393	6	4

KILLALA AND ACHONRY.

1 Ardagh, and another parish in union	445	0	0
2 Kilcoran, and another parish in union	420	0	0
3 Ballisodero	500	0	0
	<hr/>		
	1,365	0	0

RECAPITULATION.

PROVINCE OF ARMAGH.

	No. of Benefices.	Amount of Composition.		
Armagh	5	2,785	0	0
Clogher	11	5,957	8	8
Meath	24	8,198	0	6½

	No. of Benefics.	Amount of Composition.
Down and Connor	4	2,337 12 6
Derry	None	
Raphoe	2	1,298 6 4
Kilmore	1	410 0 0
Dromore	None	
Ardagh	5	4,005 17 8

DUBLIN.

Dublin and Glandelagh	21	6,466 1 11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Kildare	8	3,913 9 4
Ossory	4	1,990 9 6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Ferns and Leighlin	36	19,713 14 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

PROVINCE OF CASHEL.

Cashel and Emlly	9	4,616 11 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe	23	8,966 17 7
Waterford and Lismore	3	671 0 3
Cork and Ross	7	3,222 3 9
Cloyne	11	6,856 6 4
Killaloe and Kilfenora	27	14,591 14 11 $\frac{1}{4}$

TUAM.

Tuam	13	5,644 14 9 $\frac{3}{4}$
Elphin	11	5,125 11 7
Clonfert and Kilmacduagh	6	3,393 6 4
Killala and Achonry	3	1,365 0 0
Total	234	111,529 8 8

THE END.

LONDON:

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00086229

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Ms. Vaidehi Thakar
on 06 November, 2019

