

[1865] In the summer of 1865 the 'Fenian Conspiracy' came to a head. After the abortive attempt in 1848 several of the ringleaders fled abroad to France and America. There they formed groups of professional revolutionaries. Europe in the late nineteenth century was full of these plotters, exiles from their own countries, and always seeking ways to overthrow the Government in their own country. Paris was a great centre for these conspirators, but its importance for Ireland lay rather in the fact that it was a great source of revolutionary ideology, the rhetoric which would-be revolutionaries needed to motivate their followers. To get international support, especially financial support, it does not do merely to say 'We want to control the rackets'. No, the rhetoric must be dressed up in fanciful theories of race or class, preferably both. It explains the close likeness between Irish nationalist rhetoric and that of the German National Socialists. The United States was far more important however, for there was a large number of Irishmen who were willing to assist financially, and the Government of the United States was willing to tolerate their activities provided no American interest was injured.

One of the minor leaders of the attempted revolution in 1848 was James Stephens. He escaped to Paris and became a professional revolutionary. He was joined by John O'Mahony who then went to America to plot there. Stephens returned to Ireland in 1858, travelled around the country, and convinced himself that Ireland was ripe for revolution. He formed a secret organisation which he called the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) popularly called the Fenians, and O'Mahony formed a similar organisation in the United States. Though they claimed widespread support for their aims it is unlikely that many committed themselves deeply to people who had little money and no arms. (No doubt, had they ever scored a significant success and seemed likely to win there would have been a great surge of support for them.) But a general sympathy for their aims and methods seems to have been widespread among the Irish Catholics. Many of these were probably in or prepared to join the agrarian secret societies, as became manifest in the so-called 'Land War'. O'Mahony tried to recruit soldiers in both the Federal and Confederate armies. When the war ended in 1865 some attempts were made to invade Canada, but these were blocked both by the American and British Governments.

Before the century was out Ireland was polarised between two groups, the Catholic Nationalists and the Protestant Unionists. There was a belief which was to prove the strongest and most intractable, and most widespread, and eventually the most dominant. This was the deep-seated traditional anti-Protestant belief among middle and lower-class Catholics mostly from country areas. This was a secular belief, which had nothing to do with religion. It was derived from the defeats of the Catholic armies in the seventeenth century and the losses of lands through the various confiscations. Oddly, the heads of the old Catholic families, the actual landowners, had either conformed to the Protestant religion or accepted the situation. The resentment was extremely strong among the poorer Catholics as Dr James Doyle, the Catholic bishop noted. Edward Hay, the Secretary of the Catholic Committee noted the intensity of the opposition to the royal veto at the time of Catholic Emancipation before 1829 from farmers and shopkeepers in the country areas. The bitterly anti-Protestant Cardinal Cullen was their typical representative. It should be borne in mind that the members of this group had no particular heavy grievance to complain about, but rather that everything could be declared to be an insupportable grievance.

In the first half of the century, even in the strongest Catholic areas, Protestant families were dominant and Catholics came to call this the 'Protestant Ascendancy'. The situation in the 1860s was summarised by MacDowell (The Church of Ireland 1-5). The Census gave 50% of the landowners as being of the Established Church but this understated the extent of their holdings of land for they were the large landowners. The Protestant landowners were a powerful self-confident political class. As members of the grand jury they levied the local taxes, appointed the nephews of their old friends to collect them, and spent them when they were gathered in. They controlled the boards of guardians, appointed the dispensary doctors, regulated the diet of the paupers, inflicted fines and administered the law at petty sessions. Until the Ballot Act (1872) and the Representation of the People Act (1884) they usually returned the MPs. They controlled the county government, managed the local charities, officered the militia, ran the hunts and race meetings, formed the bulk of the professions and set the standards of behaviour over wide areas of Irish life. For a Catholic to get anything from the public purse he had to ask a Protestant neighbour, often a person of no greater rank or wealth than himself for his support. He did not necessarily have to bribe with cash but with 'obligation', a favour that could be called in at a future date.

The professions were to a large extent recruited from the landed world and dependent on it. One third of all Irish Protestant clergy came from the landed class; 80% of the serving officers and 60% of the retired officers from the army; 60% of barristers and 50% of solicitors; 50% of civil engineers; under 50% of medical men and architects; of school masters, mistresses and governesses 30% were C. of I.; 28% of actors and actresses, 38% of painters, sculptors and engravers, and 38% of photographers; in 1871 38% of civil servants

were still Church of Ireland 25% of the police and over 60% of the rank and file of the army were also Church of Ireland; 54% of bankers were Church of Ireland, 39% of accountants and commercial travellers, 26% of merchants, 23% of commercial clerks, 21% of brokers and auctioneers (MacDowell, op. cit.). The great aim of Catholic Home Rulers was to transfer all this to the Catholics.

The term Ascendancy came to be used as the equivalent of WASPs in the United States, white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestants from the point of view of minority groups like Catholics, Jews, and Blacks. It was the burning desire of the Fenians and later Home Rulers and Nationalists that this situation should be reversed. This was what the Protestants, with reason, called establishing Tammany Hall in Ireland.

This was the simple picture in the 1860's. Later the issue became obscured by the introduction of other factors. One of these was racism, the theory of individual races in Europe, Celtic, Teutonic, Anglo-Saxon, Latin, and so on, which was to become dominant in Ireland and Germany in the twentieth century. Another was socialism, in its violent and democratic forms. This was an attack on inherited wealth and privilege, and maintained that such wealth should be confiscated. In Ireland this took the form of demands that landed estates should be taken from the landlords, mostly Protestant, and given to tenants and landless people, mostly Catholics. In Ireland only James Larkin and James Connolly, both from Britain, applied this doctrine to attacks on businesses. The third factor was pure religious bigotry which was found on both sides.

From 1900 onwards racist and revolutionary socialist ideas were engrafted onto the original Home Rule struggle to produce the exact equivalent of what was to be called 'racist fascism' in Germany.

It should be noted too that in the upper classes of society, Catholics and Protestants freely mixed. The daughter of an impoverished Irish gentleman from Galway named Burke, married the equally impoverished Earl of Fingall, and was accepted by all the Protestant nobility, and by the various Lords Lieutenant and their wives, and by the kings and queens of the United Kingdom. Those upper class Catholics who mixed with Protestants were labelled 'Castle Catholics' because they went to Dublin Castle. The phrase had the same connotation of opprobrium as 'nigger lover' in the United States; it meant you were letting your own side down. It was ironic that Cardinal Cullen who only visited the Castle once in his life should be labelled a 'Castle Catholic' for opposing the Fenians ('Paul Cullen' Catholic Encyclopaedia).

It became necessary for the Home Rule Party to insist that there should be no social intercourse with any people, especially Protestants, outside the Party, lest they start to stop believing their own propaganda. For similar reasons, at a lower level, the Gaelic Athletic Association excluded anyone who played 'foreign games' such as soccer or tennis, in case they would pick up wrong ideas. The Churches too played their own part in ensuring that young people from different religious backgrounds did not meet. Catholic nationalists constructed and enforced a Catholic ghetto in Ireland within which their ideas and propaganda would never be contradicted.

The general election in 1865 confirmed the ministry in power but on 18th October 1865 Palmerston died at the age of 81.

The Ministry October 1865 to June 1866 (Liberal)

Prime Minister	Earl Russell (Lord John Russell) (2 nd Ministry)
Home Secretary	Sir George Grey
Lord Lieutenant	Baron Wodehouse
Chief Secretary	Sir Robert Peel (Dec. 1865) Chichester Fortescue
Under Secretary	(Sir) Thomas Larcom

[October 1865] Lord John Russell, now Earl Russell, again became Prime Minister, with Gladstone as Leader of the House of Commons. The Government was perfectly aware of what was going on in Ireland. The Habeas Corpus Act was amended to allow the arrest of suspicious Irish-Americans, and on 15 September 1865 the principal leaders were arrested. Stephens himself was arrested on 11 November but escaped out of the country (Campbell, Fenian Fire, 56-61; Warder 11 Jan 1902). He got to America where he was suspected within the movement of betraying the plot, and was deposed. He returned to Ireland in 1885.

Russell disliked Sir Robert Peel, the son of his old adversary, and quickly replaced him with Chichester Fortescue MP for County Louth. Chichester Fortescue was, like Vere Foster, a member of one of the leading families in County Louth. Though the Fenian crisis was over when Fortescue arrived, it was felt necessary to do something about the grievance of the tenant farmers who could be evicted without compensation for improvements they had made. Fortescue introduced a Bill, but the attention of Parliament was taken up with Russell's proposed Reform Bill. Another Act which was passed by this brief ministry was one to deal with the outbreak of rinderpest or cattle plague. The rinderpest or cattle plague entered England in 1862, spread in six months to 32 counties and lasted until 1866. ('An acute infectious febrile disease of ruminant mammals (as cattle) that is caused by a virus and is marked by diarrhoea and inflammation of mucous membranes'- Webster.) Foot-and-mouth disease had appeared in England in 1839 and gave trouble until the Diseases of Animals Act (1890) gave powers to the English Board of Agriculture to deal with it (Briggs and Jordan Economic History 324). A veterinary department of the Privy Council was established, and the Government authorised the compulsory slaughtering of cattle with compensation paid by the Government. This established a principal which has endured to this day.

The Irish College of Science was founded in 1865 to teach subjects that were not taught in a practical way in the University, and to teach lads who had neither the time nor the money for a university course. A Treasury minute converted the Museum of Irish Industry and the Government School of Science applied to Mining and the Arts into the Royal College of Science with Robert Kane as its first director. It remained under the Commissioners of Science and Art (Privy Council, Department of Science and Art) until 1900 when it came under the newly created Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. (Encyclopaedia of Ireland; In 1926 it was absorbed into University College, Dublin.)

In March 1866 Russell again introduced his Reform Bill aimed at extending the franchise, but a collection of objectors in Parliament led by Edward Horsman and Robert Lowe, nicknamed the Addullamites, defeated the Bill and brought down the Government. (John Bright depicted Horsman as retiring into 'what may be called his political cave of Addullam, to which he invited everyone who was in distress and everyone who was discontented'; see 1 Samuel 22:2). Lord John Russell's long parliamentary career came to an end. The first petition for suffrage for women was presented to Parliament. In 1866 the Pope created Cullen a cardinal. The queen sent again for Lord Derby.

The Ministry June 1866 to February 1868 (Conservative)

Prime Minister	Earl of Derby (3 rd Ministry)
Home Secretary	Spencer Walpole; (May 1867) Gathorne Hardy
Lord Lieutenant	Duke of Abercorn
Chief Secretary	Lord Naas
Under Secretary	(Sir) Thomas Larcom

[June 1866] The only newcomer was James Hamilton, the first Duke of Abercorn, whose family estates were mostly in County Donegal. An Irish Catholic barrister, Michael Morris, was elected to Parliament and sat with the Conservatives. In July 1866 he was appointed Irish Solicitor General, being the first Catholic Conservative to hold that office. In November 1866 he was advanced to be Attorney General. He was also made an Irish Privy Councillor. In 1867 he became a puisne [second rank] judge in the Court of Common Pleas, and became Lord Chief Justice in 1876. This was a period when the Irish bar and Irish judiciary was ornamented by men of outstanding ability. He was the senior judge in Ireland in the days of the Land League. In 1889 he was promoted to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and moved to London. This committee, then and now, heard appeals from other jurisdictions in the Empire. Gathorne Hardy was a Yorkshire barrister.

A large number of the clergy of the Established Church accepted the rules of the National Board. When Archbishop Whately was the chief Commissioner for Education many of the clergy of the Established Church were totally opposed to him. The Church Education Society had been formed in 1839 to help schools which

objected to the inter-denominational Board, and by 1867 was assisting about 1400 schools with 63,000 pupils of which 44,000 were Episcopalians. They were given a scriptural education based on the Authorized Version of the Bible; but the teachers were poorly paid and the schools were unable to compete with those of the National Board. It was realised by this time that the national schools themselves tended to be denominationally managed with the children from the minority protected by a conscience clause. In 1866 the primate, five bishops and 700 clergymen declared themselves in favour of the national system, and after 1870 the Church Education Society found itself deserted. By 1900 it was managing only 138 schools, by which time there were 1330 schools managed by Church of Ireland clergymen under the National Board (MacDowell *The Church of Ireland*, 22 ff.).

The question of the endowments of the Established Church was coming to the fore again. In 1863 and 1865 Ralph Bernal Osborne, then the Whig MP for Liskeard in Cornwall, raised the question of religious endowments, and in 1865 Gladstone said the Government was not prepared to act on the matter. In 1864 the Irish bishops prepared a bill providing for limited reform but could not get Government backing. However, in the general election in 1865 John Ball, vicar general of Armagh and an expert on ecclesiastical law who supported moderate reform, was rejected by the Trinity College constituency in favour of a strong conservative (MacDowell, *op. cit.* 26ff.; DNB John Thomas Ball, Ralph Bernal Osborne). In 1867 Disraeli appointed John Thomas Ball as a member of the Royal Commission on the Irish Church. It recommended a considerable reduction in the number and emoluments of the bishoprics and dignitaries, the abolition of several cathedral chapters, and the application of the revenues saved to the augmentation of poorer incumbencies. It showed, as Primate Beresford pointed out at the time, that the Church was not excessively endowed, had no overgrown fortunes of individual ministers, and had few pluralities (Church of Ireland Gazette 1 Feb 1901).

Lord Naas was in favour of a policy of 'levelling up' rather than 'levelling down', not to disestablish the Church of Ireland but to endow Catholic institutions. He also supported compensation for tenants' improvements and for written contracts for leaseholders. Disraeli, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, supported him in these views. There was not in fact much difference between the two main political parties on the land question. By an Act, introduced by Colman O'Loughlen and passed in 1867, Catholics were allowed to become Irish Lord Chancellor, and in the following year Gladstone appointed Thomas O'Hagan to the post, the first Catholic since the reign of James II. O'Loughlen was made Judge Advocate General by Gladstone also in 1868 (DNB, Thomas O'Hagan, Colman Michael O'Loughlen).

Ritualism and Anglicanism were scarcely to be found in Ireland; but three churches in Dublin, St Bride's, St Bartholomew's, and All Saints introduced changes which caused considerable excitement. There were grave disorders in All Saints in 1866 when the rector, Carroll, introduced a choral service; the congregation loudly repeated the responses while the choir was singing. During the recital of the creed Carroll turned east and he was hissed; finally the police had to clear the church. (In Catholic churches, regularly orientated, i.e. pointing towards the east, the celebrating priest faced towards the east with his back to the congregation. In Protestant churches the celebrating minister invariably faced the congregation.) A year earlier St Bartholomew's was built in a prosperous suburb, the pews were free, the communion table was given a coloured cloth (antependium) at its front, flowers were placed on it, and a ledge was placed at the back: all evidence of the Tractarian or Oxford Movement. These slight innovations were to lead to the great debate on the revision of the Prayer Book.

There was another outbreak of cholera in Dublin in 1866. Dublin Corporation established a Public Health Department. It was a start, but the Medical Officer worked only part-time. The Report of the Medical Officer of Health in 1880 attributed the excessive mortality to the deplorable condition of the tenement houses, the improper construction of the house drains, the unsanitary condition of the dairy-yards and slaughter-houses, the want of convalescent hospitals, the concealment of infectious diseases, the absence of a disinfecting apparatus, and the intemperate and filthy habits of the people. The findings of a royal commission added to these criticisms of private failure the criticism of the inadequate scavenging of the streets, their imperfect paving, the absence of baths and washhouses, and the fact that the Medical Officer of Health was not a full time post (Warder 31 March 1900).

Following an enquiry, an Act in 1867 constituted two bodies out of the old Ballast Board; one was the Dublin Port and Docks Board, and the other the Commissioners of Irish Lights, to whom was given the supervision of lights, docks, and beacons. In 1853 the city engineer urged the necessity of sewers to prevent the fouling of the Liffey. Sixteen years later the Corporation got round to adopting plans for the necessary works. Six years later still the Government offered to advance half a million to enable the work to be done.

Belfast was built largely on a swamp, and piles had to be driven into the marshy soil before houses could be built. Drainage was difficult for most of the city centre was only five or six feet above sea-level. A drainage scheme was commenced in 1867 (Irish Presbyterian July, August 1920).

[1867] From 1867 onwards Tenants' Rights meetings which had lapsed for a while began to be held again and Walker sees the year 1868 as the beginning of distinctive Ulster politics (Walker, *Ulster Politics The Formative Years*, 5). Education was never far out of sight in Victorian times. The Powis Commission was established in 1867 and commenced work in 1868. It reported that the standards being achieved in many schools were very low and recommended the adoption of payment by results in 1871-2. Good teachers were pleased with the new system for they were given extra fees for successful children.

The driving force in the Conservative Party was now Benjamin Disraeli, shortly to be Prime Minister. He succeeded in uniting the old Tories and Peelites and finally making the Conservative Party into what Sir Robert Peel had intended when he wrote the Tamworth Manifesto in 1834. Peel's aim was to build a party which would not be swayed by passing fads of Liberalism from the Continent or 'French ideas' but one which would conserve the values of England and which would enact any reforms necessary in the changed circumstances of the times. This was often derided as 'Tory paternalism' but it embraced a care for the welfare of the common man. Disraeli made the Conservatives a reforming party. A very important Act was passed by this Parliament, the Master and Servant Act (1867). Despite its title this largely brought to an end the old feudal relation of master and servant. Under the old system, a man who left his place of work could be arrested and put in gaol (Briggs and Jordan, *Economic History of England*, 432-3). All future Acts concerning the workplace, and they were many, were based on an equality between employer and employee.

Edward Stanley, the 14th Earl of Derby was nearing the end of his life. He found himself at the head of an administration composed mostly of Conservatives headed by Disraeli who were eager to get their own version of a Parliamentary Reform Bill passed. The original purpose of the House of Commons in the Middle Ages had been to vote money which the king needed for his own projects and which he could not get from his own lands or from the nobles or the Church. The common people, or Commons, were invited to choose representatives from the various shire and towns 'knights' and 'burgesses' to assemble in the 'House of Commons' and agree to raise the sums required by the king. For this reason all money Bills belonged solely to the Commons. Originally the franchise was limited to 'Forty Shilling Freeholders', those whose freehold tenancies were worth forty shillings a year. Over the centuries the franchise had been twisted and distorted, and a nominal freeholder was expected to vote as his landlord instructed. The first attempt at reform was made by the Whigs in the Great Reform Act (1832) which despite its name was a very limited measure as far as extending the franchise was concerned. The numbers qualified to vote rose in England from around 435,000 to 650,000. More important was the abolition of rotten boroughs, towns which once had been important but were now decayed (Richards and Hunt, *Modern Britain*, 112-3).

Stanley was not in favour of extending the franchise, and described the proposal as 'a leap in the dark' which it probably was. But Disraeli got his way. Lord John Russell's proposal would have added another 300,000 to the existing 1,000,000 voters. The Tory cabinet was not agreed what the proper basis of the franchise should be, but it was arrived at after months of discussion in the cabinet and in Parliament. The Second Reform Act (1867) gave the borough franchise to all householders and £10 lodgers (called household suffrage) and in the counties to £10 leaseholders, ignoring the kind of lease. The electorate was thus doubled. Disraeli claimed to have 'dished the Whigs', but he was mistaken, for at the next General Election the Liberals under Gladstone were returned with a large majority (Richards and Hunt, *Modern Britain*, 162). Nevertheless, Disraeli was soon proved right, and the 'Conservative working man' became a familiar part of the political scene.

While these things were going on, the absurd episode or episodes of the proposed 'Fenian Uprising' (1867) took place. The would-be revolutionaries vastly overestimated their support. They claimed to have 50,000 volunteers in readiness but arms for only 6,000. The police had a great deal of knowledge of what was going on; they knew the whole organisational structure and the names of the officers appointed to command each district in Ireland. The plan was to tear up the rails at Limerick Junction and seize the telegraph. They were then to telegraph to America, where a ship, the *Erin's Hope*, filled with men and munitions was to sail immediately. It was to be the duty of Massey, the acting adjutant general of the revolutionary army to tear up the rails at Limerick Junction and seize the telegraph to disrupt the movement of the troops, but when he was arrested he disclosed the full plot.

The Tallaght fiasco came about because the designated commander of the Dublin district, a man named Halpin, saw that the proposed rising was futile, and refused to act. Groups of men, some armed with pikes, but mostly unarmed, headed for the mountains; the plan was to draw the military and the police out into the mountains, and then seize the city behind their backs! The would-be rebels were intercepted by District Inspector Dominick Burke and dispersed with a single volley; 100 men were arrested but later released; the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Abercorn thought the matter too trivial to take notice of, and sent them home (Warder 11 January 1902). Most of the Fenian leaders were rounded up and given long terms in prison. Many of these were defended by a Protestant barrister named Isaac Butt. At Killmallock in Limerick where the only actual fighting took place they attacked a police barracks.

There was a constant delusion in Ireland that it was possible for a group of untrained men to seize arms, declare themselves an army, and throw out the existing army. The American colonies were only successful because two European powers decided to grab the opportunity of attacking Britain themselves. The French mob in 1789 temporarily seized power, but was quickly dispersed by Napoleon 'with a whiff of grapeshot'.

Nor had the Government any difficulty about procuring information about the warlike preparations in the United States whose Government ignored what was going on. The London Metropolitan Police had no experts in dealing with plotters and so they had to get an expert from Dublin. They later developed their Criminal Investigation Department (CID) and the Special Branch. Not a single man in the Irish Constabulary proved unworthy of his trust and the title Royal was conferred on them. In England, where three Fenians were convicted of murder, Gathorne Hardy, now the Home Secretary, refused to commute the sentences, but they were sanctified in Irish republican mythology as the 'Manchester Martyrs'.

All the Catholic bishops except MacHale condemned the Fenians. It is difficult to see why MacHale objected except to act contrary to Cullen. The fact that MacHale refused to join with the other bishops might seem to indicate that he endorsed an armed uprising, but it is very doubtful if this was the case. As late as 1920 there were bishops who steadfastly preached the Catholic teaching that killing another human being in the name of doing it for Ireland was murder, and so an injustice requiring restitution before absolution could be given. The theological principles were clear.

Down the centuries the concept of the 'just war' had been elaborated. To kill people in a just war there must exist an extraordinary evil or oppression; there must be no other way of achieving the end; there must be a reasonable chance of success; no more force must be used than is essential to achieve the end; no other selfish aim like acquiring an opponent's land or goods are allowed; the decision can only be taken by the person or chief who exercises public authority in the state, and not by private individuals. As far as the situation in Ireland was concerned, there was no intolerable oppression; it was always possible by patience and argument to get a legislative remedy, though this might take time; the aim should only be to remove the oppression and not to get the lands of the Protestants, or to run the political rackets. It was entirely unlawful for a private group of men to assemble, declare themselves the representatives of the 'People of Ireland' and announce that those they denounced as the enemies of Ireland could be lawfully killed. The Fenians were no better in these respects than the Nazis before Hitler was elected to power, or the gangsters of Chicago.

There were of course at every time, and not only in Ireland, casuistic clergymen who would tell their chiefs that his cause was just. Even after the Fenians were excommunicated nominatim by the Holy See in 1870 there were those who maintained that the excommunication did not apply to Ireland because there was no lawful Government in Ireland. MacHale went further in defending against Cullen, who wished to discipline him, a priest in his diocese, Fr. Patrick Lavelle who openly preached the right to revolution (Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine,)

But many Protestants with reason felt that the Catholic clergy as a whole did not exert themselves to preach against the murderers, or to root out the evil from their midst. At least when Cullen was alive he tried to ensure that the teaching of the Catholic Church was preached, and backed up his preaching with excommunication. There may be many complaints made against Cullen but failure to denounce terrorism by members of his own flock is not one of them. Though dating from 1910 the following example of clerical rhetoric may be regarded as typical.

'But the new landlords were no better than the old. They raised rents, confiscated the tenant's improvements, worried him with vexatious estate rules, evicted him cruelly; and from 1850 to 1870 was the period of the great clearances. The necessary result was a constant and ever-increasing stream of emigration from Ireland, chiefly to America. Nor would British statesmen do anything to stem the tide, Lord John Russell would not interfere with the rights of property by passing a Land Act. Lord Derby was a landlord with a landlord's strong prejudices. Lord Palmerston declared that tenant right was landlord wrong. Nothing could be expected

from the Irish members. Sadleir and Keogh broke up the Tenant Right party; Lucas was dead; Duffy in despair went to Australia; Moore was out of Parliament; and from 1855 to 1870 the Irish members were but place hunters and traitors' (Rev. E.A. D'Alton, 'Ireland', Catholic Encyclopaedia, 1910). This can scarcely be reconciled with a serious campaign to root out terrorism in the national cause. (Just try substituting 'Jews' for 'landlords' in the above passage.)

It is worthwhile at this point considering at length the political motivations of various Catholic groups. After the Reformation, the Penal Laws had transferred most of the land, wealth, power and opportunities for patronage and opportunities for corruption to Protestants. There was nothing unusual about Penal Laws; they existed in every state in Europe and America. The Penal Laws in Ireland were directed chiefly towards the ownership and inheritance of land, and over the centuries the vast majority of the landowners found it convenient to conform to the Established Church. Often there were two branches of the same family, one Catholic and one Protestant such as the Plunketts, Barons of Dunsany, and Plunketts, Earls of Fingall. The positions of members of the Church of Ireland in the Government and the counties has been described earlier.

Cullen and the great majority of the Catholic clergy wanted to see an independent Ireland with the Catholics in charge in the manner envisaged by Daniel O'Connell in the 1830s. We might call this 'O'Connell's Repeal Movement'. The Act of Union (1800) would be repealed and the constitution restored to what it had been in 1782, namely with an independent Irish Parliament under the same crown with some residual powers left to the monarch and the English Privy Council. An Act similar in scope to the Representation of the People Act (1884) would be passed, and power, including the power of taxation, and patronage would immediately pass to the Catholics. Catholic politicians would make the laws. Catholic bishops and priests would advise the Government. Protestant taxes could be used to fund Catholic schools and charities, and as the Protestants saw it, Popery would be re-established. There would be no revolution or bloodshed. Agrarian terrorism, if it still existed, and violent trade unionism would be suppressed. All would be conducted in terms of the strictest legality. Common Law, and the enactments of the Irish Parliament or the United Kingdom Parliament, if beneficial, would be retained, as would also the courts. Above all, control of the counties and all that it implied would be transferred from the Protestant gentry to the Catholic middle class.

However in the 1840s Romantic Nationalism arrived in Ireland and was spread by the 'Young Ireland' movement from whom the Fenians were derived. These relied on woolly romantic ideas often derived from 18th century German philosophers (romantic: marked by the imaginative or emotional appeal of what is heroic, adventurous, remote, mysterious, or idealized, Merriam Webster.) Not only ideas pertaining to art and music like 'sublime', 'truth', 'beauty', but social and political ideas like 'people', 'race', 'nation', 'country', 'fatherland', 'liberty', 'spirit', and 'freedom'. These are by their nature vague and undetermined and very prone to subjective interpretation (Keenan, Ireland 1800-1850, 355-6). As noted earlier, these are great words for orators, and Adolf Hitler as well as Irish Nationalists were to exploit them to the hilt. The result was that the 'Romantic Nationalists' could declare that they represented the people or the nation, that this people or nation had lost its liberty, that this was an extraordinary evil and oppression, and one that justified a war for freedom. A great weakness of this approach which prolonged terrorism in Ireland until the present day was how to include Irish Protestants in the vision of a shared nationality when the great object of independence was to strip the Protestants of their land, wealth and positions.

Romantic nationalists wanted the same things as O'Connell's Repealers, but drawing inspiration from ancient wars as they imagined them, they were prepared to use force to seize power and influence from the Protestants. They regarded themselves as fighting foreigners, of removing foreign oppression. Fighting in battle array against the British 'redcoats' was their preference, but many of them did not disdain to use the violent methods of the agrarian terrorists. Though the Irish Nationalist Party was often contrasted with Sinn Fein/IRA in reality there was little difference between them. Nor was there a great difference between them and Hitler's National Socialists. (Clare Halloran in her book Partition and the Limits of Irish Nationalism illustrates what she describes as 'the deep contradictions inherent in Irish nationalist ideology', Halloran, op. cit.). Yet some in the Fenian tradition, a number of them Protestants, were closer to the Repeal Movement favoured by O'Connell and the Catholic bishops, and many Catholic bishops and priests felt they could work with these moderate Fenians. Michael Davitt was one of the Fenians totally opposed to physical violence.

The Ministry February 1868 to December 1868 (Conservative)

Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli

Home Secretary Gathorne Hardy

Lord Lieutenant	Duke of Abercorn
Chief Secretary	Lord Naas; (Sept. 1868) John Wilson-Patten
Under Secretary	(Sir) Thomas Larcom

[February 1868] The Reform Act (1867) came into force in August, and Lord Derby who was ailing, retired on 26 February 1868, and Disraeli became Prime Minister. He appointed Lord Naas as Governor General of India and replaced him as Irish secretary by John Wilson-Patten who held the office for a few months.

Following the Second Reform Act (1867) a parallel Act was passed for Ireland, the Representation of the People (Ireland) Act (1868). The county franchise remained as it was in 1850 at a rateable valuation of £12. In the boroughs the rateable valuation was set at £4 even for lodgers. This had the effect of giving the vote to skilled tradesmen and the electorate in the boroughs more than doubled. The county valuation still restricted the vote to the strong farmers, and the 'lodger franchise' was not extended to the counties until 1884 (Walker, *Ulster Politics*, 39-40).

The year 1868 saw the emergence of the Orange Order as a force in Irish politics. William Johnston, (known as Johnston the Orangeman) a barrister from County Down objected to the Party Processions Act (1850) which prohibited marches and processions and was still on the Statute Book. He felt that the Act was being enforced in the North and not in the South, so he led an Orange protest procession in 1867. He was sentenced to two months imprisonment in March 1868, and when he emerged from prison he was treated as an Orange hero. The Orange Order was a working-class affair, but many of its members in the skilled trades had recently been enfranchised. At the General Election in the same year he was returned for Belfast as an Independent Conservative and was re-elected in 1874. He was a strong supporter of Tenant Right (DNB).

Marches and processions with banners and bands were part of the political culture of the British Isles. Though often associated with the Orange Order in Ireland and the Trade Union movement in Britain, processions could be organised by any group. There were temperance processions for example, and trade guild processions, though Catholic religious processions were technically illegal outside the precincts of churches. When organisations are divided into different branches or lodges each branch or lodge would carry its own banner. Processions were liable to be attacked and stoned by rival groups thus leading to rioting and reprisals. So for many years in mid-century they were banned altogether. Though heavy drinking was often associated with processions (except of course temperance processions) the Orange Order was noted for its abstemiousness).

The Irish Industrial Schools Act (1868) was passed extending these schools to Ireland. They were to be on the same denominational principle as the reformatories. Lord Naas was not in favour, but a Bill was introduced by Charles Owen O'Connor, called O'Connor Don i.e. the chief of that branch of the O'Conors. (Chiefs of some clans were still recognised in Ireland but not to the same extent as in Scotland. The title was purely nominal.) He was assisted by Chichester Fortescue who noted that most of the objections to the Bill came from Presbyterians terrified that their children might be sent to schools run by Catholic religious orders (Barnes, *Irish Industrial Schools*, 39-40). By 1890 there were 70 industrial schools which received around £98,000 from the Treasury, £42,000 from Local Authorities, and £19,000 from other sources (op. cit. 75). In 1902 there were 68 schools with a total of 8,043 children. By far the largest was the Artane Industrial School in Dublin managed by the Irish Christian Brothers. But several had no more than 50 (pp. 153-160). The largest Protestant school was the Balmoral Industrial School, Belfast with 350.

In 1831 when the National Schools were first established the pay scale ranged from £9 a year to £16. This had gradually been increased and by 1865 salaries started at £15 for a probationer (£14 for a woman) rising to a possible £52 with an average of just over £28. The teachers felt that by their education they were raised above the illiterate labourers, and tried as best they could to dress in accordance with their status. To get round the ban on the training college and model schools the National Board encouraged teachers to study privately for teachers' examinations, and made success in these examinations the only way for teachers to increase their salaries. This was modified when 'payment by results' came in (Dowling, *Irish Education*, 125-6). Occasionally farmers would give gifts of potatoes or butter, and in places small sums were subscribed towards the salary. There were no residences for teachers, so they had to board with the local farmers where they dined with the servants. For any attempt to write to the newspapers about their grievances they were liable to lose their salary. The teachers tried to form a Redress Committee but were informed by the National Board that if anyone of them complained to the Committee he or she was liable to dismissal. They had no tenure and no pensions (Irish

School Weekly 25 May 1929). Fortunately they found in Vere Foster a gentleman willing to assist them. Foster considered a journal for teachers would be useful. Just at this time a journalist in Dublin called Robert Chamney produced *The Irish Teachers' Journal* on 1 January 1868. Local teachers' associations were rapidly set up all over Ireland and Foster wrote to 100 of them with queries regarding points he wished to put to the Powis Commission. In August he presided over a small gathering of teachers' representatives in order to prepare a national congress in December. Over a hundred teachers attended and formed the Irish National Teachers' Association, later the Irish National Teachers Organisation, INTO. Foster wanted a large part of the financial support for education to come from local authorities who would be compelled to collect a rate for this purpose. He wanted residences for teachers, and their meagre salaries to be paid monthly not quarterly. He wanted more intermediate schools in each Poor Law Union district so that older children could easily walk to them each day.

In 1868 the year the INTO was founded the Powis Commission on Education was sitting and the union sent three or four teachers to give evidence. One of the teachers giving evidence, Mr Daniel MacDonough of Naas National School, said he often got applications from old teachers for assistance to get to Dublin to get into one of the hospitals; he gave them each a sixpence or a shilling. When they left the teaching because of ill-health or age they were given a small gratuity which lasted but a short time (*Irish School Weekly* 22 March 1930).

In 1869 Foster led a deputation of five teachers to the Lord Lieutenant, Earl Spencer. Incongruously enough, also in 1869, Archbishop MacHale got the whole hierarchy to agree to another condemnation of the National Schools even though there were now numerous Catholic Commissioners. He even got the Pope to ratify the condemnation at the Vatican Council. One feels that the bishops acted to placate MacHale and to put pressure on the Government to finance a fully denominational system, without having any intention themselves of withdrawing from the Board. This would be strange after the Established Church had just capitulated. Foster himself was scathing about the multiplying of schools in a parish, where there were three schools, but only enough pupils for one. There was a cost in this, for the same sum of money had to pay three teachers instead of one, build and maintain three buildings where one sufficed (MacNeill, Vere Foster 149-164).

Teachers were not the only group organising themselves at this time. In the early part of the century trade unions and combinations were noted for the violence with which their strikes were enforced. But the law cracked down on them heavily. In Ireland, the Trades Political Union which had avowedly political objectives had faded away. After 1850 the many of the unions were craft unions composed of properly-qualified, apprentice-trained craftsmen. But there were also some unions of unskilled workers like the Limerick Dock Labourers Union in 1860. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers largely based in factories in Dublin and Belfast was founded in 1851. By 1868 it had branches in several towns with a total membership of 1300. There were various carpenters' unions. Some unions were based in Britain and competed with Irish unions. Most were affiliated to the British Trade Union Congress. In 1894 the native Irish Unions formed the Irish Trade Union Congress.

The year 1868 marked the beginning of what was to be the prime event in Dublin's social calendar, the Horse Show. The Royal Irish Agricultural Society had been organising agricultural shows, usually called the Spring Show, in conjunction with the Royal Dublin Society since 1841. In 1868 they were able to welcome the Prince and Princess of Wales, the future Edward VII and Queen Alexandra. In 1849, after the queen's visit to Ireland, he had been created Earl of Dublin. The queen's father the Duke of Kent had had the same title, so Victoria always felt close to the people of Dublin. Edward was sent to Ireland to the military camp at the Curragh to join the second battalion of the Grenadier Guards. For the first time in his life he was free from strict parental supervision, and the other young officers introduced him to the pleasures of life. (His wife, the Princess Alexandra, felt it beneath her even to notice his infidelities.) Though there were threats of Fenian disturbances they came to nothing and the prince and princess were received with enthusiasm. The prince also attended the Punchestown races in County Kildare, another major social event. The Punchestown races, under National Hunt rules, i.e. over jumps, commenced in 1861. Irish flat-racing was based on the nearby Curragh racecourse and the Irish Derby, based on the English Epsom Derby, commenced in 1866. Every Irish county tried to have its own racecourse even if meets were held only once a year. Local meets were very popular with all classes, and servants, farm labourers, gardeners etc. were usually given the day off to attend. Only the Galway races matched the social cachet of Punchestown.

The Royal Dublin Society had decided to hold a Show especially for horses. Horse breeding was becoming more and more important in Ireland, and every strong farmer, and many small farmers hoped to make money from breeding hunters. A hunter is usually a half-bred horse. Ireland, like other countries cultivated the Thoroughbred, but it was not until 1907 that an Irish horse won the Epsom Derby. Earlier in the century, Ireland had not produced any outstanding breed of horse, but there gradually emerged a useful general purpose horse

which was neither a heavy draft horse nor a fast racer. It could be used for ploughing, riding, pulling light vans or pieces of artillery, hunting and racing. Later the breed was standardised as the Irish Draft Horse. Crossbred with a Thoroughbred stallion it produced excellent hunters, and formed the basis of the world-famous Irish horse-breeding industry of today. The first Horse Show was held in the last week in July 1868, though it is now held in the first week in August. The Royal Dublin Society had acquired Leinster House in the centre of Dublin with its extensive lawns from the Duke of Leinster in 1814. (Leinster House is now the seat of the Irish Parliament, and the lawns are occupied by the National Library and National Museum.) The purpose of the Show was to demonstrate the jumping ability of the horses exhibited, and this marked the beginning of show jumping in Ireland. The jumps were modelled on those of the Islington Show in London. Besides jumpers, there were classes for horses suitable for troopers, officers, and carriages. A trooper needed a big horse, an officer a flashy horse (de Vere White, *The Royal Dublin Society*, 157-159). Though later in the century the greatest demand from foreign armies was for the basic Irish Draft.

There occurred another event in 1868 in connection with the Royal Dublin Society which was also to be of great importance for Dublin and Ireland. There were various proposals regarding how best to use Leinster House and its grounds and to unite on one site national museums, a national gallery, a national library and a school of art. A committee was established in 1868 under the Marquis of Kildare (later Duke of Leinster) and made sweeping proposals, but little was done about the matter for another ten years (de Vere White, *op. cit.* 121). A considerable proportion of what was proposed was eventually accomplished. The National Library, the National Museum, the National College of Art, the National Gallery, and the Natural History Museum were eventually built on the site. The Irish Parliament sits incongruously in their midst, preventing the unification of the site. It was taken over more or less forcibly by the IRA chief Michael Collins in 1922 on a temporary basis which became permanent in 1924 (de Vere White, 189-90).

On the 19 March 1868 there was a debate on the state of Ireland on the initiative of John Francis Maguire a former Catholic member of the Independent Party. Disraeli maintained with reason that there was little actual disaffection in Ireland, and that the Fenian Conspiracy was hatched abroad. He also believed that if his successor Gladstone had done nothing there would have been no troubles in Ireland. In this he was probably correct, for once Gladstone was seen to be yielding to the pressure of what was quite a small faction the pressure on him would be immensely increased. Gladstone, in the course of the debate suddenly changed his mind and declared that he approved of both the disestablishment and disendowment of the Established Church in Ireland. Gladstone was not interested in the Report on the Irish Church of Disraeli's Commission just issued. On 23 March 1868 Gladstone proposed three resolutions, that the Irish Church be disestablished, that it be disendowed, and that its patronage should be removed. His resolutions were accepted by the Commons. Disraeli offered his resignation to the queen, but she would only agree to a general election in the autumn. Gladstone's proposed suspensory Bill was rejected by the House of Lords. Parliament was prorogued on 31 July 1868 and dissolved on 11 November. The great issue at the general election was the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the Liberals were returned with a majority of 115 members. Disraeli resigned and on 4 December 1868 the queen asked Gladstone to form a ministry

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 The Ministry December 1868 to February 1874 (Liberal)

Prime Minister	William Gladstone (1 st Ministry)
Home Secretary	Henry Bruce; (Aug 1873) Robert Lowe
Lord Lieutenant	Earl Spencer
Chief Secretary	Chichester Fortescue; (Jan 1871) Marquis of Hartington
Under Secretary	(Sir) Edward Wetherall; (May 1869) Thomas Burke

[December 1868] The period of unstable coalitions and minority governments which had lasted from 1852 until 1868 had come to an end and the alternation of Tories with Liberals (or Labour) which had become normal after 1832 was resumed.

Henry Bruce was from Wales, had no connection with Ireland, and is chiefly famous for negotiating a middle way between temperance fanatics and the interests of brewers. His Licensing Act (1872) set out the conditions for licensed premises and gave authority to the local magistrates to issue licenses. The Act was widely

unpopular and was one of the reasons the Liberals lost the next general election. Though it was expected that the Tories would repeal the Act they did not. Robert Lowe was Chancellor of the Exchequer but proved unpopular and was moved to the post of Home Secretary where he was undistinguished. John Poyntz Spencer, 5th Earl Spencer, was a nephew of the 3rd Earl Spencer, who as Viscount Althorpe was well known in Ireland in the first half of the century. The earl had no seat in the cabinet but the Chief Secretary, Chichester Fortescue had, an indication of the relative powers of the two offices about 1870. (The office of Chief Secretary commenced in 1800 by combining the office of Irish Secretary, a sinecure post, with that of the Lord Lieutenant's secretary. No statutory powers were at first attached to the office, but the Chief Secretary gradually succeeded in establishing control over many of the Government Offices in Dublin.) Spencer Compton Cavendish, courtesy Marquis of Hartington, and later eighth Duke of Devonshire was later to become leader of the Liberal Party. He was made Postmaster General and was responsible for the Government taking control of the various telegraph companies so as to unify the system over the whole kingdom. He also had charge of the Secret Ballot Act (1872). The Devonshires had large estates in Ireland around Lismore Castle in County Waterford.

The Permanent Undersecretary Sir Thomas Larcom, who was knighted in 1860, and on whom chiefly had fallen the task of combating Fenianism, retired in 1868 at the age of sixty seven. His successor Sir Edward Robert Wetherall was English and a major general in the army. After experience in the Crimean War he was sent to Ireland as deputy quartermaster general of the forces in Ireland in 1859 and remained until 1865. He was transferred to London and then back to Dublin to succeed Larcom but died after six months. Thomas Henry Burke was from Galway. His mother was a sister of Cardinal Wiseman. He entered Dublin Castle as a junior clerk in 1847 and later was private secretary to successive Chief Secretaries. Thomas O'Hagan was made Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the first Catholic to hold the post since the reign of James II.

In Britain William Edward Forster, the Liberal MP for Bradford, was appointed a privy councillor and made vice-president of the Council. As such he had to deal with education, and he introduced a Bill to deal with the 3,000 intermediate or grammar schools to try to ensure that secondary schools were of an acceptable standard and formed a bridge between primary schools and universities. Various religious groups strongly pushed their objectives. The clash between the Established Church and the Nonconformists was to be-devil English education up until the Fisher Act in 1918 and the Butler Act in 1944. In brief, the clergy of the Established Church wanted total control of schools, and the Nonconformists wanted schools not under the clergy of the Established Church. The Nonconformists were opposed to any state provision for the teaching of any creed. His Endowed Schools Act (1869) was a prelude to his great Act with regard to primary schools the following year (Reid, *Life of W.E. Forster*). He was also responsible for dealing with an outbreak of the cattle plague.

Forster's Education Act (1870) was a landmark in English education. The quality of primary education improved beyond that in Ireland, but with the attitude of the Catholic bishops there was no possibility of introducing a similar Act in Ireland. Church schools were retained, but to meet the objections of the Nonconformists they were to get no local aid. They were eligible however for some grants from the Treasury which annoyed the Nonconformists. Church-related schools, most of which were under the clergy of the Established Church, numbered around 20,000 and there was no intention of getting rid of these. Local authorities were to establish School Boards, elected by the ratepayers, whose responsibility would be to erect schools where there were none. These were to be paid for by a special local rate. The Board School was to become a feature of working-class districts in the growing towns. They were better financed, better staffed, and better equipped than the Church schools. The clergy of the Established Church were displeased because they were not in charge of the Board Schools. As in the National Schools in Ireland, there was to be religious instruction, but by the 'Cowper-Temple clause' (named after William Cowper-Temple, son of the fifth Earl Cowper who proposed it) this was not to be denominational but confined to simple reading and exposition of the Bible. By this clause also Catholics or others who objected to this simple Bible-based instruction were free to withdraw their children from it. Though the 1870 Act made the provision of school places compulsory it did not make school attendance compulsory. Education was not made free, and parents had to contribute, but gradually the Boards paid the fees of the poorer parents (Richards and Hunt, *Modern Britain*, 382-3).

Following a report by Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Stafford Northcote in 1853-54, a civil service commission was set up. Recruitment and promotion in most parts of the service were to depend on competitive examination. An Order-in-Council of 1870 made this system mandatory, except for the Foreign Office. The extended civil service that took shape owed little to political patronage and was almost completely free from corruption. This ended patronage, secured better recruits, and gave Irish secondary schools and even primary schools an alternative standard to aim for. The Irish Civil Service was to grow and grow. Bribery, at least in the lowest ranks, virtually disappeared. The acceptance of even the smallest gift meant instant dismissal. That does not mean that bribery and corruption disappeared from Ireland; far from it. But it was far more likely to be found in local government. The Indian Civil Service was the best of all, but examinations for it were also the hardest.

Gladstone appointed the very able administrator Edward Cardwell to the War Office as Secretary for War where he commenced the introduction of wide-ranging changes, known as the 'Cardwell Reforms'. Political control of the army was achieved by putting the Commander-in-Chief of the army under the Secretary for War. Conditions of warfare were changing rapidly; the rifle replaced the musket and the exploding shell the cannon ball. Railways and steam ships could transport armies and supplies. These reforms had important effects in Ireland, especially with regard to the militia. Control of the militia was removed from the Lords Lieutenant of counties and vested in the army. Then purchase of commissions was ended. Regiments were originally raised by colonels, and purchase of commissions reflected ownership by the colonel's successors. It would also allow junior officers in the militia to be transferred to regular units.

In order to get an emergency reserve of trained troops such as was possessed by Prussia and France, Cardwell decided to shorten the period of enlistment to nine years, three of which would be with the regiment full-time followed by six years in the reserve. To aid recruitment, the numbered regiments of the line were to be given county designations with a depot in each recruiting area, and were to be linked in pairs so that when one was serving overseas somewhere in the Empire, the other would be at home recruiting and training. Ireland was assigned sixteen battalions in eight regiments and all were given Irish names. Some of these names went back to the seventeenth century, while some which had been East India Company regiments became the Royal Munster Fusiliers and were assigned three Munster counties in which to recruit. In 1881 the militia regiments were assigned to these as reserve battalions whose members could volunteer to transfer in time of war to the line battalions.

The army was very popular in Ireland, and most Nationalist leaders from O'Connell to Redmond wished to retain it. They wanted it, however, to be recognised as a separate army which would fight overseas for the queen under its own flag. This unnecessary military complication was always resisted by the army authorities, but the Canadians in both World Wars insisted that their troops should fight as a separate Canadian Army.

[1869] The big event in 1869 was the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church. What exactly the point of these changes were supposed to be is not clear, especially when what might be considered a grievance, the paying of tithes, was not removed. The Established Church was not oppressive, and it would seem that the individual clergymen and their wives were quite popular with the poorer Catholics. Disestablishment by itself meant almost nothing, for the clergy exercised almost no power, but merely took precedence over the Catholic and Presbyterian clergy on public occasions.

Disendowment was another matter. The rents from the lands with which the Church was endowed were not as great as their opponents thought. By 1869 the archbishop of Armagh still had an income of nearly £10,000, Dublin £7,000, Derry £6,000, and the remaining 9 bishops an average of £3,850; for comparison the Lord Chancellor had £8,000, a Common Law puisne (junior) judge £3,700, and the permanent Under Secretary £2,000. There were in the 1860's just over 2,000 clergymen- 1500 incumbents and 500 curates. Parishes in some of the northern counties had over 1000 parishioners while in southern dioceses a clergyman might have under 40 parishioners; the incomes also varied enormously; seven incumbents had over £1,000 while 688 had between £200 and £500; 720 or 40% were under £200 of whom 300 had under £100. Assistant curates were usually paid between £75 and £100 but not always regularly (MacDowell, The Church of Ireland, 5-11).

Back in the 1830s the clergy had successfully defeated what was called 'Clause 147' put forward for several years by the Whig Lord John Russell. This stated that if there was a superfluity of revenue, the Government could take it and use it for causes of public utility. But as the Report established, if the incomes were evened out to ensure the better remuneration of the lower clergy, there would be no superfluity. The disparities arose in the Middle Ages when each diocese, monastery, and parish was separately endowed by local noblemen who assigned lands, the only source of income, for its support. The dioceses of Armagh and Derry received great grants of land, while most parishes got very little. Curacies were not endowed with land, and each curate was paid by the rector of the parish from his own income.

The Irish Protestant clergy with few exceptions supported the Tories. Disraeli considered that Gladstone proposed the Bill to get electoral support for the Liberals. The Catholic and Presbyterian clergy favoured the disendowment. At the time Cardinal Cullen's organ stated that money was the only reason the Irish remained Protestants; remove this inducement and they will all soon become Catholics. A Presbyterian too at the time asserted that when the Protestants had to pay their clergy they would soon become Presbyterians (Church of Ireland Gazette 23 October 1903).

For whatever reason Gladstone decided on the total expropriation without compensation of the endowed lands of the Established Church and introduced the Irish Church Act (1869). This was the greatest confiscation of Church property since the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the sixteenth century. There was one exception: Protestant charities which had been endowed after the Reformation would be allowed to keep their endowments. The union of the churches of Ireland and England was dissolved; all the revenues of the Church in Ireland were seized. It was given £500,000 in compensation for private endowments, and the existing clergy were guaranteed their incomes while they lived and performed their duties. This was compensation to individual clergymen for loss of income; no compensation was made to the Church. Despite what some Catholics alleged no compensation was paid to the Church which was stripped of all its resources. On the 1st January 1871 all of the property of the Church was taken over by the state except the churches in actual use and their attached churchyards. Glebe houses had to be bought back, and also a limited amount of land attached to the glebe house at a price fixed by the official valuator. The Government set aside a sum calculated on a return of 3% by actuaries which would allow the stipends of the clergy to be paid while they remained in office. The average number of years allowed for incumbents was 10½ and for curates 16. The same treatment was applied to the Roman Catholic professors of Maynooth and the Presbyterian clergy in receipt of the Regium Donum; so the College of Maynooth, in lieu of an annual grant was given a capital sum of £372,331 and the Presbyterians £74,688. The annuitants of the Church of Ireland numbered 2043, and their annuities amounted to £596,913. The capital sum granted in lieu was £7,581,075; each individual minister being allowed a salary for life, but the Church, its dioceses and parishes were completely disendowed (Church of Ireland Gazette 16 October 1903). (The financial provisions in the Act were far more complex than what is given here, and the original intended sum of £7.5 million was in practice reduced to just over £5 million. For various reasons the clergy stayed in their livings longer than the actuaries had calculated, resulting in a shortfall in the fund.)

The Church was fortunate that it had some laymen with great financial expertise and they set about constructing a permanent fund from which the clergy could be paid. Some of this was derived from donations by benefactors, but a large part of it was obtained by persuading the annuitants to surrender their 3% annuity to the managers of the Fund who would continue to pay them at 3% but would invest the capital at 4% or even 4½%. (This too was a very complex subject for which the clergy was divided into different categories.) There was also an assessment on each parish. In 1903 it was felt necessary to seek further money from the local churches, hence the articles in the Gazette at that time. By 1903 the return from land had fallen sharply and it was no longer possible to lend mortgages to landowners at 4%. In 1920 it was noted that on the glebe lands which must be cultivated by hired labour, the minimum wage for which was then fixed at 30/- a week, were no longer profitable. The Wages Board allowed a deduction of 15/- a week for living-in workmen, so that still 15/- a week had to be paid; under these circumstances glebe lands of 10 or 15 acres brought in no revenue. Buying them back was proved to be a mistake. The revenue from investments was by then £100,000 less than was actually required, so this sum had to be contributed by the laity. Many curates were getting less than the £184 of the Presbyterian clergy (Church of Ireland Gazette 18 December 1903; 9 January 1920; 12 March 1920). The Catholic Freeman's Journal, resurrecting an old argument of Cardinal Cullen, claimed in 1903 that the £8 million (sic) given to the Protestant Church was really Catholic money.

On 26 July 1869 the Irish Church Act (1869) became law and on the 18th August the archbishops of Dublin and Armagh convened a national synod. The two provincial synods when joined together formed the convocation which had fallen into abeyance since the time of Queen Anne (1702-1714). (Convocation was composed only of members of the clergy; with the decision to admit representatives of the laity it became known as a convention.) It assembled under the Lord Primate Marcus Beresford, and continued in session for three days, in accordance with precedent sitting as two houses; the Upper and Lower; the Upper consisted of the archbishops and bishops; the Lower of the deans and archdeacons, and representatives of the clergy, some elected by the chapters, and some by the clergy. A meeting of the laity asked the archbishops to convoke a conference of the laity which they did, and it met in October. From these separate meetings committees were appointed to draft an act of constitution, standing orders, and a finance report to be submitted to a general convention in which the bishops, clergy, and laity would be represented. Diocesan synods were immediately held to elect delegates; the clergy voting for clerical delegates, the laity for lay.

[1870] The General Convention met on 15th February 1870 and continued for 4 days, and after an adjournment for a further 16 days. There were considerable fears with regard to the admission of laymen for the first time; but despite at times heated debates, these proved groundless (Church of Ireland Gazette 1 Feb 1901). (Catholic practice with regard to synods was somewhat different. I was told by a parish priest who was summoned to a diocesan synod in Armagh about 1950 that they all met, the decrees of the synod were read out, and the clergy were asked did they agree. They all said Yes, and went in to dinner!)

There was a call, chiefly from members of the laity, for a revision of the Prayer Book as approved and adopted at the synod held in Dublin in 1662. This led to a sharp disagreement. Ostensibly the call was to revise and make plain a few words. However these changes were to be made to make clear that Jesus was not present in the Holy Sacrament other than by faith. This reaction to the Oxford Movement came from the Evangelical wing who objected to the changes being made in a few churches in Dublin. Some bishops strongly objected to the proposed changes which, they said, would try to make plain what was not plain in the Scriptures. There was no evidence, they maintained, whether Jesus was present other than by faith, but also there was no evidence that he was not. For their part they wished to do whatever the Ancient Church had done, and to believe what Augustine and the other Fathers of the Church believed, however obscure they might find it. The discussions continued until 1878 and such revisions as were made left it open to a personal belief in transubstantiation and the Real Presence of Jesus. This latter however continued to be very much a minority view.

The Catholics were little affected by the Act. The annual Parliamentary grant to the principal seminary for students to the priesthood, the Royal College of Maynooth, was commuted to a lump sum. Lay visitors like the Lord Chancellor or the Duke of Leinster ceased to have any rights of inspection, and it passed totally under the control of the Irish bishops. (Totally means that even the President of Maynooth College, a senior priest and theologian, was excluded.) The Presbyterians were rather more affected. The Regium Donum, a royal bounty, to supplement the income of Presbyterian clergy, and which was first paid in 1690, was also commuted to a lump sum. Again the actuaries calculated very narrowly and ministers found their income reduced. The Presbyterians established a Sustentation Fund, and by 1920 the minimum income of a minister was £184 though the average was much higher. The Presbyterian Church was the greatest beneficiary of the increasing wealth of Belfast. The local church was supposed to contribute as well. In the same year the Church of Ireland was proposing an annual stipend of £400 (*The New Witness* 20 Jan; 25 May 1920).

Gladstone then rushed headlong into his next foray into Irish affairs. Whether he was cynical or naïve is hard to determine. But he initiated a series of Acts which made a mockery of landowner-tenant relations, and instituted a form of unworkable dual-ownership, especially the Land Act (1870). As the Tories realised, it made the sale of the land to the tenants inevitable. Whether any of this was of benefit to Ireland at a time when the Danes were seizing their export markets can only be doubted.

It was not a case, as depicted in Irish nationalist mythology, of harsh foreign landlords grinding down or evicting impoverished smallholders (see above Chapter One). Previous to the 1881 Act the majority of landlords did all they could to improve their tenant's holdings by fencing, draining, liming, giving prizes and exhibitions etc; model farms were found on all the large estates where advanced farming was demonstrated free (*Farmers' Gazette* 16 Jan. 1904). The Tenant Right Associations had more in common with craft unions in highly-skilled trades. They wanted gold-plated leases, and largely got them. In the easy-going old days a tenancy could remain in the same family for generations whether the tenant was making the best use of the land or not. The in the nineteenth century landlords began to improve their estates, often bringing in Scottish managers who would try to get the best return from the land. Now, by this Act, the landlord would not be free to offer the piece of land to better farmer, nor was he allowed to raise the rent. This was to be fixed independently. The adjudicator was not allowed to compare the rent of the farm with local rents, nor to decide what rent a good farmer could pay, but only what this farmer could achieve. If the landlord or his agent decided not to renew the lease, full compensation had to be paid to the out-going tenant for all his improvements. To work properly, this would require that the whole land with its buildings, fences, drains, houses and outhouses be valued at the beginning and at the end of a lease. In practice it was quite possible for a lazy farmer with a twenty-year lease to neglect gates, drains, fences etc. for nineteen years, and to allow the value of the farm to deteriorate over that period, Then in the twentieth year he could clear out the drains, repair the hedges, whitewash the sheds, and present the whole lot as his own work. If the landlord did not renew the lease then the out-going tenant had to be compensated for his 'improvements'.

About the time of the Famine, it was estimated that the productivity of land in one part of Connaught was four times as high on the landlord's demesne lands which he was cultivating himself than on the land leased to tenants. A century later, the Irish Sugar Company in Leinster found that some farmers to whom they had supplied seed were getting four times the yield as other farmers on the same land in the same district. The company was intrigued and sent out inspectors. The best farmers were ploughing at the optimum time, carefully cultivating the soil to produce a fine tilth, adding lime and fertiliser, sowing the seed at the best rate at the best time, and carefully weeding. The worst farmers were ploughing late, doing the minimum cultivation, sowing carelessly, and neglecting weeding. (This is not the place to discuss why this was so, ill-health, the need to borrow a horse or a seed-drill, etc, but merely with the fact than some were better farmers than others and by a very wide margin. The *Farmers' Gazette* 2 January 1904 made a similar point.)

In 1850, some Irish landlords and some Irish tenants were among the most advanced farmers in the world. The Irish shorthorn cow and the Irish Draft horse were among the best. But when one reads the reports of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society (IAOS) forty years later it is astonishing to find how Irish farmers failed to keep up with developments on the Continent and in the United States. Eggs being sold were stale, butter salty and rancid, bacon too fat, and milk-yields too low. A rational policy would have allowed some form of market to weed out the poorer farmers and reward the better ones while allowing the landowners a reasonable share of the increased market value of his land.

Not all of these defects can be attributed to Gladstone's Land Act (1870) which was a modest affair. It recognised tenant right, and got legal compensation if the tenants were turned out by the landlord, and for any improvements they allegedly made; no new rights were given and none taken away from the landlords. The tenants felt that the Act was so biased towards the landlord interest that it was worthless (Colles, *History of Ulster*, IV 212, Burke, *Industrial History*, 303-4; Curtis, *History of Ireland*, 375). Though it recognised 'Ulster Custom' in areas where it prevailed, it did not define it, and the onus was on the tenant to prove that it applied in his case. The significance of the Land Act (1870) as well as the Education Act and the Disestablishment Act was that they showed that Gladstone could be pushed in any direction. This belief was reinforced when Gladstone announced an amnesty for Fenians serving long sentences provided they were willing to live outside the United Kingdom. (The baleful effects of this latter concession persist to the present day where it is still widely believed that Britain will cave into terrorist pressure and then any terrorist will be released on an amnesty.)

A meeting of assorted Liberals, Conservatives, Repealers and Fenians met in Dublin on 19 May 1870 and launched a Home Government Association, and Isaac Butt, the Protestant barrister who had been prominent in defending Fenians was chosen leader. The various Liberals and Conservatives were disgusted with Gladstone, either for doing too much or not doing enough (Walker, *Ulster Politics*, 79-80). It adopted the name Home Rule League in 1873.

An outbreak of agrarian crime which the police could not control necessitated the passing of the Peace Preservation Act (1870) which contained special clauses against sedition in the press. Like most pieces of anti-terrorist legislation (as it is called nowadays) this Act was temporary. Following a further outbreak the following year in County Westmeath a similar Act called the 'Westmeath Act' (1871) was passed which allowed for the suspension of Habeas Corpus. Also in 1871 there was a riot in the Phoenix Park when Lord Spencer was entertaining the Prince of Wales (DNB, Spencer, Compton Cavendish). The Party Processions Act (1850) was repealed.

The newspaper scene was changing fast. The Dublin Evening Post folded in 1875 and was replaced as the Liberal organ by the Northern Whig of Belfast. Saunders' Newsletter lasted until 1879. The Evening Mail (Conservative) and the Freeman's Journal (Nationalist) lasted into the 20th century. The most ancient of all Ireland's newspapers, the Belfast Newsletter (Unionist) survives to this day.

The Belfast Telegraph was started by William Baird during the Franco-Prussian War. The French emperor, Napoleon III, declared war on Prussia on July 19, 1870. At that date there were only 5 evening newspapers in the United Kingdom, all started within the previous two years. A notice was put out that a new evening paper was to be published in Belfast and Baird concluded that it was to come from the premises next to those of the Belfast Newsletter where the Banner of Ulster had been published until 1869. Baird and his brother rushed through the project they had been mulling over and brought out the Belfast Evening Telegraph. It was Conservative and the first half-penny newspaper published in Ireland. Baird and his brother thus anticipated their Presbyterian rival by a week. Mr Baird was an ardent Irish Churchman. Much space was devoted in the Telegraph to news of the churches. Ulster would not be the same without the Tele (Church of Ireland Gazette 18 Sept. 1920; the same is true to this day where nothing has officially happened until it appears in the Tele). The Belfast Morning News which started 1855 was the first penny newspaper published in Ireland. The Irish Times was started in 1859 and also claimed to be the first penny newspaper in Ireland. It was the organ of moderate Protestant opinion and Liberal Unionist after the split in the Liberal Party over Home Rule. The Irish Independent was started in 1891 as the organ of moderate nationalism. The Independent was bought in 1904 by the redoubtable William Martin Murphy whose businesses included Dublin's trams, and who faced down the formidable syndicalists in Larkin's strike in 1913. The Independent absorbed the Nation and the Freeman's Journal.

For the Catholic Church the years 1869-70 were the years of the Vatican Council which came to an abrupt end when the Piedmontese army occupied Rome. (Italy was at that time 'a geographical expression'.) There was little controversy in Ireland with regard to infallibility. The definition of the personal infallibility put an end to a dispute dating back to the Council of Constance (1414-18) which deposed three claimants to the papal throne. The question then arose at that time whether an ecumenical council superior to a Pope. The theory that the council was superior was called Conciliarism. In the post-Reformation period most theologians and bishops outside France backed the formulation of St Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) which was eventually confirmed in the Vatican Council, that the Pope with the Church and speaking for the Church was personally infallible. In France the 'Gallican' theologians still held on to Conciliarism. The long struggle for Catholic Emancipation however was made more difficult because one English Vicar Apostolic Dr John Milner of the Western District constantly accused the leading Catholic lawyer Charles Butler of being a Gallican. We know that in Maynooth from 1820 onwards the professor of theology, Dr John MacHale, was teaching Bellarmine's formulation.

The Vatican Council was in preparation for four years and in reply to a questionnaire most bishops agreed that a Council was necessary to pronounce on modern errors. A Bull of Convocation *Aeterni Patris* was promulgated on 29 June 1868 appointing the 8 December 1869 for the opening date. It soon became clear that Papal Infallibility would be one of the chief topics. When it opened the oldest bishop present was Archbishop John MacHale of Tuam. Travel conditions were now very different from when he had made his *ad limina* visit over thirty years earlier. A continuous line of railways and steam ships connected Tuam with Rome. Very few of the bishops had any doubt about the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility, but about a fifth of their number considered a definition inexpedient at that time. Cardinal Cullen was in favour of proceeding with the definition, so predictably Archbishop MacHale was against. (MacHale was against everyone. He spoke and voted against defining the doctrine, but did not vote in the last ballot. On his return to his diocese he publicly accepted the new dogma.) On Monday, 18 July, 1870, one day before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, 435 fathers of the Council assembled at St. Peter's under the presidency of Pope Pius IX. The last vote was now taken; 433 fathers voted *placet* (I am satisfied), and only two, Bishop Aloisio Riccio of Cajazzo, Italy, and Bishop Edward Fitzgerald of Little Rock, Arkansas, voted *non placet* (I am not satisfied).

The definition read '[We] teach and define, as a Divinely revealed dogma, that the Roman pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when he, in the exercise of his office as shepherd and teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, decides that a doctrine concerning faith or morals is to be held by the entire Church, he possesses, in consequence of the Divine aid promised him in St. Peter, that infallibility with which the Divine Saviour wished to have His Church furnished for the definition of doctrine concerning faith or morals; and that such definitions of the Roman pontiff are of themselves, and not in consequence of the Church's consent, irrefragable' (Catholic Encyclopaedia 'Vatican Council').

Profiting by the French defeat at Sedan 1 September 1870 the Government of Piedmont took the final step in the unification of Italy under Victor Emmanuel II of the House of Savoy by sending their troops into what was left of the Papal States, the area immediately surrounding Rome. The eighty ninth session was held on 1st September 1870. On 8th September the Piedmontese troops entered the Papal States at several points and on 20th September entered Rome through the Porta Pia. The Pope retired into the Vatican, and successive Popes did not leave it until the Concordat with Mussolini in 1929. But for nearly a century there was a strong anticlerical spirit in the Italian state. (The state of Italy did not in fact interfere with the various Roman Offices and Congregations scattered around the city, and ecclesiastical life continued as normal. The King of England could visit both the King of Italy and the Pope by starting each journey from the British Embassy.) Gladstone wrote a pamphlet in 1874 attacking the Council to which Cardinal Newman, Cardinal Manning and Bishop Ullathorne replied (Newman DNB).

Two Acts dealing with trade unions were passed in 1871. A Trades' Union Act (1871) allowed peaceful unions to register themselves as Friendly Societies and receive protection for their funds. Membership of a union was not illegal merely because it was a restraint of trade. Another Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1871) made picketing illegal, and molestation and intimidation crimes. When the Tories under Disraeli came in they passed the Employers and Workmen Act (1875) replacing the Master and Servant Act (1867); the change in terminology is very significant. A breach of contract was no longer to be a criminal matter but a civil dispute. Both contracting parties could sue each other on equal terms. A Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act (1875) legalised peaceful picketing and the principle laid down that no act by a group was illegal unless the act was illegal if performed by an individual. The ancient laws against combination and conspiracy were removed

(Briggs and Jordan, *Economic History of England*, 432-437). These Acts applied to Ireland. The number of unions increased in Ireland but they were peaceful (Boyd, *Irish Trade Unions*, 67-8).

No action had been taken under the 1867 Tramways Act so horse-drawn omnibuses were continued. In 1871 an Act of Parliament, the Dublin Tramways Act (1871) was obtained by a new company the Dublin Tramways Company and 17½ miles of track were sanctioned. A box-rail was spiked to wooden longitudinal sleepers cross tied, and square granite setts were placed between, and for 18 ins outside; this paving was done by the company, the streets previously being macadamised. The uneven surface of the setts gave a better and more lasting grip for the horses' hooves. By February 1872 the line from Terenure, a southern suburb, to Stephen's Green 2½ miles was opened; by August 1874 16 miles were running. In 1875 the North Dublin Tramways Company was launched, and in 1878 the Central Dublin Tramways Company obtained permission to run lines some in direct competition with the older company. The competition was so intense that the three companies amalgamated in 1881 (*Irish Engineering Review* October 1904). A Dublin Sanitary Association was formed in 1872 and led a crusade against filth and degradation; it was strongly opposed by the Public Health officials. The Sanitary Association commended the work of the Artisans' Dwelling Company, but said their six blocks were just small oases in the desert of squalor which made Dublin a by-word among the cities of Europe. In 1853 the city engineer urged the necessity of sewers to prevent the fouling of the Liffey; sixteen years later in 1869 the Corporation had got round to adopting plans for the necessary works; six years later still the government offered to advance half a million to enable the work to be done. The new sewers however ran into the Liffey which became much polluted. Finally, about 1900 a main drainage scheme for Dublin was commenced. Over the next forty years Dublin was to acquire the worst housing and slums in Europe, while the rapidly growing Belfast had few slums.