

Documents for the new Leaving Certificate History Case Studies the elections of 1885 and 1886: issues and outcomes

These documents are intended to supplement the documents in, *Movements for Reform 1870-1914*, which deal with the elections of 1885 and 1886 (pages 63 to 92). They can be printed off and given to students who should be encouraged to start each document by noting who wrote it, when, where and for what purpose.

Documents 1, 2, 3 and 4 were produced by the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union (IL&PU). It was the southern-based unionist organisation which was most active in campaigning against Home Rule. With many wealthy backers who included most landlords and businessmen, it had a lot of money and produced most of the propaganda material in the debate.

Document 1 is aimed at recruiting supporters for the IL&PU in Ireland. It sets out the arguments for remaining in the United Kingdom in fairly accessible language and this makes it easier to use with students. It could be used after a lesson on unionism to give students an insight into the thinking of the southern unionists. Ask them to list the reasons it gives for opposing Home Rule – and to note the important one (religion) which is not mentioned. Ask why that was. Ask who was it aimed at – the already converted or the uncertain. Remember that in 1885 the IL&PU hoped to win some seats outside Ulster. Is that why they focus on the economic rather than the religious issues? Do they make a good case against leaving the United Kingdom? It can usefully be compared with the IL&PU election manifesto on page 78 of *Movements for Reform*. Are the two making the same points or are they aiming at a different audience?

Document 2 is a curiosity – but it illustrates that it was not only the Land League which had a woman's branch at the time. It shows the role assigned to women and of course one of our key personalities, Isabella Tod, was an active campaigner for the unionist cause in 1886.

Document 3 comes from a book produced by the IL&PU. The title page of the book is included. It would be a good idea to print it off along with any of the statements given in the following two pages so that students can be encouraged to look for information about the origin of a source before they try to assess its merits.

This book was clearly a propaganda piece aimed at British voters. The individual 'statements from defeated candidates' are exactly as in the original where there are many more. For us they lose their impact by being anonymous, which makes it difficult to assess their reliability but at the time that very anonymity could be seen as signifying intimidation.

It would be best to concentrate on one or two statements. Ask students to note the main points made by the defeated candidate. Then ask them who they think the book was aimed at. What British pre-conceptions about Ireland was it playing to? How valid do they think the complaints of the defeated candidates were? Remind them about boycotting and the role of the Catholic clergy in the National League. But to balance that, point out that many of the defeated candidates were landlords and let them read the account of the Kerry election of 1872 in *Movements for Reform*, pages 39–40 for another view of intimidation during elections. Whatever answers they come up with insist that they support their opinions on these points by referring to historical events or sources.

Document 4 is an IL&PU pamphlet aimed at British workers in the 1886 election. It makes its point with a simple directness that makes it an ideal document to help students understand that the fate of Home Rule in 1886 lay in Britain, not Ireland.

Ask them why the Union Jack was used and get them to list the reasons the authors of the pamphlet give for not voting for the 'Gladstone candidate'. Ask how convincing would these arguments be to British workers – reminding them that the British economy was in a pretty depressed state in 1886. Ask why the religious issue, so clearly displayed in Document 3 is not used here? John Bright figures prominently in this document. Show them his private views, as

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expressed to Gladstone, in Document C on page 85 of *Movements for Reform* and ask them to compare the two views.

Document 5 is a letter from Michael Davitt countering the argument that voters in Ireland who supported Home Rule candidates were motivated by something other than a desire for Irish self-government. It could be usefully used in conjunction with one of the extracts from Document 3 plus the IL&PU election manifesto (*Movements for Reform* page 78). Was he right?

Document 6 is a cartoon from Parnell's newspaper, *United Ireland*. It shows Lord Randolph Churchill 'crossing the Boyne'. Saunderson, the leader of the newly founded Unionist Party beats the drum behind him. Students can be asked about the significance of the Boyne and of the Lambeg drum. They should be able to explain the meaning of the caption by reference to the events since June 1885 when the Conservatives came to power and the part played by Churchill in those events up to his famous Belfast 'Ulster will fight' speech.

Document 7 is *Punch's* comment on the British response to Gladstone's Home Rule bill. Apart from Gladstone himself we can see Randolph Churchill (a small man, represented as a tiny bird, Chamberlain with the monocle and Hartington with the beard. These were the leaders of the Liberal Unionists. This source could be used as a starting point for a discussion of the weaknesses of Gladstone's bill.

Document 8 is part of the Home Rule bill. These clauses show the very limited power which an Irish parliament would have. Refer students to the table in *Movements for Reform*, page 27, and get them to write a table for Home Rule. How much independence did it give the Irish? How justified in the light of that were unionist worries? Note the clauses about religion and education; how do the students explain them?

Document 9 is one of Parnell's speeches on the Home Rule bill. In it he tries to answer some of the British objections to Home Rule. This speech is far too long and complex for most students to cope with but short passages from it, dealing with specific issues, could usefully be set beside some of the unionist objections to Home Rule. Would they have satisfied these objections? If not, why not? Who was Parnell addressing in this speech? How did that influence what he said? Can this speech too be seen as an exercise in propaganda or did it reflect his real opinions?

Document 10 is part of a speech by Salisbury, the Conservative leader. He was speaking at a Conservative meeting during the period between the introduction of the Home Rule bill and its defeat in the Commons, so it is part of the debate within Britain on the issue of Home Rule for Ireland. Note the line he takes – that the Irish are not a nation and that, like other races he mentions they are not suited to self-government. It is important to remember that this speech is to a Conservative conference, so it probably reflects a widely held view in ranks of the Conservative leadership. Compare it with the arguments set out for the working class voter in Document 4. Why are they different? What does that tell us about unionist strategy in the 1886 election in Britain?

Ought I join the Loyal and Patriotic Union?

Yes – Because it is the only organization that is steadily working by public meeting and through the Press, to inform the English public as to the dangers of Home Rule, and the decision rests with the English and Scottish electors.

But what harm would Home Rule do me?

It would paralyse trade, it would drive the gentry, who, with the traders, are the largest employers of labour, from the country. It would lower wages and it would leave Ireland the poorest instead of being a part of being the richest country in the world.

How do I know all this?

Because all who have anything to lose are opposed to Home Rule. The country gentlemen, the merchants, the Professional men are all against it. See the declarations of the Chambers of Commerce, the resolutions of Grand Juries. The Commercial men in Dublin and Belfast have joined the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union notwithstanding the terrible danger that they run by doing so, but they know that Home Rule means ruin to them, and if all the employers of labour what is to become of the unhappy labourer?

How should I be worse off as a member of a poor country than as a member of a rich one?

Because without capital there can be no great works or manufactures carried on, and Ireland having little of her own is mainly dependent on loans of English capital. At present we get money at 3 per cent from the Imperial Government for all important works, such as harbours, fisheries, tramways, drainage, public buildings of all sorts, labourers' cottages, and &c., but if we had Home Rule, Ireland being a poor country would have to borrow money at so high a rate of interest that none of these works could be carried out. The taxes would all be doubled at once.

What matter does it make whether one more or less joins the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union?

It matters much, because –

1. Union is strength. It is only by banding together that we can show the vast number of Irishmen who are opposed to Home Rule.
2. Because it is not fair to leave it to a few to fight our battle for us.
3. Because the work the Union is doing costs a lot of money, and every shilling is of importance.

But my income is small and has become smaller of late. I cannot afford to subscribe.

Can you then afford to lose what's left of income, as you probably will do if Home Rule is carried, and Home Rule will be carried unless we all unite in one great, well sustained effort to avert it.

Then join the Union. Do not content yourself with signing protests and talking, but ACT. Encourage the hearts and strengthen the hands of those who are in the front of the battle; and then if we stand together like one man, we shall yet see this wretched League which has brought the country to such a state of misery put down, and Ireland once more truly free, prosperous, and happy.

PUBLISHED BY THE IRISH LOYAL AND PATRIOTIC UNION

Central office:–

Dublin:– 109 Grafton Street. *London:*– 26 Palace Chambers, Bridge Street Westminster

Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union

WHAT LADY MEMBERS CAN DO

Ladies can render **VERY VALUABLE** service to the Union by

1. Distributing among the working classes and the public in general, political pamphlets and tracts, bearing upon the real condition of Ireland and the dangers apprehended from a Parnelite regime.
2. Getting men and women of every class and creed to join, and so enlarging the membership of the Union and the political power of the Association.
3. Assisting in the establishment of local branches throughout Ireland, and especially in the working centres of England.

Ladies wishing to co-operate in this way can obtain supplies of literature and further information on application to the Secretary.

Chief Offices:—
109 GRAFTON STREET,
Dublin

IRELAND.

No. 1

THE TRUTH ABOUT
THE IRISH ELECTIONS OF 1885.

BY THE DEFEATED CANDIDATES.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

Published by
THE IRISH LOYAL AND PATRIOTIC UNION.
London Office, – 26 Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster.
Dublin Office, – 109 Grafton Street.

A CANDIDATE FOR ONE OF THE DIVISIONS OF LEINSTER WRITES

The conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy in support and furtherance of the Nationalist Candidate was most marked. For weeks before their Candidate appeared on the scene they were hard at work on his behalf; leaving no stone unturned to further his interests, both publicly and otherwise.

The Nationalist Candidate did not visit his supporters till four days before the nomination. He then, supported by the great majority of the Roman Catholic clergy, made set speeches at four or five selected places. In every instance, with one exception, the Roman Catholic clergymen of the parish in which the meetings took place introduced the Nationalist Candidate, and spoke, as a rule, at great length in his support.

I believe, also, that the priests on several occasions, both publicly and privately, advised their parishioners not to vote for me because I was a Protestant, and I know personally, from conversations I had with more than one Roman Catholic voter, in fact with several that they had been told by their priest how they were to vote, and warned on no account to vote for me because I was a Protestant. These same voters told me that they dare not vote for me, although they did not want to vote for the Nationalist, because they were, and would be, watched by their priest and the leaders of the local branch of the National League.

The priests took the greatest trouble to instruct their parishioners how to mark their ballot papers, and on the Sunday before the polling day in every chapel throughout the Division the congregations received their instructions, and, after mass, men were told off to bring on their cars, carts, & c., on the polling days other voters who had not conveyances of their own. In one district alone more than 300 were thus told off. On the day of the poll the priests attended at the several polling places, in some instances even marched in at the head of considerable bodies of out-voters. In nearly every instance they remained throughout the day 'on duty', so to speak, in the vicinity of the polling stations, and used every endeavour to encourage their voters to come to the poll. It is computed that there were at least about 850 illiterate voters who had their votes recorded for them. In one polling station alone, where there were only 380 voters on the list, 40 illiterate votes were, I believe, recorded. The illiterate votes were recorded in the manner laid down by the Ballot Act, &c., and as, in every instance, the 'Nationalist personation agent' was present, few, if any, of the illiterate recorded their votes

for the Loyalist Candidate, for, in most instances, the agents of the Nationalists were parsons connected with the local branch of the National League, and I am convinced, from personal knowledge, that League terrorism alone would, and did, prevent many of the illiterates recording their votes for any but the League Candidates.

THE AGENT OF A ROMAN CATHOLIC CANDIDATE FOR ONE OF THE DIVISIONS OF MUNSTER WRITES

About 18 per cent, of the voters made declarations as illiterates. Many of them were 'acting under instructions,' as it was known that they could read print sufficiently well to mark their voting paper— The public speeches of the Roman Catholic clergy were certainly of an intimidating description. Those members of the Roman Catholic Church who had the courage to stand up in defence of their own rights of property, have been in the public prints and local speeches regarded as renegades to their religion and country.

A CANDIDATE FOR ONE OF THE DIVISIONS OF MUNSTER WRITES

Many said they would be afraid to vote for me and would not vote against me, and this was borne out by the fact that nearly 2,000 did not vote at all.

The number of meetings held prior to the election, and the torrents of abuse poured down on the Loyalist Candidates make it rather surprising that they got even as much support as they did, as I look on the numbers who refrained from voting as a most significant fact.

A CANDIDATE FOR ONE OF THE KERRY DIVISIONS WRITES

The Roman Catholic Clergy exerted themselves most strenuously on the Nationalist side. In the interval between the nomination and the polling, meetings were held in almost every parish, in which I was denounced as a traitor, &c.

Besides this, the clergy canvassed, and sent others to canvass against me. On the day of the polling they watched the booths and spoke to the voters as they entered. As the people have never voted by ballot before, they did not at all realize the secrecy of the process, and were afraid to vote contrary to the wishes of the priests, especially when they had to do so under

the eyes of those very priests. Many voters told me and others (friends of mine) that they would prefer to vote for me, but were afraid of the priests. In fact, to call the thing a "full" election is a mockery. The voters came up like sheep and voted as they were told to. In some cases illiterate voters answered the question, 'Whom do you vote for?' 'The parish priest—the man the priest is for.'

A CANDIDATE FOR ONE OF THE MIDLAND BOROUGHES WRITES

The proceedings in connection with the election call for comment. The booths were arranged in such an unfortunate manner that the entrance to many different booths lay through one hall, and as each voter appeared in the hall he was taken aside and carefully instructed in the way he should vote by a crowd of Nationalists or Rebels and no titan could approach the booths without being subject to the criticisms of one or more priests who kept guard over the different booths the whole day, and who actually remained inside several of the booths until they were compelled to leave by me or my agent.

The Bishop and Catholic Clergy acted as active agents and canvassers for the Rebel Candidate, and in many instances spoke and appeared on his platform. In canvassing, they threatened 'the pains of hell and damnation here' and some voters who had promised before they heard fluff, to vote for the Loyalist, and they also acted at the booths as above stated.

The number of illiterate voters was 338, and their votes were taken in such a way as to reduce the secrecy of the ballot to a farce.

All through my canvass I had frequent conversations with the people of this borough. No person expressed himself to me as in favour of an Irish Parliament, but they say they must do as others do here. All agreed that Separation would entail heavy loss, and the only advantage they expected from an Irish Parliament was that of Protection as against Free Trade.

Boycotting and priestly intimidation being, in my opinion, the main elements of bringing the majority to the poll.

A CANDIDATE FOR ONE OF THE DIVISIONS OF MUNSTER WRITES

Condition of Register very defective, several gentlemen of position omitted. I should think about 500

at least in the Division have been omitted.

Local papers misrepresented proceedings at nomination. I was extremely well received by all parties, but on the day of polling the Roman Catholic clergymen marched the voters like sheep to the poll, and in many instances entered the booths to be present whilst the votes were being cast, and in some cases removed by the police at the directions of the presiding officer; the intimidation was most marked.

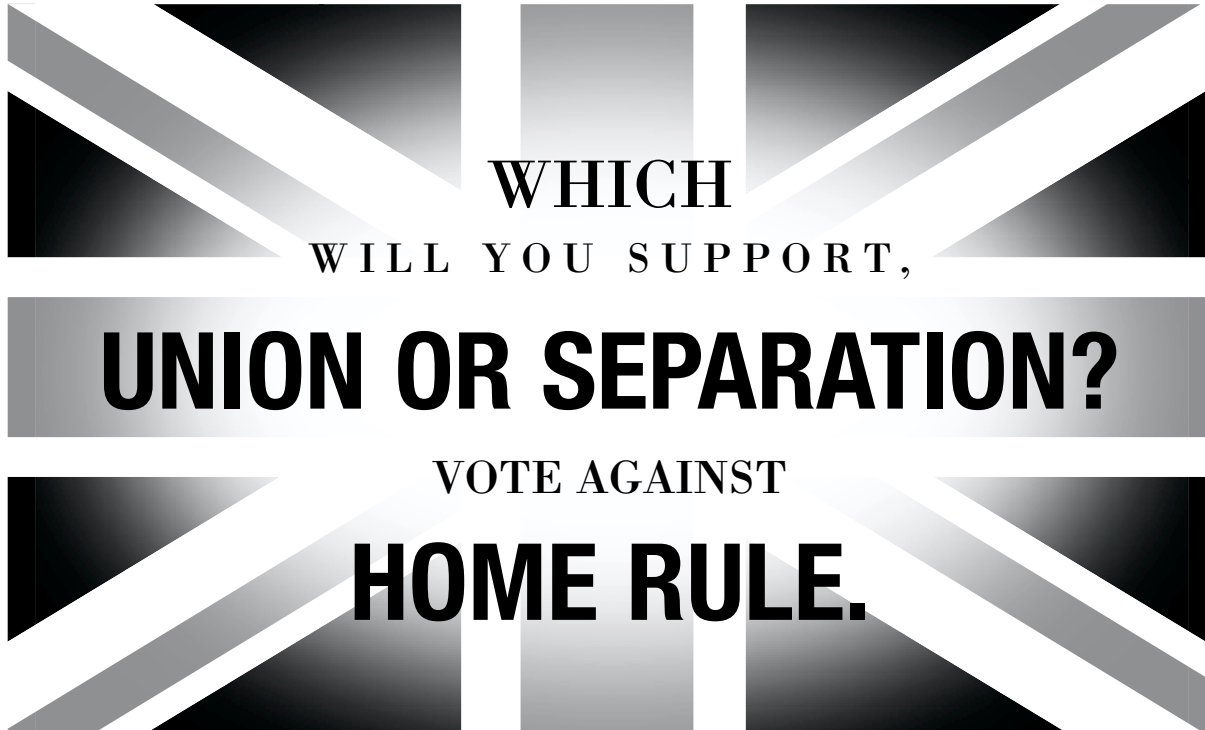
Many voters who came to support me to this town had to get in by the back way to the booth, an organised crowd of roughs jamming the front entrance on their approach.

AN AGENT FOR ONE OF THE DIVISIONS OF MUNSTER WRITES

I beg to say that so far as we can ascertain on a careful scrutiny the total numbers on the Register at present is 13,520; of these 8,731 are new names and we are of opinion that if the funds of our Local Association could enable us to fight the Registry properly, fully 50 per cent, of the new names would be struck off. The new names would be struck off for reasons which we state hereafter, but unfortunately we were unable to face the enormously increased expenditure necessitated by recent legislation.

A CANDIDATE FOR ONE OF THE DIVISIONS OF CONNAUGHT WRITES

Several of the illiterate voters did not mark their papers at all as they wished to vote for me, but were afraid to make a declaration out loud in the polling booth where there were several other voters, and in many cases Roman Catholic priests who remained in the booths after voting themselves, and not as polling or personation agents. Had the secret chambers been properly constructed this could not have taken place, or could two or three men consult and show each other how to mark their papers as I saw them doing. The Roman Catholic clergy, to a man, took a great interest in the Nationalist cause. Many of them remained in the booths after voting, the presiding officer either did not know his duty or did not wish to ensure his wrath by turning him out, others went about outside with a sample ballot paper instructing men where to put their X, and in one case a station agent of mine heard him tell 20 or 30 men that if they did not put the X opposite the name of the Nationalist Candidate that they would burn in hell.



WORKING MEN!

VOTE AGAINST SEPARATION VOTE AGAINST THE GLADSTONE CANDIDATE

If GLADSTONE has his way Ireland will be utterly ruined. There will be no money left in the Country and Irish Labourers will get no work at home. What will be the consequences? Why of course they will flock over here in hundreds of thousands.

When they come, your wages will fall to starvation point! If you vote for a Supporter of the Union, you Vote for giving security to Irish Enterprise. Irish Enterprise will promote Irish Industry.

Irish Industry can only flourish under the Old Flag. Flourishing Irish Industries mean Employment for the Irish Labourer in his own country. For you it means no **Irish Competition here to lower your Wages.**

If you vote for the Gladstone Candidate, you will Vote for

SEPARATION & LOW WAGES.

If you Vote for an Opponent of Mr Gladstone, you will Vote for

THE UNION & HIGH WAGES.

JOHN BRIGHT advises you to Vote against Gladstone's Irish Policy.

Who knows the interests of the Working Man better than John Bright?

Workingmen, do as John Bright tells you.

VOTE AGAINST HOME RULE

Do the Irish really desire Home Rule?

31 December 1885

Sir,

Earl Cowper asks the above question in a letter which appears in the *Times* today. You appear to endorse the reasoning by which [he] finds a negative answer to his own question. From whence the facts or information to justify this conclusion? ...

Had the land reform programme of the Land League remained before the Irish electors up to and during the general election there would be good grounds for your contention that the tenant farmers voted more for the abolition of rent than for that of Dublin Castle. It is well known however, that shortly before the dissolution of the late parliament, Mr Parnell put his 'one plank platform' of national self-government before the country, declaring that he would stand or fall on this single issue.

The addresses of the Unionists candidates, who polled their thirties, seventies and hundreds of votes against the thousands given to Home Rule, attest to the true character of the issues which were put before the electorate. In every single instance voters were appealed to in the interest of the Act of Union and against separation. 85 Home Rulers and 18 Unionists is the answer from the constituencies. Even from Ulster, the stronghold of Unionism, a majority has been returned in favour of Home Rule ...

But an explanation has been vouchsafed in the *Times* for defeated unionism: 'the terrorism of the National League and the intimidation of the priests did it all'. This somewhat contradicts Lord Cowper's theory about 'no rent' being responsible for nationalist successes. Is not all this puerile or ridiculous? In reading the letters which have recently been published by you against the concession of Home Rule, one is forcibly reminded of Sydney Smith's saying: 'When Ireland is mentioned, Englishmen take leave of their senses.'

Yours, etc,
Michael Davitt

(*The London Times*, 1 January, 1886)



APRIL 24, 1886.]

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.

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PECKING HOLES IN IT.

picturesque!—very much more picturesque! When the Jury came in, CHARLEY touched my arm (it made me thrill—he really is very sweet), and said, "I'm sure it's all right." And so it was. The Judge was most impressive in passing sentence, and nearly made me cry. But just as I was taking out my handkerchief, CHARLEY said such a funny thing about the black cap that I absolutely roared! And I told him not to be so silly. And while I was speaking they took away the Prisoner, and I didn't see her again. So disappointing! But I think I shall remember her bonnet. It really was most becoming. I must get ESTELLE to copy it for me.

10 o' Clock.—Home again. CHARLEY coming to lunch to-morrow. And now, before I go to bed, I must send a line to refuse Lady UPPERPIMLICO's invitation to "the play, with supper to follow." What a creature she is! Fancy suggesting such a thing! She ought to know that I have conscientious scruples! I may have faults, but I am not quite so wicked as to go to a theatre in Lent!

Will "the Lovers' Quarrel" between WILLIAM and JOSEPHINE be soon made up? Is WILLIAM serenading the obstinate fair one, with "Come back to Erin, Macourneen"?

2. With the exceptions and subject to the restrictions in this Act, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty the Queen, by and with the advice of the Irish Legislative Body, to make the laws for the peace, order, and the good government of Ireland, and by any such law to alter and repeal any law in Ireland.

3. The Legislature of Ireland shall not make laws relating to the following matters or any of them:
 - (ii) The status or dignity of the Crown, or the succession of the Crown or a Regency.
 - (iii) The making of peace or war.
 - (iv) The army, navy, militia, volunteers, or other military or naval forces; or the defense of the realm.
 - (v) Treaties and other relations with foreign States, or the relations between the various parts of Her Majesty's dominions.
 - (vi) Dignities or titles of honour.
 - (vii) Prize or booty of war.
 - (viii) Offences against the law of nations, or offences committed in violation of any treaty made or hereafter to be made between Her Majesty and any foreign State, or offences committed on the high seas.
 - (ix) Treason, alienage, or naturalisation.
 - (x) Trade, navigation, or quarantine.
 - (xi) The postal and telegraph service, except as hereafter in this Act mentioned with respect to the transmission of letters and telegrams in Ireland.
 - (xii) Beacons, lighthouses, or sea marks.
 - (xiii) The coinage, the value of foreign money, legal tender, or weights and measures; or
 - (xiv) Copyright, patent rights, or other exclusive rights to the use or profits of any works or inventions.

5. The Irish Legislature shall not make any law:
 - (i) Respecting the establishment or endowment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or
 - (ii) Imposing any disability or conferring any privilege on account of religious belief; or
 - (iii) Abrogating or derogating from the right to establish or maintain any place of denominational education or any denominational institution or charity; or
 - (iv) Prejudicially affecting the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money, without attending the religious instruction of that school; or
 - (v) Impairing, without either the leave of Her Majesty in Council first obtained on an address presented to the Legislative Body of Ireland, or the consent of the corporation interested, the rights, property, or privileges of any existing corporation, incorporated by Royal Charter or local or general Act of Parliament; or
 - (vi) Imposing or relating to duties of Customs and duties of Excise as defined by this Act, or either of such duties, or affecting any Act relating to such duties, or either of them; or
 - (vii) Affecting this Act except in so far as it is declared to be alterable Irish legislature.

(Alan O'Day, *Irish Home Rule, 1867–1921*, Manchester University Press, 1998, pp 319–20)

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Parnell speaking in the House of Commons 7 June, 1886 on the Home Rule bill

Mr. Speaker, I intervene in the contest of giants which has been proceeding for so many days in this House in reference to this great question, it is not because I suppose that that intervention is specially suitable to the moment; and I certainly should not, under ordinary circumstances, have felt any self-confidence whatever in following so able and eloquent a member of this House as the right honourable gentleman, the member for the Eastern division of Edinburgh. But 'Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just,' and even a man so inferior from every point of view to the right honourable gentleman as I am, may hope upon this occasion not to be so much behind him as usual. The right honourable gentleman has sought—I think, very unfairly—to cast a lurid light upon the situation by an allusion to those unhappy outrages which have occurred in Kerry. I join the right honourable gentleman in expressing my contempt for these cowardly and disgraceful practises. I join him in that respect to the fullest extent. Nor do I say that because for months evictions have been more numerous in Kerry than in all the rest of Munster taken together – neither do I say that that constitutes any excuse for these outrages, although it may supply us with a reason for them; but when I denounce outrages I denounce them in all parts of Ireland, whether they occur in Ulster or in Kerry. But certainly I do condemn these outrages in Kerry; and the right honourable gentleman says very rightly that they must be put a stop to. Well, so say we all; but the right honourable gentleman would try to put a stop to them by resorting to the old bad method of coercion, which he and his friends have been using for the last eighty – six years, while we say with the prime minister: 'Try the effect of self-government,' and if Kerry men then resort to outrages they will very soon find that the rest of Ireland will put a stop to them.

Now, sir, the right honourable member for East Edinburgh [Mr. Goschen] spoke about the sovereignty of Parliament. I entirely agree upon this point ... We feel ... that under this Bill this Imperial Parliament will have the ultimate supremacy and the ultimate sovereignty. I think the most useful part of the Bill is that in which the prime minister throws the responsibility upon the new Legislature of maintaining that order in Ireland without which no state and no society can exist. I understand the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament to be this—that they can interfere in the event of the powers which are conferred by this Bill being abused under certain circumstances. But the Nationalists in accepting this Bill go, as I think, under an honourable understanding not to abuse those powers; and we pledge ourselves in that respect for the Irish people, as far as we can pledge ourselves, not to abuse those powers, and to devote our energies and our influence which we may have with the Irish people to prevent those powers from being abused. But, if those powers should be abused, the Imperial Parliament will have at its command the force which it reserves to itself, and it will be ready to intervene, but only in the case of grave necessity arising. I believe this is by far the best mode in which we can hope to settle this question. You will have real power of force in your hands, and you ought to have it; and if abuses are committed and injustice be perpetrated you will always be able to use that force to put a stop to them. You will have the power and the supremacy of Parliament untouched and unimpaired, just as though this Bill had never been brought forward. We fully recognize this to be the effect of the Bill.

I now repeat what I have already said on the first reading of the measure that we look upon the provisions of the Bill as a final settlement of this question, and that I believe that the Irish people have accepted it as such a settlement. We have had this measure accepted in the sense I have indicated by all the leaders of every section of national opinion both in Ireland and outside Ireland. It has been so accepted in the United States of America, and by the Irish population in that country with whose vengeance some honourable members are so fond of threatening us. Not a single dissentient voice has been raised against this Bill by any Irishman – not by any Irishman holding national opinions – and I need scarcely remind the House that there are sections among Irish Nationalists just as much as there are even among the great Conservative party. I say that as far as it is possible for a nation to accept a measure cheerfully, freely, gladly, and without reservation as a final settlement – I say that the Irish people have shown that they have accepted this measure in that sense.

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Parnell speaking in the House of Commons 7 June , 1886 on the Home Rule bill (contd.)

I will now leave this question of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and I will turn to one that was strongly dwelt upon by the right honourable gentleman the member for East Edinburgh. I mean the influence which he fears the Irish priesthood will seek to exercise upon the future education of the Irish people. I may say at once that I am quite sure that the right honourable gentleman's apprehensions upon this subject are genuine, so far as they go, and that at the same time he has no desire to fan the flame of religious discord. On the whole, I think that the right honourable gentleman has spoken very fairly in reference to this part of the question; and I will not say that, perhaps as a Protestant, had I not had, as I have had, abundant experience of Ireland, I might not have been inclined to share his fears myself. Certainly, I have no such fears; but it is rather remarkable that this question of education is the only matter the right honourable gentleman has any fears about in dealing with the question of Protestant and Catholic in Ireland.

I can, however, assure the right honourable gentleman that we Irishmen shall be able to settle this question of Irish education very well among ourselves. There are many Liberal Nationalists in Ireland – I call them Liberal Nationalists, because I take the phrase in reference to this question of education – there are many Liberal Nationalists who do not altogether share the views of the Roman Catholic Church upon the subject of education, and they are anxious that Ulster should remain an integral part of Ireland in order that they may share the responsibility of government and may influence that government by the feelings which they have with regard to this question of education. You may depend upon it that in an Irish Legislature Ulster, with such representatives as she now has in the Imperial Parliament, would be able to successfully resist the realization of any idea which the Roman Catholic hierarchy might entertain with regard to obtaining an undue control of Irish education. But I repeat that we shall be able to settle this question and others very satisfactorily to all the parties concerned among ourselves.

I observe that reticence has been exercised with regard to the financial question, of which such a point was made upon the first reading of the Bill. The speech of the right honourable gentleman upon the first reading of the Bill undoubtedly produced a great sensation in the House and in this country. The right honourable gentleman, as I and others, and as I believe the country, understood him, argued on that occasion that Ulster was wealthier than either of the three other provinces, and that consequently the burden of taxation would chiefly fall upon her, and that without Ulster, therefore, it would be impossible to carry on the government of Ireland. The right honourable gentleman did not press the financial question very far to-day; but it would not be improper, perhaps, if we were to direct a little more of our attention to it.

For instance, the great wealth of Ulster has been taken up as the war cry of the Loyal and Patriotic Union. The right honourable gentleman was not very fair in choosing the Income Tax, Schedule D, referring to trade and professions, as his standard and measure of the relative wealth of the four provinces. The fair measure of their relative wealth is their assessment to the Income Tax under all the different schedules, and also the value of the rateable property in Ireland; and these tests show conclusively that, so far from Ulster being the wealthiest of the four provinces—and the right honourable gentleman does not deny it now – Ulster comes third in point of relative wealth per head of the population. She comes after Leinster and Munster, and she is only superior to impoverished Connaught.

I come next to the question of the protection of the minority. I have incidentally dwelt on this point in respect to the matter of education; but I should like, with the permission of the House, to say a few words more about it, because it is one on which great attention has been bestowed. One would think from what we hear that the Protestants of Ireland were going to be handed over to the tender mercies of a set of thugs and bandits. The honourable and gallant

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Parnell speaking in the House of Commons 7 June, 1886 on the Home Rule bill (contd.)

member for North Armagh [Major Saunderson] cheers that. I only wish that I was as safe in the North of Ireland when I go there as the honourable and gallant member would be in the South.

What do honourable gentlemen mean by the protection of the loyal minority? In the first place, I ask them what they mean by the loyal minority. The right honourable member for East Edinburgh [Mr. Goschen] does not seem to have made up his mind, even at this late stage of the discussion, as to what loyal Ulster he means. When asked the question, he said he meant the same loyal Ulster as was referred to by the prime minister in his speech; but he would not commit himself by telling us what signification he attributed to the prime minister's expression.

Well, I have examined the prime minister's reference since then, and I find that he referred to the whole province of Ulster. He did not select a point at that time; and consequently I suppose I may assume that the right honourable member for East Edinburgh also referred to the whole little bit of the province, because the opposition had not discovered this province of Ulster when he asked for special protection for it. He has not, however, told us how he would specially protect it.

You must give up the idea of protecting the Protestants either as a body or as a majority by the establishment of a separate legislature either in Ulster or in any portion of Ulster. No, sir, we can not give up a single Irishman. We want the energy, the patriotism, the talents, and the work of every Irishman to insure that this great experiment shall be a successful one. We want, sir, all creeds and all classes in Ireland. We can not consent to look upon a single Irishman as not belonging to us.

We do not blame the small proportion of the Protestants of Ireland who feel any real fear. I admit, sir, that there is a small proportion of them who do feel this fear. We do not blame them; we have been doing our best to allay that fear, and we shall continue to do so. Theirs is not the shame and disgrace of this fear. That shame and disgrace belong to right honourable gentlemen and noble lords of English political parties who, for selfish interests, have sought to rekindle the embers – the almost expiring embers – of religious bigotry. Ireland has never injured the right honourable gentleman, the member for West Birmingham [Mr Chamberlain]. I do not know why he should have added the strength of his powerful arm; why he should, like another Brennus – let us hope not with the same result – why he should have thrown his sword into the scale against Ireland. I am not aware that we have either personally or politically attempted to injure the right honourable gentleman, yet he and his kind seek to dash this cup from the lips of the Irish people – the first cup of cold water that has been offered to our nation since the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam

Now, sir, what does it all come to? It comes to two alternatives when everything has been said and everything has been done. One alternative is the coercion which Lord Salisbury put before the country, and the other is the alternative offered by the prime minister, carrying with it the lasting settlement of a treaty of peace. If you reject this bill, Lord Salisbury was quite right in what he said as to coercion. With great respect to the cries of 'No' by honourable members above the gangway, I beg to say, you will have to resort to coercion. That is not a threat on my part – I would do much to prevent the necessity for resorting to coercion; but I say it will be inevitable, and the best-intentioned Radical who sits on those benches, and who thinks that he 'never, never will be a party to coercion,' will be found very soon walking into the division lobby in favour of the strongest and most drastic coercion bill, or, at the very outside, pitifully abstaining. We have gone through it all before. During the last five years I know, sir, there have been very severe and drastic coercion bills; but it will require an even severer and more drastic measure of coercion now. You will require all that you have had during the last five years, and more besides.

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Parnell speaking in the House of Commons 7 June, 1886 on the Home Rule bill (contd.)

What, sir, has that coercion been? You have had, sir, during those five years – I do not say this to influence passion or awaken bitter memories – you have had during those five years the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; you have had a thousand of your Irish fellow subjects held in prison without specific charge, many of them for long periods of time, some of them for twenty months, without trial and without any intention of placing them on trial – I think of all these thousand persons arrested under the Coercion Act of the late Mr Forster scarcely a dozen were put on their trial; you have had the Arms Acts; you have had the suspension of trial by jury – all during the last five years. You have authorized your police to enter the domicile of a citizen, of your fellow subject in Ireland, at any hour of the day or night, and to search every part of this domicile, even the beds of the women, without warrant. You have fined the innocent for offences committed by the guilty; you have taken power to expel aliens from this country; you have revived the Curfew Law and the blood-money of your Norman conquerors; you have gagged the Press and seized and suppressed newspapers; you have manufactured new crimes and offences, and applied fresh penalties unknown to your laws for these crimes and offences.

All this you have done for five years, and all this and much more you will have to do again. The provision in the bill for terminating the representation of Irish members has been very vehemently objected to, and the right honourable gentleman, the member for the Border Burghs [Mr. Trevelyan], has said that there is no half-way house between separation and the maintenance of law and order in Ireland by imperial authority. I say, with just as much sincerity of belief, and just as much experience as the right honourable gentleman that, in my judgment, there is no half-way house between the concession of legislative autonomy to Ireland and the disfranchisement of the country and her government as a crown colony. But, sir, I refuse to believe that these evil days must come. I am convinced there are a sufficient number of wise and just members in this House to cause it to disregard appeals made to passion and to pocket, and to choose the better way of the prime minister – the way of founding peace and good will among nations; and when the numbers in the division lobby come to be told, it will also be told, for the admiration of all future generations, that England and her Parliament, in this nineteenth century, was wise enough, brave enough, and generous enough to close the strife of centuries, and to give peace, prosperity, and happiness to suffering Ireland.

... What has very much struck me in the course of this discussion is the enormous work done by words misused and wrenched from their meanings (Hear, Hear). There are two or three words upon which the whole burden of the controversy rests ...

Now the first word I would take is what Mr Parnell said the other night - that Ireland is a 'nation'. Well if a nation only means a collection of individuals living between certain latitudes and longitudes, then in that sense, Ireland is a nation.

But if there is anything further necessary - if to make a nation you require a past united history, traditions in which you can join, achievements of which you are proud, interests which you share in common and sympathies which belong to all - then emphatically Ireland is not a nation. (Great cheers) Ireland is two nations ... Ireland is not a nation for it contains two different, bitterly antagonistic nations.

Well then, another word which has done a great deal of duty in this controversy is 'confidence'. (Cheers and laughter) We are to have confidence in the Irish people. Well of course there are some people in whom we undoubtedly have confidence. But are the preachers of that doctrine prepared to maintain that you are bound to have confidence in everyone? ... Confidence depends in the people in whom you confide. You would not confide free representative institutions to the Hottentots, for instance. Nor, going up the scale, would you confide them to the Oriental races whom you are governing in India - although finer specimens of human character you will hardly find than some who belong to those nations but who are simply not suited to the particular kind of confidence of which I am speaking. Well, I doubt if you could confide representative institutions to the Russians with any great security ... and when you come to narrow it down you will find that this which is called self-government, but which is really government by the majority, works admirably when it is confided to people who are of the Teutonic race but that it does not work so well when people of other races are called upon to join in ...

(The *London Times*, 17 May 1886)