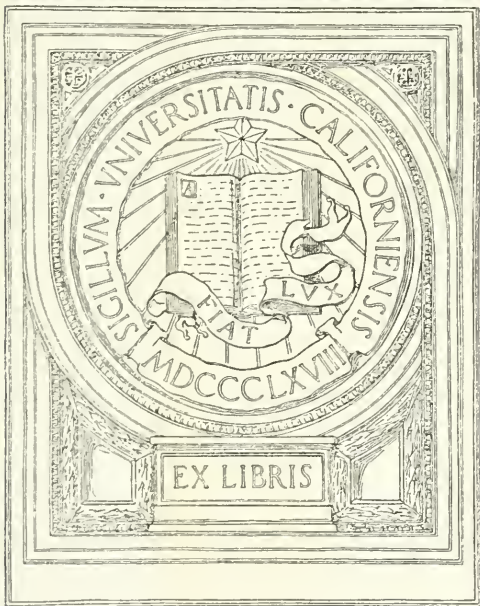


THE  
NONCONFORMIST  
TREASON

OR THE SALE OF  
THE EMERALD ISLE

MICHAEL J.F.  
MCCARTHY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
LOS ANGELES



EX LIBRIS



I, 2, 22.





Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2008 with funding from  
Microsoft Corporation



# The Nonconformist Treason





# The Nonconformist Treason

BY

MICHAEL J. F. McCARTHY

---

AUTHOR OF 'PRIESTS AND PEOPLE IN IRELAND,'  
'FIVE YEARS IN IRELAND,' ETC., ETC.

William Blackwood and Sons  
Edinburgh and London

1912



AMERICAN LIBRARY  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DA  
960  
M12m

## PREFACE.

---

LIBRARY SETS

THIS book is written in no spirit of hostility to the historic position of British Nonconformity. On the contrary, its author is in sympathy with all the legitimate protests made by Nonconformists in the past against the efforts of certain men, pretending to divine or superhuman power, at maintaining a tyranny over their fellow-mortals for their own profit.

NOV 16 1940

Amazement rather than indignation, grief rather than anger, must predominate in the mind of one holding such opinions at seeing the leaders of British Nonconformity now engaged in a SALE and BETRAYAL of Ireland to the worst of all those celibate sacerdotal tyrannies in resisting which Nonconformists have suffered and died.

HARVARD

337933

If this proposal to break the Union were broached by a free Liberal Party, with a majority independent of the Irish Seceders; if it were made, for instance, between January 1906 and January 1910, it could not have been called a SALE, though it would have been a betrayal. But now, when the men who propose it are dependent from day to day on the Irish Seceders for their posts and salaries, and when the proposal is made to secure those posts and salaries for the full term allowed by the Parliament Act, it is a SALE as well as a BETRAYAL, and as venal a transaction as human selfishness ever devised.

And within this greater sale there is a lesser sale, by which we are to buy the dis-establishment of Anglicanism in Wales by the establishment of Romanism in Ireland.

If this proposal were an honest attempt to relieve Irish distress by a change in the methods of Irish administration, it would be pardonable even in a Government dependent on the votes of the Irish Seceders. But, as I have shown in chapters xvii. and xix., so far from that being the case, the present is a time when Ireland, as the result of the Union,

is prospering to a degree not only marking a record in her own history, but far exceeding the prosperity of most European countries.

Those people whose feelings this book is an attempt to voice are not sentimentalists; neither are they fanatics who live by preaching sectarianism. Their protest against setting up a Romanist Parliament and Executive in Dublin is the united and deliberate word of NINETY-NINE PER CENT OF THE IRISH PROTESTANTS—men and women as sensible and industrious as are to be found in the world; men who in every clime are a prop of British rule and civilisation, and help to move the world along the path of progress. Their liberty and prosperity—the fruit of heroic suffering and plodding industry—are threatened with extinction and confiscation.

They object ON PRINCIPLE, as the Northerners objected before the American civil war, to the policy of breaking the Union. They regard it as TREASON, and care not what THE DETAILS of that treason may be. It matters not to them, for instance, whether “unchecked fiscal autonomy” be granted or withheld, for if it were withheld in a first Home Rule Act on the grounds that it “would mean separa-

tion,"<sup>1</sup> it would have to be given a few years later, when the demand of a Romanist parliament would be backed up by the guns of a territorial "CATHOLIC ARMY."

For them the breaking of the Union would be A SENTENCE OF DEATH, and they are little interested in the MANNER of the execution. Their protest is that the sentence MUST NOT BE CARRIED OUT. They maintain that it would be a weakness and a species of SURRENDER EVEN TO DISCUSS DETAILS which were fully discussed in 1886 and 1893, and definitely rejected by the country. The present proposals are put forward by a Cabinet acting under duress and in return for payment; and to assist their authors by consultation and suggestion would be to become accomplices in their treason.

The protest of the Irish Unionists is based on the soundest reasons—social, political, and financial, as well as religious. But for those who do not know, it needs to be explained that in Roman Catholic Ireland, as in all countries dominated by the Roman system,

<sup>1</sup> Mr J. M. Robertson, Secretary to the Board of Trade, Feb. 2, 1912.

economics and politics are included under the head of religion. Mr Redmond, for instance, will be found saying: "THE FIRST THING we must be mindful of, AFTER HOME RULE, will be OUR RELIGION." And Mr Silvester Horne, M.P., the ally of Mr Redmond, will tell us: "The Church of Rome is RIGHT WHEN SHE CLAIMS IMPERIAL SWAY. . . . All Government and all Law must come to the Church as a court of last resort."

To those who hearken to the Redmondites and Horne-ites, as well as to the Pirrie-ites and Crokerites, to those who doubt that Roman ecclesiastics could ever again set up a social and political, as well as a religious, tyranny in any part of the British Isles, I recommend a perusal of chapters xii., xiii., xxi., xxiii., and xxiv. of this book. Those who assert from interested motives that the policy of the Roman socio-politico-religious system has changed, are refuted by the words and acts of the Roman ecclesiastics themselves. "The Roman Church," as a widely read London newspaper said recently, "has abated none of its ancient claims, and stands in the twentieth century precisely where it stood in

the twelfth.”<sup>1</sup> The Roman political claims, like the Roman doctrines, stand precisely where they were, and both are paramount in Roman Catholic Ireland; but the relative positions of Rome and England with regard to Ireland have been reversed.

In the twelfth century there was a sale of Ireland by the Pope of Rome to Henry Plantagenet. In the twentieth century a British Nonconformist Government, with Mr Redmond as its broker, would sell Ireland to the Pope of Rome! And this sale is not being carried through impulsively, or as a leap in the dark, but with premeditation and a full prevision of the consequences. “Presbyterians and Methodists, Friends and Congregationalists, appeal to us to avert the dreaded disaster of Home Rule,” writes Dr Horton, a leading Congregationalist minister,<sup>2</sup> “we thoroughly UNDERSTAND THEIR DREAD OF A PARLIAMENT IN DUBLIN WHICH MUST BE ESSENTIALLY CATHOLIC. . . . The history of a thousand years tells us that, when the Roman Church can control a Government, it employs the

<sup>1</sup> ‘Daily Mail,’ Dec. 23, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> ‘The Times,’ Feb. 10, 1912.



Government to repress heretics, and Protestants are the worst of heretics!"

But, despite this appalling admission, the writer declares that the Roman Church must be given control of the Government of Ireland! **THE SALE MUST GO ON, BECAUSE IT IS THE SOLE CONDITION ON WHICH A NONCONFORMIST GOVERNMENT CAN REMAIN IN OFFICE!**



# CONTENTS.

CHAP.	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	v
I. THE SALE IS TREASON, AND THE TREASON IS NONCONFORMIST . . . . .	1
II. DUBLIN PREPARES FOR HOME RULE . . . . .	17
III. BELFAST WILL NOT HAVE CANON LAW INSTEAD OF BRITISH . . . . .	25
IV. DISESTABLISHING ANGLICANISM AND ESTABLISHING ROMANISM . . . . .	36
V. THE HOME RULE ALL ROUND FRAUD . . . . .	47
VI. NONCONFORMIST JUSTIFICATION OF THE TREASON	55
VII. PROTESTANT POSITION IN 1800 AND NOW . . . . .	63
VIII. RESULTS OF OVERTHROWING PROTESTANT MANAGE- MENT IN IRELAND . . . . .	73
IX. FINANCIAL FALSEHOODS REFUTED . . . . .	84
X. PRICE OF THE NONCONFORMIST TREASON—FALSE- HOODS ABOUT THE IRISH FAMINE AND EMIGRA- TION . . . . .	95
XI. FACTS ABOUT IRISH CRIME, POLICE, AND EDUCATION	109
XII. PAPAL SUPREMACY IN IRELAND FROM 1172 TO 1912	118
XIII. VATICAN EXPERTS AND LAY NEOPIHYTES . . . . .	142

XIV. GERMAN INVASION AND ULSTER REBELLION . . . . .	166
XV. THE SECEDERS' MYTH ABOUT "DUBLIN CASTLE" . . . . .	181
XVI. IRISH SECEDERS A SPENT FORCE IN POLITICS . . . . .	193
XVII. COMMERCIAL SLANDERS ON IRELAND REFUTED . . . . .	204
XVIII. CANADIAN HOME RULE AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR EXAMINED AND EXPLAINED . . . . .	216
XIX. IRISH LAND PURCHASE EXAMINED AND EXPLAINED . . . . .	234
XX. HOME - RULED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES — ULSTER INDUSTRY—BELFAST'S GROWTH . . . . .	244
XXI. THE TRUTH ABOUT IRISH COUNTY COUNCILS AND CATHOLIC TYRANNY . . . . .	254
XXII. NONCONFORMIST JUSTIFICATION OF MIXED MAR- RIAGE DECREE . . . . .	271
XXIII. MIXED MARRIAGE PERSECUTION IN IRELAND . . . . .	283
XXIV. CANON LAW ALREADY IN FORCE IN IRELAND . . . . .	303
XXV. HOME RULE MUST LEAD TO SEPARATION . . . . .	316
XXVI. MR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S DEFENCE OF THE TREASON . . . . .	324
<hr/>	
INDEX . . . . .	341

# THE NONCONFORMIST TREASON.



## CHAPTER I.

THE SALE IS TREASON AND THE TREASON  
IS NONCONFORMIST.

“OUR conception of a traitor is a man who asserts that the law is wrong and that he will forcibly set it to rights—for example, BY PROCLAIMING THE INDEPENDENCE OF A PROVINCE, by abolishing the office of king, or the privileges of particular classes, as the peerage.”<sup>1</sup>

Bearing this definition in mind, treason seems the aptest name for the conduct of the Cabinet Ministers who, having reduced one of the Houses of Parliament to impotence, are about to break the Union and make Ireland

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, ‘General View of the Criminal Law.’

independent in order that they may hold office for three years longer by means of the votes of the Irish Seceders. Abraham Lincoln would have called such conduct treason; and, as the Government is Nonconformist, the treason is also Nonconformist—though, happily, there are many Nonconformists who are not traitors. From January 1906 to January 1910, the Nonconformist Members, under the presidency of Sir George White, the Baptist leader, met regularly and decided the action of the Government on every crucial question. We have not heard so much of those dictators since January 1910, when Mr Redmond became master of the situation. But in 1906 the Government was acclaimed Nonconformist by all the official voices of Nonconformity, and by that title it still deserves to be called. Its leading Ministers, whether like Mr Lloyd George and Mr Birrell they continue within the pale of Nonconformity, or whether, like Mr Asquith, they range themselves within the Established Church, with a leg on each side of the fence, are all standard-bearers of Nonconformity.

When they speak with premeditation, their deliverances are always sanctimonious. Mr Lloyd George is famous for his sermons in

Nonconformist pulpits; Mr Birrell humorously supports the divines of the Baptist connection; and Mr Asquith himself, the particular pride and glory of all the Nonconformists, recently delivered an eloquent eulogium of the Bible, which he gave us to understand that he accepts *in toto* as the direct revelation of God to man.

The last time the Nonconformists held power in this country was under Oliver Cromwell, and then they used the sword and gun to prevent the Pope of Rome and his legate, Rinucini, backed up by Phelim O'Neill, the prototype of Jack the Ripper (see p. 130), and by Owen O'Neill, from running Ireland as a papist kingdom. But, since Cromwell, there have been great Nonconformists who were as keenly alive as the Protector, though in a different way, to the imperative need of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, for instance, John Bright, Mr Joseph Chamberlain, and Charles Haddon Spurgeon—the greatest of latter-day Nonconformists.

There were never in British public life two warmer friends of Ireland than Bright and Chamberlain. Both hated oppression and injustice. Both advocated full political and religious equality as between Nationalist and

Unionist, Protestant and Catholic. Both were in favour of strengthening the tenant farmer against the landlord. Both were in favour of full equality of treatment as between Great Britain and Ireland. Yet each dissociated himself from Home Rule, because, besides being bad for Ireland, each believed it would prove the destruction of England, their native land, which each loved with an intensity tempered by sound judgment. Mr Chamberlain, by dissociating himself from it, forfeited the almost certain prospect of the Liberal leadership. "The whole scheme," wrote Spurgeon of Mr Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, "is as full of dangers and absurdities as if it came from a madman!"

Mr Bright and Mr Chamberlain, as statesmen, recognised that the Roman Catholic laity have no voice in the management of their Church, and marked the contrast in this respect between them and the laity of the Free Churches of Great Britain, including the Established Churches of England and Scotland. Experience showed them that, in proportion as political and religious equality was perfected in Ireland, the strength of the Roman ecclesiastics became more pronounced, and social and poli-



tical affairs became absorbed into religious affairs as the less is swallowed up in the greater. They saw that, under such a system, the inevitable result must be, as King Edward VII. put it to Professor Mahaffy, that the Pope would become the real sovereign of Ireland if the Roman Catholics captured the government of the country. The religious equality, for instance, accomplished theoretically by the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1870, had not produced religious equality in practice. And they were not the men to overthrow a Protestant religious ascendancy in order to set up the more galling sacerdotal tyranny of the ecclesiastics of Rome, from which, in times past, Nonconformists had done so much to set England free.

The typical representatives of political Nonconformity to-day have deserted the great principle of religious freedom for which Bright and Chamberlain stood, and, in alliance with Irish political Romanism, are stumping the country, week-days and Sabbath days, for the purpose of forcing the Lords and the Sovereign to put Ireland under the sway of that greatest of all sacerdotal tyrannies from which they themselves have escaped with infinite difficulty !

They are about to force the Protestant Irish, twenty-five per cent of Ireland's population, to swallow the camel of Romanism, while they themselves in England strain at the gnat of Anglicanism! They are, by fraud and misrepresentation, forcing the majority of Englishmen to join them in their surrender to the threats of Mr Redmond and his played-out troupe of professional politicians and betray the industrious and law-abiding Irish Protestants to the secular and religious tyranny of Romanism. And, worst of all, they are doing this as part of a pact by which they continue to hold salaried office and appoint their friends to lucrative posts at the cost of the British taxpayers.

Mr Redmond has made them reconsider their position with regard to Romanism, and, in their eagerness to pay him his price, they have gone to lengths unheard of in their flattery of the Roman ecclesiastics. The expression "Church," as applied to the activities of the Roman system, let me say incidentally, is quite a misnomer. The "Church" consists of the ecclesiastics and the laity; but, as the laity are dumb and powerless, except as agents of the hierarchy, it is the ecclesiastics, and not the

Church, that we have to do with in all matters of public concern. The flattery of Romanism by Nonconformists since the election of January 1910 has passed all bounds. Take, for instance, the following reported utterance of Mr Silvester Horne, M.P., minister of the Congregationalist, Independent, or Cromwellian (!) denomination, taken from 'The New York Times.' Mr Horne was given a luncheon by some Protestant ministers in New York last September, about the time that the Pope was about to appoint two new Irish Cardinals for the United States, and, in addressing his friends, he is reported to have spoken as follows: "The Church of Rome was right when she claimed imperial sway. Though I think she sought to gain her ends through means often unjust and far from praiseworthy, the glorious idea was exactly right, and to it all Churches must come. It was the idea that there was nothing outside the sweep of the Church, and that ALL GOVERNMENT AND ALL LAW MUST COME TO THE CHURCH AS THE COURT OF LAST RESORT. WHEN WE THINK ABOUT THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN CHURCH, WE MUST ADMIT THAT HER AIM HAS BEEN THE

ONLY TRUE ONE, FOR IT AIMED AT AUTHORITY!"<sup>1</sup>

The New York paper tells us that Mr Horne's statement "puzzled the ministers for a few moments, and then there were some faint cheers!"

Cardinal Manning, who used to preach the Pope's absolute supremacy over the consciences of the peasant and the monarch, never went farther than this Nonconformist minister and Member of Parliament, who declares that the ecclesiastics of Rome are right in claiming imperial sway, and maintaining that nothing is "outside the sweep" of their authority! The Nonconformists are handing Ireland over to Roman rule deliberately, and with their eyes open! Dr Horton, whose amazing admissions I have quoted in the Preface, says that there may be NOTHING LEFT FOR IRISH PROTESTANTS AFTER HOME RULE BUT A GENERAL EXODUS. "We know only too well what a Catholic Parliament may mean," he writes.<sup>2</sup> . . . We cannot feel confident or sanguine. . . . If their fears should be realised, and Ireland, under Home Rule, should

<sup>1</sup> 'New York Times,' Sept. 26, 1911; most prominent position in the paper.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Times,' Feb. 10, 1912

become intolerable to them, I cannot help hoping personally that a certain shifting of population will take place. Irish Protestants will return to England and Scotland, transferring their industry and ability to the country whose government and principles they prefer!"

There is an alternative to flight; but Dr Horton evidently thinks better of the general body of the Irish Protestants than to suggest that they would ever adopt it. It is that they should do as Mr Swift MacNeill, M.P., says that he has done, "throw themselves on the Catholic people"—and eke out a living by doing propagandist work for the Roman ecclesiastics. "My own personal experience," writes Mr MacNeill,<sup>1</sup> "coincides with that of every Irish Protestant WHO HAS THROWN HIMSELF ON THE CATHOLIC PEOPLE!" The Irish Protestants, happily, are not prepared to row in Mr MacNeill's galley!

These utterances of Mr Horne's and Dr Horton's, amazing as they seem, do not differ generically from many of Mr Augustine Birrell's; for instance, his denunciation of Henry VIII. at Reading a few years ago, for having suppressed the monasteries and exe-

<sup>1</sup> 'The Times,' Feb. 16, 1912.

cuted the Abbot of Reading. Mr Horne gives us the neo-Cromwellian, Mr Birrell the neo-Baptist view of Romanism. Both men gain by their alliance with Irish Romanism, one directly and the other indirectly. Mr Birrell draws £4500 a-year as Chief Secretary for Ireland, by the grace of Mr Redmond. Mr Horne's brother, an ex-farmer from Shropshire, has just got a lucrative post from the Asquith-Redmond Government.

The neo-Cromwellian prophet is the intimate friend of the Chief Secretary. He is a man whose words are worth noting in every way. He is the son-in-law of, and co-worker with, the present Master of the Rolls, who attends his chapel or tabernacle, at Tottenham Court Road, and takes part in the work there. He is the friend of Mr Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who delivers addresses at his tabernacle. And lastly, he is the friend and intimate of the Prime Minister, himself one of those Congregationalists who attend worship and take the sacrament in the Church of England, while remaining in intimate alliance with the old sect. There are numbers of these people, with a leg at each side of the fence!

Mr Horne, improbable though it seem, may

deny that he used the precise words attributed to him by 'The New York Times,' one of the best journals in America. He was reported some weeks ago as having said in Wales that the Church of England was "a pagan institution." He contradicted and explained that he had only charged it with being pagan in some of its ordinances! His friend, Mr Birrell, has also a weakness for saying that he has been misreported, yet both depend more on newspaper publicity, perhaps, than any two men in England, not excluding the theatrical profession.

All the leading papers of the United Kingdom recently reported Mr Birrell as having said at Skipton, on the authority of Mr Joseph Devlin, M.P., that "there was only one Roman Catholic in the employ of the Corporation of Belfast, and he was a scavenger;" and also as having said that the people in the North of Ireland who differed from Mr Devlin and his friends, "had no more religion than billiard balls."

On the publication of this astounding statement, the Belfast Corporation pointed out that their Roman Catholic employees numbered nearly nine hundred, and that the amount of

wages paid by them to Roman Catholics exceeded the amount of rates paid by the Roman Catholics of Belfast!<sup>1</sup>

Mr Birrell, having taken no notice of this, was asked in the House of Commons on December 7, by Sir John Lonsdale, M.P., "Why he stated at Skipton that the Belfast Corporation only employed one Roman Catholic, and that he was a scavenger?" Mr Birrell flatly denied having made any such statement; and soon afterwards, speaking at Manchester, said that Mr Bonar Law misquoted him in stating that he said that Ulster loyalists "had no more religion than billiard balls." But he did not furnish any concrete alternative to the statement the newspapers had attributed to him!

Sir John Lonsdale then inquired as to who reported the speech at Skipton, and found that it was not reported by an inexperienced local reporter, or by the representative of any party newspaper, but by the London representative of the Press Association, Mr Alfred Edward Hanscomb. And this expert shorthand-writer made an affidavit before a Commissioner for

<sup>1</sup> The exact figures were: 870 employees, with wages amounting to £53,878 a-year.



Oaths, on December 9, in which he stated that he was present at Skipton and took a shorthand note of Mr Birrell's address, of which the following was a transcript: "These people have no more religion in these matters than billiard balls which meet in collision with one another on the billiard-table. Sometimes religion becomes associated with these disputes in the North. You'll find a strong feeling there. I am told that in the great city of Belfast, one of whose representatives is Mr Devlin, Nationalist, there is only one Roman Catholic in the employ of the Corporation, and he is a scavenger. (Laughter.) I don't vouch for it, but there are at any rate precious few." Mr Hanscomb declared on oath "that the said shorthand note was accurate and the above a true and proper transcript thereof."<sup>1</sup>

Most people of experience will agree that the Press Association reporter, representing a non-partisan institution, an expert accustomed night after night to take down speeches in shorthand, is more likely to be accurate than Mr Birrell, eager only to win laughter and applause, and extremely unlikely to remember precisely what he said. Even if we had not

<sup>1</sup> 'Morning Post,' Dec. 14, 1911.

the Press Association reporter's oath, the words ring like Mr Birrell, the Baptist humourist, as we know him, and the calumny on the Belfast Corporation is almost as old as Mr Birrell himself.

All the leaders of Nonconformist political oratory nowadays, Mr Birrell, Mr Lloyd George, Mr Silvester Horne, and others, pride themselves on the gift of fluent extemporaneous utterance, and are pre-eminently the class of men of whom it has been said that language has a great command over them. When brought to book for anything definite, the first impulse of such speakers is to say that they never said it. If any of the Unionist members taunted Mr Birrell with having compared Mr John Redmond's party to Mark Antony's scolding wife, Fulvia, and with having said that, like her, they were "good being gone," it is highly probable he would indignantly deny it. Yet the words were not merely uttered but written in an essay on Charles Lamb, published by Elliot Stock, and re-published in the "International Library of Famous Literature." They are brought in quite gratuitously, too, and in a tone derogatory to the Irish Seceders, his present

masters. Writing of Lamb's missing essays, he says: "Like the Irish Members, or Mark Antony's wife, the 'shrill-toned Fulvia,' the missing essays are 'good being gone.'"

But if Mr Birrell has called the Seceders scolds, he has atoned for it since he became their slave by calling the Ulster Members "carrion crows," and has at various times indulged in language towards every one in Ireland who does not happen to be a Roman ecclesiastic, or a Seceder, which would do credit to the shrill-toned Fulvia herself.

It may seem hard for English people to believe, but I maintain it from experience, *pace* Mr Birrell, that there is no place in Ireland where Protestantism and Roman Catholicism get on so well together as in Belfast. There you will find Roman Catholics, in conversation, making kindly comments upon those leading Protestants whom the Seceders' newspapers would lead one to suppose were fanatical bigots and tyrants. The Roman ecclesiastics are kept in their proper place in Belfast. They are not allowed "the imperial sway" advocated by Mr Horne, yet they do not surrender to the Protestants. The lay Romanists are asked to give up no religious

principle ; they get equal protection and privileges with Protestants ; and they develop an unusual amount of self-helpfulness, considering how they are handicapped by the ecclesiastics. Like Roman Catholic Ireland before the Union, they do well under Protestant rule, gaining by their contact with Protestantism, and are smarter than their co-religionists, who have it all their own way in the South.

Belfast Protestants, on the other hand, while friendly and neighbourly to the Roman Catholics, do not yield a jot of the Protestant platform as propounded by Martin Luther, John Calvin, John Knox, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Latimer, or Bishop Ridley ; and, if the Protestants all over Ireland did the same, there would have been less religious trouble in the past. Protestants in the Roman Catholic parts ought to know by this time how great is the mistake of thinking that, by watering down the principles in which they were born and bred, they can get the Roman Catholics to water down the Roman Catholic principles—forgetting the powerful army of celibate bishops and priests whose interest it is to keep the anti-heretic principles of the laity up to concert-pitch.

## CHAPTER II.

## DUBLIN PREPARES FOR HOME RULE.

BOSS CROKER lives in Dublin !

The Dublin Corporation at its last quarterly meeting but one, on the recommendation of a committee, postponed the consideration of sites for proposed new municipal buildings until it should be possible to acquire portions of Dublin Castle !<sup>1</sup>

Archbishop Walsh, at Ringsend a few weeks afterwards, said that, after Home Rule, the transfer of St Patrick's Cathedral would not take place as the result of a compulsory Act of Parliament, but he thought it possible that "some *friendly* arrangement might be come to," in which due regard would be had for existing vested interests ! Henry VIII. had confiscated the cathedral and its properties, he

<sup>1</sup> 'Irish Times,' Oct. 3, 1911.

said, without the authority of an Act of Parliament. And nothing apparently could be in better taste than that the Church of Ireland capitular body, which has been continuously in possession since the sixteenth century, should declare Archbishop Walsh to be the true heir and beneficiary and make way for him "by a *friendly* arrangement," when a Romanist Parliament and Executive have been established, with Roman police, Roman territorial regiments, and Roman judges and juries to see fair play!

The restoration of evicted tenants is the order of the day, whether the man in possession be a Protestant Dean and Chapter, or a Protestant Irish farmer. Where a "friendly arrangement" cannot be come to, other means are being adopted. A Protestant farmer in county Cork, who has been in his farm twenty-eight years, built a new dwelling-house, and purchased under the Wyndham Act, is now summoned to surrender house and land to the son of the tenant who gave up possession a generation ago. And, because he refuses to go out, those in his vicinity will not work for him, or sell to him, or buy from him, or even allow him to go freely about his business,

or permit him to attend worship in peace on Sunday. They keep him in terror of his life, threatening him by day and by night in public and private, and leading him such a life as we associate with times of civil war.<sup>1</sup> He is under constant police protection, and the reality of his danger may be gathered from the fact that on December 7, 1911, the wife of a farmer named O'Mara was shot dead, and her niece seriously wounded, near Broadford, in East Clare, Mr William Redmond's constituency. In answer to a knock, after nightfall, the woman had opened her door, and instantly shots were fired into the lighted kitchen by some persons standing outside. The newspaper accounts ended with the words, so characteristic of Irish crime: "The police have no clue."<sup>2</sup>

The Dublin Corporation, which is full of political wire-pullers, will stay its hand for Home Rule, but the agrarian murderer and boycotter will not. The farmers, who are the nation in the Nationalist provinces, do not count on Home Rule, and will feel no disappointment whatever when they hear that Mr Redmond's boasts have not come true.

<sup>1</sup> 'Irish Times,' Oct. 5, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> 'Daily Mail,' Dec. 9, 1911.

They have got, or are going to get, the land, and that is all they are concerned about. The wirepullers in Dublin are hungry for Government posts, but the hunger of the nation, which was for the land, is almost satisfied. If this Nonconformist treason should succeed, and the Union be broken, Great Britain will have surrendered not to an aggrieved people but to a junta of place-hunters aiming at a tyranny. They want another agitation, and the passage of the first Home Rule Act will be the beginning of one which will end in the realisation of their dreams as epitomised in bronze on the new and unlovely Parnell monument unveiled in Dublin last October.

“NO MAN HAS A RIGHT TO FIX BOUNDARIES TO THE MARCH OF A NATION. NO MAN HAS A RIGHT TO SAY TO HIS COUNTRY: ‘THUS FAR SHALT THOU GO AND NO FARTHER.’ WE HAVE NEVER ATTEMPTED TO FIX THE *NE PLUS ULTRA* TO THE PROGRESS OF IRELAND’S NATIONHOOD AND WE NEVER SHALL.”

This ungracious memorial, in which all the fire and fineness of Parnell’s figure and features are missed, is the work of an American sculptor, and was erected mainly with money received from “Boss” Croker, of Tammany Hall fame, who is now settled in Dublin, and not unlikely, if Home Rule should come, to be the “boss” of



Ireland. Mr Croker's presence is noteworthy, typical as it is of American influence in Roman Catholic Ireland. He is a devoted Roman Catholic, I understand, his adherence to the Roman Church being evidence of a profound belief in its dogmas and the divine mission of its ecclesiastics to rule the world as the Vicegerents of Deity. He has taken action, and is so far in advance of Mr Horne; though, of course, Mr Croker could never give a more open charter to the Roman ecclesiastics than to say that their sway is "imperial" and that "all government and all law must come to them as the court of last resort."

One could find reasons, though of course not in Mr Croker's case, for conversion to Romanism just now in Ireland, inasmuch as no man, however able, can hope to carry through any scheme of public importance there, except under the ægis of the Roman ecclesiastics. Mr Croker, having known the value of their political support in New York, where Tammany Hall and Irish Romanism are almost synonymous, cannot fail to appreciate it in Ireland. Romanism is booming in the United States, which Irish Catholics call the Greater Ireland, and a Dublin Parliament would be in close

affinity with the New York Corporation. Mr Croker is not likely to make any mistake about the power of the Roman ecclesiastics after Home Rule. Is not New York city home-ruled, and did it not turn out its citizens a million strong the other day to welcome Archbishop Farley when he came back with the Cardinal's hat from Rome, making public holiday, while all the steamers in the river blew their sirens? In the deals between Mr Croker and the Roman ecclesiastics in New York, the Boss may have thought he was using the ecclesiastics, but, when he is dead and forgotten, the Roman ecclesiastics will still be in New York profiting by the use they made, and are making, of the politicians of Tammany Hall, and wielding greater power than ever over the terrified laity.

In Baltimore, too, they celebrated the birthday of Cardinal Gibbons, an Irishman, by a great public meeting at which President Taft was present and ex-President Roosevelt expressed a fervent wish that the United States might soon have, what it has never had, a Roman Catholic President. Cardinal Falconio, the Italian who directs and uses American Romanism at Washington, had just expressed

a hope that they might shortly have a President who would be "an American subject of the Pope!" It was proposed in the Baltimore Corporation to declare a public holiday, but the Cardinal graciously sent a note, saying that, "while he greatly appreciated the honour proposed, he hoped that the suggested action would not be taken, because he did not wish to interfere with the regular course of the public school system, or to cause the loss of wages to working people that a holiday of that kind would bring!" The irony of this was superb, for the Roman ecclesiastics are waging war to the knife against the public school system, and the Cardinal had heard that the Protestants in the Corporation were going to oppose the motion for a public holiday!

Mr Croker, too, must have often seen the Federal troops turned out on Memorial Day, and, perhaps, he attended the "Field Masses" celebrated by Roman priests, at which the American soldiers "present arms at the elevation of the Host!" Ireland under Home Rule will do far better than that. And "Boss" Croker, who is no mere discharged warhorse come to die in a Dublin paddock, but a powerful leader, dividing public honours with

Mr John Redmond himself at the unveiling of the Parnell monument, and wise in his generation, has ranged himself definitely with the Roman ecclesiastics in Ireland. To win the Derby with an outsider, brilliant as the feat may be, can hardly be the limit of his ambition at this side of the Atlantic. Outside the Church, no man could hope to be a successful Boss in Nationalist Ireland. Parnell, the introducer of the Boss system into Irish politics, tried, and killed himself in the attempt. The Boss of a Dublin Parliament and Executive, with command of the jail and the scaffold, would be a greater man than the Boss of the New York Corporation. Even if Mr Croker does not stand for the position, Mr Redmond must find it useful to have a past master on the spot.

## CHAPTER III.

BELFAST WILL NOT HAVE CANON LAW INSTEAD  
OF BRITISH.

LORD PIRRIE does not live in Belfast !

Lord Pirrie describes himself as "an exile from Erin." His home is in England, where he stands in the shoes of that great man, Whitaker Wright; but, like the exile in the song, he occasionally "comes to the beach," and crosses the water for a flying visit to Belfast, or to Dublin, where he is—wonder of wonders—Comptroller of the Viceregal Household, settler of Lord Aberdeen's petty accounts.

On one of these visits recently, perhaps specially paid for the purpose, he entertained at luncheon the Chief Government Whip, Mr Murray, Master of Elibank, and, of course, invited the reporters; for the lunch was the

least and the report the most important part of the proceedings.

Lord Pirrie is a personality no less important than Mr Croker, or Mr Horne. The Nonconformists and Romanists hold him up to admiration in England, and ask self-confidently: How can there be any harm in Irish-Roman schemes when they are supported by Lord Pirrie? While Croker is more formidable and Horne more fluent, Pirrie looms up more solidly before the English imagination. He was a Unionist in the two previous fights against Secession in 1886 and 1893. His patron and employer, the late Sir Edward Harland, has died since then, however, and his matchless commercial traveller—"W. J. Pirrie of the Smile," as he was known in the Yard—has had a freer scope for his personal ambition. Gustav Wolff, Sir Edward Harland's partner, still survives and is as Unionist as ever; but he is a German, and allowed Pirrie to succeed Sir Edward Harland as chairman of the directors of Harland & Wolff's Shipbuilding Company.

Pirrie gave up Unionism and went with the majority in 1906. He went farther in 1910, became a full-blown Seceder, and is

now a bright particular star of the Radical-Romanist alliance. He is reputedly wealthy and has no children. He probably has not increased his wealth by joining the Seceders, but he has gained in a way far more acceptable to him, for he has got — what he never could have got as a Unionist — a peerage, a knighthood of St Patrick, and his post in the viceregal household.

These are facts known to everybody interested in Ireland. But there is one other fact infinitely more important, and it is that Lord Pirrie does not represent Protestant public opinion on the Home Rule question even in Harland & Wolff's yard. If he raised the Secession flag outside the pay-office on pay-day he would not get one man out of a hundred to follow his lead. He is an utterly non-representative man to-day, as a so-called Protestant Home Ruler, just as he was a thoroughly representative man in 1886 and 1893 when, like Harland and like Wolff, he was a Protestant Unionist. He neither represents his own business connection nor the great city in which that business is, nor the Protestant interest in any quarter of Ireland. He is just the exception that proves the rule

that the Protestants of Ireland are thoroughly Unionist. He would not get any representative position whatever from Irish Protestants, even from his own denomination of Irish Protestants, the Presbyterians—who met, fifty thousand strong, not in one hall but in all the halls available in Belfast, on February 1, 1912, having come into the city in forty-seven special trains to declare their opposition to Home Rule. “They had supported Catholic Emancipation. They were unalterably opposed to Catholic domination, which under Home Rule would be inevitable!”

Though he is chairman of Harland & Wolff’s, the greatest concern in Belfast, he is, so far as public life is concerned, an Ishmael in Protestant Ireland, because he has deserted the cause of the Union and gone over to the Nationalist - Romanist Party, of which Mr Joseph Devlin, M.P., Head of the Molly Maguires, is the local leader in Belfast. Like Mr Swift M’Neill, M.P., and the Protestants in the Seceders’ parliamentary party, Lord Pirrie stands for the full Roman Catholic programme, and he and they are only tolerated because they are prepared to concede everything that Mr Redmond is instructed to



demand for the advancement of the "imperial sway" of the Roman ecclesiastics in Ireland. The shoddy mantle of Protestantism under which they masquerade is more useful to their masters than their open adhesion to Romanism—though some of them have given their wives and children as hostages to those ecclesiastics to whom, as Mr Horne would say, "all law and all government must come as the court of last resort." They are used as decoy-ducks for British Nonconformists, but they decoy nobody in Ireland. And there is no more insupportable falsehood in all this lamentable business than the effort to make it appear that they represent Irish Protestantism.

The Whip said, at Lord Pirrie's luncheon, that "as soon as Ireland secured Home Rule, they in Scotland would consider their own case," and, with a statesmanlike vagueness, "the time was not far distant when they in Scotland must deal with their own national legislature."<sup>1</sup> Mr Murray conjectured that Scots opinion would carry weight in Belfast. But he ought to have known, as a Scotsman, that one Scot will not act against his own interest, even to oblige another; and,

<sup>1</sup> 'Daily Mail,' Oct. 7, 1911.

therefore, Ulster will not take her politics from Scotland on the question of breaking the Union. If there were three millions of Romanists in Scotland, the question of Home Rule would not be even dallied with in the land o' cakes. If it were a good thing, Scotland would have managed to get it for herself long since.

Scotland has no notion of disinheriting herself. She has the faculty of being on the winning side in most things. When the Unionists were in power, the majority of her members were Unionist. Now, when the Radicals are in, the majority are Radicals, but not because of their attachment to Home Rule for Ireland. The Scots have thrown themselves heartily, and with excellent results to themselves, into the partnership with England, and every great wave of political excitement affects Scotland as well as England. In 1906 Scotland was carried away by the high tide of Free Trade sentiment, and Mr Murray's Government is just floating on the receding waters of that tide.

When local government was being extended, Scotland did not demand that it should be given to Ireland first. It was first established

in Great Britain in 1888, and then, after ten years' trial, it was set up in Ireland in 1898. If Home Rule All Round is the genuine policy of the Government, Ireland should be the last to get her separate parliament and executive, for it is in Ireland the experiment would be attended with the greatest risk. If separate governments were established at Edinburgh for Scotland, at York for the North of England, at Aberystwith for Wales, and in London for the South of England, and if these subordinate bodies were allowed to work for some years, the country would be in a position to decide what it might safely give Ireland. And if Ireland, having got equality of treatment, were to agitate for greater power than the local parliaments at Edinburgh, York, Aberystwith, and London, there would be a sufficient and obvious reason for refusing her demand. It is unsound policy to reverse the order of procedure adopted in local government in the infinitely more dangerous policy of Home Rule All Round.

Mr Herbert Samuel, the Postmaster-General, also at Lord Pirrie's luncheon, said that "the present representation of Ireland was altogether ineffective for carrying Irish ideas into Acts of

Parliament.”<sup>1</sup> This was an audacious statement to make in the industrial capital of Ireland, whose prosperous inhabitants have amply proved by their progress, that everything Ireland wants in the way of legislation can be got under the present system. If the representatives of Roman Catholic Ireland be ineffective, Unionist Ireland must not be asked to pay the penalty. From January 1906 to January 1910, the House of Commons contained a majority of nearly four hundred prepared to accede to any rational Irish legislation proposed by Irish Seceders. But during those years Mr Redmond and his friends sat idly on the benches, or in the smoke-room, or on the terrace, while Members of every other nationality were active in the interests of their constituencies.

It was the Government that brought forward the Irish Councils Bill of 1907. And it was Cardinal Logue who took it on himself to reject it before Mr Redmond or the United Irish League had publicly expressed an opinion on it. I have it on good authority, and the facts substantiate the statement, that the chief Seceders were consulted beforehand and were

<sup>1</sup> ‘Daily Mail,’ Oct. 7, 1911.

willing to accept that Bill. But when Cardinal Logue denounced it, they had to acknowledge his "imperial sway." Even the Irish Universities Bill of 1908 did not emanate from them but from the Government; and Cardinal Logue, by his letter read to the Select Committee of the House of Commons, shaped that Bill so as to secure the ultimate control of the institution and its endowment for the hierarchy.

Mr Samuel does not know the Roman system as well as he knows the Jewish. The Irish Seceders at Westminster are not principals, but agents, and their decisions can be altered or set aside by the ecclesiastics who hold the keys of Heaven and Hell, and rightly claim, as Mr Silvester Horne says, that "nothing is outside the sweep" of their authority. Mr Horne or Boss Croker could tell Mr Samuel that it is not the Ancient Order of Hibernians, *alias* the Molly Maguires, who are "the secret power behind the Irish Party," but rather the hierarchy — representing the priests, monks, nuns, and believing laity of Roman Catholic Ireland.

Mr Silvester Horne is deeply versed in the Roman system. On the day after the rejection

of the Irish Councils Bill in 1907, by the Convention at Dublin, which followed Cardinal Logue's denunciation, Mr Silvester Horne and his friend, Mr Birrell, knew quite well what was the power behind the Irish Party, and Mr Horne telegraphed to me asking if I would deliver an address for him at Whitfield's Tabernacle on the following Sunday afternoon, and he specified the subject as "The Priest in Politics."

I consented, greatly pleased to find that the manœuvre of the hierarchy to annihilate a good Bill had not escaped the notice of so representative a Nonconformist minister. Mr Horne took the chair. The building was packed, and my address was reported at length in two consecutive issues of 'The British Congregationalist.'<sup>1</sup> I pointed out, amidst terrific hand-clapping from Mr Horne and the audience, that the hierarchy were the real masters of the Irish situation in Dublin and Westminster. And Mr Horne and the audience on that Sunday afternoon joined in condemning "The Priest in Politics." A noisy Romanist who ventured to express his incoherent approval of the Church of Rome's "imperial sway," as

<sup>1</sup> 'British Congregationalist,' May 30 and June 6, 1907.

evidenced by Cardinal Logue's treatment of Mr Redmond and Mr Birrell, was violently thrust out of the Tabernacle.

One sentence of my address, vociferously applauded by Mr Horne, is worth quoting: "I suggest, under such circumstances, that the best measure would be a Bill making it illegal for any man to be returned for an Irish Nationalist constituency unless he be a priest of the Church of Rome. If there were eighty Irish priests in the House of Commons, instead of eighty Redmondites, the Government of the day could at least feel that it was DEALING WITH PRINCIPALS AND NOT SUBORDINATES across the floor of the House, and that should mean a considerable saving of time and avoid a good deal of disappointment."

Mr Birrell got a rude reminder of the power of Roman ecclesiastics in Ireland in the rejection of the Irish Councils Bill, and he has never since dared to take a step in Irish politics except under the shelter of Cardinal Logue. Mr Horne apparently has followed his example. But Belfast and Irish Protestants will not follow suit!

## CHAPTER IV.

## DISESTABLISHING ANGLICANISM AND ESTABLISHING ROMANISM.

MR REDMOND says "the first thing they must be mindful of, after Home Rule, is their religion."

"We cannot have the bread without the butter," exclaim the Nonconformists, when in candid mood. In other words, they must give way to Mr Redmond, because without him they cannot carry their own ideas into Acts of Parliament. These ideas now mainly centre in the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church. Old-age pensions and servants' insurance have become law with the consent of the Unionists. The Nonconformist education policy is in the background, and is not even to be formulated before 1913. And, as the Lords still have the power of delay for two years, the Nonconformist



Government cannot, without the Peers' assent, carry their educational ideas into an Act before 1915, the last year in which they can retain office under their new Parliament Act. Education thus becomes a shadow, and leaves Welsh Disestablishment as the substance of the peculiarly Nonconformist programme.

The so-called differences of the Cabinet on the question of Votes for Women are a mere sham, designed to mislead the newspapers and the public by distracting attention from their treason in breaking the Union, as the price of the support of the Irish Seceders. They say they will abide by the judgment of the House on the question, leaving their followers free to vote for or against. Why do they not adopt this course in regard to Home Rule, which, of all questions, should be treated as above party politics? It is because Mr Redmond blocks the way, for he knows that if Members were left free a Bill for a separate Dublin Parliament and Executive would be thrown out in the House of Commons by a greater majority than in 1886. For the sake of Welsh Disestablishment, then, British Nonconformists are going to break the Union and make the United Kingdom "a house divided against itself!"

A wealthy Nonconformist was recently discussing the plight in which his party were in regard to Home Rule. He admitted that the Union ought not to be broken as the price of the Seceders' support, but he said with a half-sigh : " We cannot have the bread without the butter ! " Alliance with the Seceders is the only means of keeping office ! I asked him if Welsh Disestablishment was the bread, that is, the most substantial part of the political fare, and if Irish Home Rule was the butter. He accepted the description, and in his eagerness for the bread of Disestablishment would swallow the unpalatable butter of Home Rule ! It would be nearer the truth, instead of describing such political fare as bread and butter, to call it bad meat smeared with a green arsenical preparation, at which the Nonconformists, like rats, are peeping furtively from their holes, longing for it, but doubtful about the green stuff. And their political fate admits of little doubt, if they should bolt this mixture laid for them by the Irish rat-catcher.

Are British Nonconformists so bereft of patriotism that, for the sake of transferring the small sum of £180,000 a-year from Welsh

incumbents to Welsh local boards, they will destroy our United Parliament and United Government to which we owe it that these islands and the empire have prospered so amazingly? No rational man can think this Nonconformist game worth the candle. Nero wrote verses by the light from blazing Rome. This is burning the United Kingdom to give light for a pettifogging sectarian gamble. To make Mr Redmond governor of Ireland under the Roman ecclesiastics is too dear a price for the Welsh tin whistle.

Those who only know Mr Redmond from his recent English speeches do not know the real man. Those deliverances run counter to his speeches in Ireland and in America. At Manchester, for instance, on October 7, 1911, he said that the "Home Rule Bill would be framed in such a way that no injustice or oppression could be done to any fellow-countryman because of his religious views." In England, Mr Redmond never mentions the hierarchy, that power which rules himself and Roman Catholic Ireland. He leaves Englishmen under the delusion that the Irish bishops and priests are a body of pious Sunday-school teachers who spend their time praying or de-

fining dogmas. There could be no greater misrepresentation, for they are the most active politicians, the most unscrupulous business men, and the most powerful combination in Ireland. Unmarried men, with no wives and families to keep, they think of nothing but the advancement of their order. If they kept to their proper business, as professing Christian ministers, one would have nothing but praise for them. But the Roman system is not maintained in that way, and, far from trying to merit the kingdom of Heaven by their meekness, they are a source of terror to men of all parties, Nationalist and Unionist, so that people are afraid to speak or write about them, and a stranger might be excused for supposing, if he judged by the general run of speeches on the Irish question, that they were political nonentities who never did anything but say *Paters* and *Aves*, celebrate masses, and turn their left cheeks to those who smite them on the right!

Their teaching with regard to all who do not accept their "imperial sway" and acknowledge that "nothing is outside the sweep" of their jurisdiction is well-known. In 1887, Leo XIII., who was so much admired by a section of

English religionists, offered an Indulgence to all who prayed for "the extermination of heretics." The Oath for Cardinals in the 'Roman Pontifical' contains these words: "Heretics, schismatics, and rebels against our Lord the Pope, I will persecute and impugn to the utmost of my power." The oath taken by Cardinal Bourne the other day, as reported for Englishmen, bound him "to combat with every effort heretics, schismatics, and those rebelling against our Lord the Pope and his successors." <sup>1</sup>

That is the influence to which Mr Redmond is subject in Ireland. Speaking at his own place, Aughavanagh, four days before the Manchester meeting, he said that "THE FIRST THING THEY SHOULD BE MINDFUL OF, AFTER HOME RULE, WAS THEIR RELIGION!" <sup>2</sup> There spoke the servant of Roman ecclesiastics at home in Ireland. He had the parish priest as his chairman, and the address was delivered on a Sunday. No statute law made in England can prevent the Roman ecclesiastics, when they have the civil power in their hands in Ireland, from putting the full Roman creed into opera-

<sup>1</sup> 'Daily Telegraph,' Dec. 12, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> 'Freeman's Journal,' Oct. 3, 1911.

tion. If a law should try to do so, it would be denounced as religious persecution, and would have to be amended to appease the new Home Rule agitation which would begin after the *first* Home Rule Act.

Incidentally one would like to hear the opinion of the strict chapel-goers and bible-readers, represented in the House of Commons by Mr Silvester Horne and Sir George White, on the teaching of the Roman ecclesiastics in Ireland as to Sabbath observance, as set forth in this Irish speech of Mr Redmond. Secularist Nonconformist ministers, who revel in proclaiming their anti-puritanism, will, of course, only find new reason for admiration in this proof that even the ten commandments are not "outside the sweep" of Rome's "imperial sway!" The Irish Seceders, supported by parish priests and sometimes accompanied by English members of the Asquith-Redmond Government,<sup>1</sup> hold political meetings regularly on Sundays, some of the most unchristian speeches and worst outrages being perpetrated on the Sabbath. At this Aughavanagh meeting, Mr Redmond advised "the farmers from far and near to COLLECT WITH THEIR HORSES

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, Colonel Seeley, M.P., Under Secretary for War.

AND CARTS SOME SUNDAY SOON AND DRAW STONES to erect a gigantic cairn on the neighbouring hill in memory of Parnell, as used to be done of old in memory of the Irish Kings !”

How ill this accords with what Mr Winston Churchill said at Dundee two days later, when he assured his constituents that “he thought his Shops Bill had effectively stopped the increase of Sunday trading,” and “he most earnestly desired to see the growth of Sunday trading sharply and effectively arrested.”<sup>1</sup> What do Mr Churchill’s and Mr Asquith’s Presbyterian supporters think of Mr Redmond’s directions for Sabbath-keeping? One doubts if the Scottish observers of the fourth commandment realise the nature of the religious system which they are asked to endow with civil power in Ireland.

“We are only asking for the management of our own local affairs by an Executive Government which would be responsible to the public opinion of Ireland,” said Mr Redmond at Manchester. Jefferson Davis asked no more! What more could Mr Redmond ask for the hierarchy? They are not content that Irish

<sup>1</sup> ‘Times,’ Oct. 5, 1911.

local affairs should be managed, with the local affairs of the rest of the British Isles, by one Parliament, in which Ireland is not merely represented, but hugely over-represented. They want a separate Parliament and Executive, with power to imprison and inflict capital punishment, if need be, on those who resist their decrees, and responsible only to the Romanist public opinion of Ireland! And how should a Dublin Parliament and Executive be "subject to the continued supremacy of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster," in the face of Mr Redmond's Aughavanagh declaration that "the first thing they should be mindful of, after Home Rule, was their religion"? The "imperial sway" of the Roman ecclesiastics, whom he accepts as God's Vicegerents on earth, admits no supremacy, but insists, as Mr Horne approvingly says, that "all law and all Government must come to it as the court of last resort!"

Mr Redmond's English speeches are not a guarantee on which any business man would act, and no British Government, acting in good faith, would break up the United Kingdom in reliance on them. Even the pledged word of the hierarchy, Mr Redmond's principals, if



it could be obtained, would not be a negotiable instrument. Great Britain had their solemn assurance at Catholic Emancipation that they would never interfere with the laws of marriage and inheritance, but would always regard both as matters to be regulated entirely by the law of the land. We now see that pledge broken, even while a Home Rule Bill is pending, and behold the Irish hierarchy making Roman ecclesiastical law the final authority in marriage and, therefore, in inheritance, and successfully urging the "Irish subjects of the Pope," as Cardinal Falconio would call them, to defy the law of the land wherever it comes into collision with the law of the Church.

This helps us to explain why the Protestants of Ireland fear Home Rule as meaning Roman domination and certain ruin to the flourishing system of trade and commerce built up by Protestant industry under the protection of the United Parliament and Government of the United Kingdom. Their view is that, while the Roman Catholic laity would be evolving from mental slavery to freedom, Irish Protestantism would be undone. As Bishop D'Arcy of Belfast said recently, Home Rule "involves the placing of a tyrannical ecclesi-

astical system in a position of absolute supremacy, and, instead of being a settlement of controversy, would be but the beginning of a period of unrest and dissension. . . . If, after the yoke had become more and more oppressive, revolt came to a head, there would be an outbreak of militant unbelief and secularism and a fierce hatred of religion such as had been recently witnessed in all the Latin countries."

## CHAPTER V.

## THE HOME RULE ALL ROUND FRAUD.

MR CHURCHILL knows well that Prussia would use the gun and suffer the loss of millions of men rather than permit the re-establishment of the Hanoverian Parliament.

Mr Winston Churchill is rich in metaphor. In a preface to a pamphlet by Mr Jeremiah MacVeagh, M.P., one of his Seceder colleagues, he says that Home Rule All Round is the policy of the Government, and that, when it comes, "new and vivifying pulses" will "begin to beat," and "new nerve centres of a higher organism will spring into being!"

Home Rule All Round is not even in the air. If it were within the sphere of practical politics, it is with the local parliaments in Great Britain we should make a start, leaving the Irish Parliament to wait until they had

been tried and found satisfactory. The bounty-fed agitation for Scottish Home Rule was still-born. The world never heard its first cry. The agitation for English Home Rule has not been born, dead or alive. Mr Churchill puts forward Home Rule All Round, not as the expression of any public demand, but with an ulterior and twofold object. First, it is a mask to hide the melancholy truth that Mr Churchill advocates Irish Home Rule at a time when his monthly pay is dependent on Mr Redmond; second, it is held up as a dazzling bait to office-seekers, with its many Houses of Parliament, paid for out of public funds, many Cabinet Ministers and many Executives!

Never has a British Cabinet provided so lavishly for its supporters. Never have we had a nearer approach to Tammany Hall in Downing Street. According to a return granted in July 1911, and since then many new offices have been established, 4291 new posts had been created since 1906, of which 1161 were permanent and 3130 temporary. Of these 2824 carry salaries not exceeding £150; 1342 salaries of £150 to £500; and 125 salaries in excess of £500, the total cost working out at about £1,000,000. "The great

majority of these posts have been filled up, not by the selection of the Civil Service Commissioners," as Lord Lansdowne recently pointed out, "but by patronage of the different Departments. To give effect to the Land Clauses, 3301 gentlemen had been appointed at a salary of £323,000, and as a result of their efforts something like £16,000 had been collected so far."<sup>1</sup> All this, of course, is exclusive of the 670 salaries of £400 each granted to Members of the House of Commons, against the wish of the Unionists and without any demand from the Irish Seceders!

But, if Nonconformists examine this policy closely, they will find the bread of Place, if more substantial than the bread of Disestablishment, carries with it a poison also; for, apart from the placemen and their relatives, the general body do not gain but lose by this gamble for Government office. It is a desertion of principle, for which the main body of any political party is bound to suffer, and the most plausible excuse given for it is that it is but an imitation of what the Whigs and Tories did in the old days of rotten boroughs. It is worthy of note that, since the Nonconformist

<sup>1</sup> Speech at Derby, Dec. 1, 1911.

Government came into power, THE MEMBERSHIPS OF THE NONCONFORMIST DENOMINATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN HAVE BEEN DECREASING.

To return to Mr Churchill. Is it not more likely that the establishment of a Dublin Parliament and Executive, like the creation of an unnatural second heart or second brain in a single human body, would disturb the pulse and depress the nerve centres of the United Kingdom? He says that "the two greatest modern states with whom we have to compete, the German Empire and the American Union, are to-day administered respectively through twenty-three and forty-six separate subordinate parliaments," therefore we ought to set up a number of parliaments in the United Kingdom! Neither Germany nor America supplies a precedent for a British policy of Home Rule All Round. The German parliaments are ancient institutions which existed before the Empire, and if the rulers of the Empire could, they would abolish them, as the Prussians abolished the parliament of Hanover.

Does Mr Churchill contend that Prussia, with its population of nearly forty millions, managed by one parliament at Berlin, would be a stronger, more formidable, or more pros-

perous country if it had a second parliament at Hanover? He knows well that the Prussians would use the gun and suffer the loss of millions of men rather than permit the re-establishment of the Hanoverian parliament. Prussia includes in its vast area the provinces of Posen and Silesia, taken originally from Poland. Does Mr Churchill think the authorities at Berlin would entertain a proposal for a separate "nerve centre" for them as a means of producing "a higher organism" in Prussia? He only produces evidence against himself when he cites the case of Germany in support of the Seceders within the United Kingdom.

In the American Union the State parliaments take no part in foreign politics, being more like Grand Juries, or Vestries, or County Councils, mainly concerned with local contracts and patronage, and have, perhaps, less influence at Washington than the British County Councils at Westminster. Like the old German parliaments, they existed before the American Union; the new States, created since, being a continuation of the precedent, and necessary owing to the vast extension of the Union towards the West. When Jefferson Davis, in 1861, wanted to set up a "new nerve

centre" in the South, we know what Abraham Lincoln and the North said and did to him and his fellow-Seceders. Does Mr Churchill contend that the United States would be as formidable as it is to-day if the American Seceders had had their way?

He cannot expect that a Dublin Parliament would take no account of foreign politics and sink into the position of an American State congress, meeting to discuss contracts and minor jobs for a few weeks in the year, or, as in many States, for a few weeks in alternate years. The behaviour of the Irish Seceders at Westminster, and of the Romanist corporations and councils in Ireland, go to prove that a Dublin parliament would aim at rivalling and, if possible, supplanting the Parliament at Westminster, and would be asserting itself constantly in foreign politics. Has he considered, for instance, what action a Dublin Parliament and Executive would have taken at the time of the Boer War?

He inconsequently asks: "Who has not heard of the glories of the Union Brigade at Waterloo?" and he argues that, because of the valour of that brigade, we should break up the Union. Is he ignorant of the fact that the Union



Brigade was formed as a concrete justification of the Union which had taken place fifteen years before? Does he not know that the Irish regiment of the Brigade, the Inniskillings, was an Ulster regiment composed almost entirely, if not entirely, of Irish Protestants who threw themselves heartily into the wider sphere opened up to them by the Union—the ancestors of the men who would not allow him to defile their city the other day with a justification for this Nonconformist treason? If there were Roman Catholic privates in the ranks of the Inniskillings, we may be sure they were not there on the recommendation of the Seceders of that day. The Union Brigade is an epitome of the case for the Union, and it is as absurd to cite its triumphs in support of the Seceders' policy as it is for Mr Churchill to say that the establishment of a Dublin parliament will be “the first milestone” upon “the road to the unity of the English-speaking races.” If the parliaments in Canada, Australia, and South Africa have not all been milestones upon that road, the case for a Dublin Parliament falls to the ground.

Mr Churchill's much-advertised speech at Belfast is dealt with fully in chapter xxvi.,

but it may be stated here that in one sentence of it he (quite unintentionally, of course) exposed the fiction of Home Rule All Round, which, if it means anything, means that whatever might be given to Ireland in the way of a local parliament should also be given to England, Scotland, and Wales. "It is clear," he said, "that the same measure and the same form which would be applicable to Scotland and Wales would not be applicable to THE PEOPLE of Ireland!" Scotland and Wales are mere geographical expressions, but there is A PEOPLE in Ireland; "for," as he said in the same speech, "IT IS A NATION!"

The policy which the Nonconformist Government is launching out on is not, then, Home Rule All Round, but the independence of Ireland!

## CHAPTER VI.

## NONCONFORMIST JUSTIFICATION OF THE TREASON.

THE Cadburys are at the front in the fight to break the Union. 'The British Weekly' gives the priests a platform.

Of all the London newspapers, 'The Daily News' has the most obvious claim to represent the political Nonconformity which came into power at the general election of 1906. It may be called the official organ of the Government, and, as such, its statement of the Government's case for Home Rule—in other words its justification for the Nonconformist treason—deserves the closest attention. This is to be found in an elaborate brochure, called "Fifty Points for Home Rule," which is having a wide sale and is being accepted by Nonconformists all over Great Britain as an unanswerable case for breaking the Union.

Let us examine these points one by one in the order in which they are set down by the Seceders themselves, and, in doing so, we shall not confine ourselves to mere contradiction or controversy, but we shall touch briefly on the most salient features of England's age-long connection with Ireland, clearing up, we hope, some popular misapprehensions.

The preface tells us that an Irish Unionist Member, Mr Horner, "gave away the whole case for Unionism," by saying recently, apropos of the Insurance Bill, that "the social, economic and industrial conditions of Ireland are entirely different from those of Great Britain."

Therefore, "there is no logical end except the establishment of an Irish Parliament!"

That the Irish Seceders are willing to accept the Insurance and Pension Acts is a proof that Irish conditions are not different from those of Great Britain. The difference in the application of the Insurance Act in Ireland, as compared with England, does not affect its principle. And the fact that that difference was made, so far from "giving the whole case away," proves that the British Parliament is willing and able to cater for the separate conditions of Ireland, whose exemption from

the medical "benefits" of the Insurance Act proves only that Irish doctors had more influence over Mr Redmond than English doctors over Mr Lloyd George.

In its list of differences, 'The Daily News' significantly omits that between the Roman system of religion which prevails in Ireland, and the Protestant system which prevails in Great Britain. Irish and English "education problems" and "temperance problems," it tells us, are "entirely different"—which means in practice that it is good for an Irishman but bad for an Englishman to be educated by Roman priests, and that it is good for an Irish Catholic, but bad for an English Quaker or Congregationalist, to get drunk. If 'The Daily News' included religion and said frankly that Ireland must have a separate Parliament and Government because she is Roman Catholic, it would occupy an honourable position. But it shirks the question of religion, and evades, wherever it can, the only difference worth mentioning between Ireland and Great Britain. With religion left out of the reckoning, nothing is possible but a false conclusion drawn from false premises.

'The Daily News' says at the start that

“ Unionism is only a scarecrow creed dressed up in the rags and tatters of superstition and prejudice ! ” And it adds : “ There are some people who despise logic and who are content that they have solved the Irish question when they have talked vaguely about the Pope and Irish poverty ”—which seems more like a candid friend’s opinion of its own readers and those of ‘ The British Weekly,’ than a description of the Unionists. Those people are assured that “ the Pope would not be such a force in the politics of a free Ireland as they have been led to believe.” If the Pope be “ a force in Irish politics ” after Home Rule, Ireland will not be free—and nobody should know that better than English Nonconformists !

The embittered definition of Unionism betrays that inherent aversion to Union of every kind which is of the essence of Nonconformity. It seems to be the Nonconformist’s nature—it is certainly his weak point—to dissent, secede, break away from, and be disloyal to his partners. The British Nonconformist in olden days often worthily dissented from unworthy policies at the cost of much suffering to himself ; but, in his connection with the Irish Seceders, he plays a less noble part, for he is a dissenter for his

own immediate gain. He is not out for suffering but for profit, and perhaps his abusiveness is due to a feeling that he is in the wrong. The patient, patriotic policy which, beginning in 1707 with the Union of the Scottish and English Parliaments, has made these islands one homogeneous political society with common aims and interests, becomes for the degenerate Nonconformist wire-puller of to-day nothing more than a scarecrow creed—so poisoned is his mind by the lust of office!

He forgets how that “scarecrow creed” built up the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland into the greatest power in the world, which in its turn built up the British Empire! He is so beside himself that he raves at the prosperous, hard-working Protestant Unionists of Ireland—including the overwhelming majority of Irish Nonconformists—as *canaille* “dressed up in the rags and tatters of superstition and prejudice!” Popery and poverty, according to him, have no connection with each other or with the ills of Roman Catholic Ireland! Popery has no connection with poverty, revolution, and unprosperity—and this with the example of all the Latin countries of Europe before us!

It is not to be wondered at if Nonconformists have erroneous ideas about the Papacy. One of their most trusted prophets in literary and political matters is Dr Robertson Nicoll, alias "Claudius Clear," "Man of Kent," and a dozen other *noms de plume*, editor of 'The British Weekly,' recently made a knight by Mr Asquith; and in 'The Bookman' of January 1912, edited by him and published by the publishers of 'The British Weekly,' one finds great prominence given to a laudatory review of a book on the Papacy by Rev. William Barry, a Roman Catholic monastic priest — the reviewer being the Rev. R. H. Benson, a well-known priest who deserted Anglicanism for Romanism; the publishers of the book being the proprietors of 'The British Weekly'! It was Father Barry also that the same authorities selected to write a life of Cardinal Newman for the guidance of Nonconformists! These are some of the methods by which the way has been prepared for the consummation of what I have called the Nonconformist Treason.

We are told that "the time-honoured Unionist policy in Ireland is coercion and sectarianism." Sectarianism in Romanist Ire-



land, it must be observed, means being opposed to the full social, political, and religious claims of the Roman system. The more bitter you are against other creeds, the more unsectarian you are! Lord MacDonnell (better known as Sir Anthony) is quoted as saying that the system of Government in Ireland "would, if applied to any of the self-governing Colonies, drive them to rebellion in a year." It was a Unionist Government who gave Lord MacDonnell the Under Secretaryship, which proves that he suffered nothing by Unionist Sectarianism. He has had no experience of the self-governing Colonies, he is a Jesuit-educated Roman Catholic, and, while he was Irish Under Secretary, he literally ruled Ireland through the Jesuits—his brother being at the same time an Irish Nationalist member! And how can "coercion" be a true description of the Unionist policy, when it was the Unionists who gave Ireland her Local Government and Land Purchase?

The Union has made the conditions of life in Ireland practically the same as in Great Britain. "The working men of Belfast," said Mr Winston Churchill in his speech outside that city, "are in substantial agreement with"

the working men of Great Britain "ON EVERY QUESTION EXCEPT HOME RULE!" Is not this the most cogent reason against cutting them off from their British brethren? And are not the Belfast men the best judges on that one point of difference?

## CHAPTER VII.

## PROTESTANT POSITION IN 1800 AND NOW.

NONCONFORMISTS are taught that Grattan's Parliament was Romanist!

The first three of the Fifty Points are called, "The Coming of the Union," "The Reason for the Union," and "Irish Protestants and the Union." Nonconformists are reminded how, in 1783, the British Parliament passed the Act of Renunciation, admitting that "the right claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of that kingdom had been ascertained for ever, and should at no time thereafter be questioned." This was the establishment of what we call in Ireland "Grattan's Parliament." And 'The Daily News' now claims that what was then done should never have been undone, and should now be done over again.

It conceals the fact that Grattan's Parliament was an exclusively Protestant body, from which Roman Catholics were legally excluded. To say that because in 1783 the British Parliament conceded to that Protestant Parliament the right to make laws for Ireland, we should now concede the same right to a Roman Catholic Parliament, is to assume that there is no difference between the Roman religious-social-political system and the Protestant Churches. It is, in fact, the foundation untruth which underlies the whole Nonconformist position as to Home Rule.

Roman Catholics did well under Grattan's Protestant Parliament; and that Grattan is regarded by Irish Nationalists as a friend is evident from the inscription on the new Parnell monument—a declaration of policy borrowed from Grattan by Parnell. Yet, what was the result of this increased measure of independence given to the Irish Parliament and of that Parliament's generosity to the Catholics? The result was, first, the arrival, by invitation, of a French fleet in Bantry Bay, where it was only prevented by stress of weather from landing a large invading force; second, the actual landing of another French invading force in Mayo,

which inflicted a temporary defeat on a small British force at Castlebar—an incident which to this day forms a subject of exultation amongst Romanist Nationalists, and is known as “the Castlebar races”; and, third, the Irish Rebellion of 1798.

‘The Daily News’ accuses Pitt of having “cold-bloodedly forced the Irish people into the Rebellion of 1798,” for the purpose of depriving Ireland of its Parliament. One can well understand how Pitt, believing that a United Parliament, with a full Irish representation, was necessary, and could govern Ireland as successfully as England and Scotland, saw something providential in the Irish Rebellion, in so far as it helped to unite the three kingdoms under one Executive at such a critical moment. But, if we agreed with ‘The Daily News,’ we should have to believe that the Roman Catholic priests and laymen who fought and died in that Rebellion were puppets acting at Pitt’s orders—which is absolute nonsense. They were acting in pursuit of a principle which aimed at complete separation from England. And they were willing, in their hatred of Protestant England, to become the subjects of atheistical and

revolutionary France. We should also have to believe that Pitt prompted the French Directory to send Admiral Hoche to Bantry Bay with seven sail of the line, two frigates, and seventeen transports, in December 1796; and that it was under Pitt's inspiration General Humbert landed at Killala and defeated the British at Castlebar and Colooney in the summer of 1798! The French invaders were part and parcel of the Rebellion, and as likely to be the puppets of Pitt as the Irish rebels.

If, when the French had been defeated and the Rebellion practically extinguished, Pitt let the ashes smoulder on, his object was an entirely laudable one, and part of his policy of creating a United Kingdom—three in one—to resist France. Pitt saw that the result of the increased independence given to the Irish Parliament in 1783, and of the kindness of that Protestant Parliament to Roman Catholics, was an alliance between Roman Catholic Ireland and the French, a French invasion of the British Isles, and a bloody Rebellion. He concluded that the secession of Ireland would mean the extinction of England as a free country, and he left no resource untried to

secure the legislative and executive Union of Ireland with Great Britain. In doing this he met with the bitterest opposition, not merely from the Roman Catholic rebels, but from a section of Irish Protestants acting from totally different motives.

Under Grattan's Parliament, the Protestants had been managing Ireland on patriotic lines from 1783 to 1800, that is to say, they were avoiding foreign politics and promoting the commercial interests of Ireland, even in opposition to those of England—a condition of rivalry involving no political disloyalty, and meaning nothing more than the emulation between Lancashire and Yorkshire, or between the shipbuilding firms of the Lagan and the Clyde.

The result of the Protestant management under Grattan's Parliament was well put by Lord Chancellor Clare, when he said that "there was not a nation on the face of the habitable globe which had advanced in cultivation, in agriculture, in manufacture, with the same rapidity in the same period as Ireland." Lord Clare is perhaps as typical a personality as could be selected to show the Protestant position at the time of the

Union. He was proud of what the Protestant minority had achieved, when entrusted with the management of their own country; but he also saw that the Roman Catholic majority, instead of working for the prosperity of Ireland in harmony with their Protestant fellow-countrymen, had sought alliances with foreign countries for the purpose of complete separation from Great Britain. He regretted that it should be necessary to abolish the Irish Parliament; for, in abolishing it, the Protestants were dismissing themselves from the management of their own country, and transferring that management to a Parliament in which they would only be a minority. But they preferred to do that, repugnant as it was, in order to save Ireland from revolutionary Papist rule.

At that time, as at present, the Ultramontane rebels had a sprinkling of Protestants in their ranks, to whom were given positions of power, and to whom, if the Rebellion and the alliance with France had succeeded, would have accrued wealth as well as power. Non-conformists err when they think it is something new to find a few Protestants in the Romanist Nationalist ranks. Then, as now, there were



exceptions proving the rule. But there is this difference between the Protestants in the Nationalist ranks in 1798 and in 1912. The Protestant Separatists in 1798 would have been rulers and dispensers of patronage, at all events for a while, if the rebels had attained their object; whereas the Protestant Nationalists of to-day, if Home Rule should come, could never be more than humble privates in the ranks.

'The Daily News' declares that "the Union was the result of a deliberate plan, and of a shameless breach of faith." It is the prime glory of Pitt that the Union was the result of a deliberate policy, long wished for and made imperative by foreign invasion and native rebellion following close on the greater independence given to Grattan's Parliament. Pitt did not hurriedly propose the Act of Union as the price to be paid to a disloyal political party for retaining him in place. He made no hasty and dishonourable compact, such as that under which the Bills for repealing the Union in 1886, 1893, and 1912 have been proposed. The patriotic name of Pitt is sullied by no "shameless breach of faith" with the British electorate, like that attaching

to Mr Asquith and his friends, who now propose Repeal of the Union as the price of Irish Romanist support in Parliament.

Pitt foresaw that the Romanist Nationalists were bound to get control of Grattan's Parliament ultimately. Given the power of the vote in 1795, the next step would have been to make them eligible as members—and then there would have been an end of the British connection! The Irish Protestants who opposed the Union did not foresee this, but all the Protestants in Ireland see the truth of it now, and are unfaltering in their allegiance to the Union which some of their ancestors denounced. Ireland became so prosperous that the Rebellion was attributed by the then Under Secretary, amongst other causes, to "the general prosperity of the country which has produced great activity and energy"—in which Roman Catholics as well as Protestants shared. A resolution of the Dublin Bankers in 1798 attributed all their prosperity since 1783, "under providence, to the wisdom of the Irish Parliament." But the Roman Catholics, misled by the Roman religious-social-political system, rejected prosperity from a Protestant management. Mr

Bonar Law showed a deep insight into Irish character when he said recently that Nationalism, rags, and poverty seem, in the opinion of Mr Redmond's supporters, to be preferable to prosperity derived from a Union with Protestant Britain.<sup>1</sup> The Romanist Separatists of to-day are of the same opinion as those who welcomed the French invaders, and rose in 1798.

The Irish Protestants who opposed the Union did so because, in the words of an Orange resolution at the time, they regarded it as ending their "existence as a nation, and reducing them to the degrading situation of a colony of England." But there is not an Orange lodge in the world now which is not enthusiastic for the Union, or which does not see that by the establishment of a Dublin Parliament Ireland would be deprived of her rank as part of the mother country, and reduced to the position of a colony. 'The Daily News' says disingenuously that the leaders of the Irish Parliament who opposed the Union were Protestants, thereby implying that other Parliamentary leaders were not Protestants, when the fact is that

<sup>1</sup> Speech at Bootle, Dec. 7, 1911.

the Parliament was exclusively Protestant! All through these "Fifty Points," and other Nonconformist publications, one meets this *suppressio veri*, this concealment of the fact that Grattan's Parliament was altogether Protestant.

The Protestant leaders who opposed the Union — Grattan, Saurin, Plunkett, Foster, and the rest—thought that the Irish Protestant yeomanry and Protestant volunteers were sufficient to keep down the Roman Catholic rebels. It is possible that they were just then, but they could not have prevented the Roman Catholics from getting control of the legislative machine, which, then as now, was the real danger. When we consider the reign of terror which Napoleon set up all over Europe immediately after the Union, we cannot but admire the prescience of Pitt. If during the debates on the Act of Union Henry Grattan and his friends could have foreseen the domination to be attained over Europe by the impending French Empire, we can have little doubt that, having regard to the French invasion of Ireland, they would have joined cordially with Pitt in consolidating the government of the British Isles.

## CHAPTER VIII.

RESULTS OF OVERTHROWING PROTESTANT  
MANAGEMENT IN IRELAND.

THE Romanist Irish Bishops supported the Union—for a price!

The fourth point is headed “Irish Catholics and the Union.” ‘The Daily News’ admits that the Irish Catholics obtained the Parliamentary franchise and the right to sit on juries from Grattan’s Protestant Parliament; but it depreciates the boon, which English Nonconformists value so highly for themselves, by remarking that “the Catholic laity as a whole was not ready to barter the independence of its country” for that, or even for a promise of complete Catholic emancipation. French invasion and native rebellion had been shown to be the Catholic methods of seeking “the independence of their country,” but the

pamphleteer seems to mean that "the Catholic laity as a whole," or, as he says, "the flower of the Catholic people," were not prepared to give up the Protestant Parliament even for a promise of complete religious equality!

It is impossible, even at the present day, to obtain the true opinion of "the Catholic laity as a whole"—almost as difficult as to discover snakes in Ireland. Some think the Catholic hierarchy represent this opinion, and such people have no difficulty. The hierarchy as nearly as possible represent the true views of "the flower of the Catholic people" on Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory, and the way in or out of these places; and though the laity may differ from the hierarchy on secondary social and political matters, the laity's opinions are mainly those of slaves continuously chafing under the exactions of their masters.

On money matters they are always boiling with indignation, for the Irishman does not like to part with money under compulsion. He delights in giving, but hates to pay. The priest offers him present forgiveness of sins, a certainty of escape from Hell, an accelerated release from Purgatory, and an eventual entry into Heaven in return for money, money, and

always more money. The Irishman pays, but his naturally logical mind revolts against it, and nothing delights him more than to hear the priests pitched into, for he marvels at the courage which dares to question their infallibility. He will refuse even to give the priests his money, when it is a question not immediately concerning the supposed fate of his own soul. For instance, the laity in Cardinal Logue's diocese recently protested against the custom of putting a plate on the coffin just before it is placed in the hearse, and asking the assembled mourners to make an offertory for the priests.

But if, in discussing these matters, you cast a doubt on the priests' personal power of pardoning sins and remitting punishment after death, the Irish Roman Catholics part company with you, for the idea is always at the back of their mind that they can purchase at last from the priests an escape from Hell and an entry into Heaven. Devotion to Catholic dogma is as characteristic of Mr Redmond, Mr Dillon, Mr O'Brien, Mr Healy, and "the flower of the Catholic people" to-day as of the Connaught harvesters and gombeen men.

What was the position of the Roman Catho-

lics at the time of the Union? When the Rebellion was crushed and the country full of British regiments, the Roman hierarchy declared unanimously for the Union. I do not believe that in this they voiced the true opinions of the laity or themselves. Their position was that, since they had failed to overthrow the nation's Protestant managers by force and foreign aid, the next best thing would be to overthrow them by supporting the Union with England. They threw themselves heart and soul into this project, getting their congregations where they could to sign petitions in favour of the Union at the chapel gates, and so helped Pitt to carry his great "deliberate plan." The obloquy of the Union should therefore be fairly divided between Pitt and the Roman hierarchy. But the political Nonconformists of to-day dare not breathe a word against the Irish hierarchy, lest it might cause their friends to lose their places. An elaborate excuse, therefore, has to be invented for the Bishops, namely, that they "bartered the independence of their country" in return for a promise of Catholic Emancipation. They did it for a price, therefore, in Nonconformist opinion, they are to be excused! But Pitt, the



true British patriot, is denounced ferociously because he did not pay the price of their betrayal of Ireland's independence!

Pitt did not definitely promise them Catholic Emancipation. He simply held out hopes of further concessions in that direction, believing that, with Ireland under a central Government at Westminster, he could safely go farther than Grattan's Parliament had gone. English Nonconformists are given to understand that the hierarchy, in thus supporting the Union and "bartering the independence" of Ireland in order that they might overthrow the Protestant Parliament, were acting contrary to the wishes of "the flower of the Catholic people." There is no evidence of it. Exceptions only prove the rule, that "the flower of the Catholic people" followed the Bishops then as meekly as Mr Redmond, Mr Dillon, Mr O'Brien, and Mr Healy now follow the Bishops on the new Papal decrees on marriage and the legal immunity of the clergy. To use a technical Romanist phrase, "the flower of the Catholic people" have always been found "kissing the sacred purple" of the Bishops. Those who do not take shelter under the Episcopal mantle are as excep-

tional and unrepresentative as Protestant Home Rulers. The Bishops supported the Union to overthrow the Protestant Parliament which had done so well for Ireland, and the laity, regarding those Bishops as the Vicegerents of God, had no option but to acquiesce. The Vicegerents would never have given the definite lead if they had not first made sure that they should be obeyed.

Pitt, who died six years after the Union, ought not to be abused for not immediately granting Catholic Emancipation, for even 'The Daily News' can only say that he gave "what looked like promises of Catholic Emancipation;" while Lecky only says "he held out hopes without committing the Government to a distinct pledge." The Bishops did very well, having gained their main point, by taking the administration out of the hands of the native Protestants. When Catholic Emancipation came in 1829 the Bishops were ready for it; and from that day to this, the control of the parliamentary representation of Catholic Ireland has been in their hands—and never more completely so than at present.

The Bishops always play a waiting game and see farther than the laity. They saw, in 1800,

that more power would be theirs under a Westminster Parliament than under a Dublin Protestant Parliament. Since then they have been consolidating their power, and they now have, despite the decline of illiteracy, just as subservient a laity as at the time of the Union—perhaps more subservient, for in 1800 the Catholics drew inspiration from contact with a masterful Protestantism. The Bishops are now ready for Home Rule, and look forward to seeing in Dublin a Roman Catholic Parliament dependent on the votes of electors who believe in the Roman Church's sole agency for God on earth.

The fifth point in this litany is headed "How did they pass the Union?" And the answer given by 'The Daily News' is: "By treachery and fraud"—a quotation from a well-known Nationalist song. Mr Gladstone is cited as saying that he "knew no blacker or fouler transaction in the history of man;" Mr Lecky as saying that "the Union, as it was carried, was a crime of the deepest turpitude." Let us examine the justification for this violent language.

'The Daily News' conceals the fact that "the foul transaction" or "the crime" was

committed against the Irish Protestants, and that the Roman hierarchy and the overwhelming majority of their flocks were accomplices in its commission. Mr Gladstone's conclusions were impetuously formed when he found his party dependent on the Nationalist vote, and we may set off against them the opinion of a far greater genius, namely, William Pitt, who declared his solemn conviction that "the Union was by free consent and on just and equal terms." Mr Lecky, in using the word turpitude, is merely expressing contemporary Protestant indignation at a "crime" which, by the connivance of the Catholics, deprived the Protestants of the management of the country. The spoiling of the Protestants constituted the outrage and injustice, in which Catholic bishops and their believing flocks were accomplices before, at, and after the fact.

Nonconformists are told that the Union was passed by bribery, and that salaried places were given to members of the Irish Parliament to induce them to vote for it. Bearing in mind that the Protestants were the sufferers, let those whom this is meant to mislead ask themselves whether the giving of places and

pensions to members and their friends has not always been a recognised feature of politics. The system flourished in the British Parliament at the time of the Union. It flourishes still at Westminster, and the present Government are perhaps greater offenders in that respect than any of their predecessors. Does history afford a clearer instance of bribery than the Payment of Members, passed in 1911, to secure the votes of the forty-two Labour Members for the Government? If the owners of parliamentary boroughs in Ireland were compensated for the extinction of seats, so were people of the same class in England.

The sixth point is that Mr Cooke, the Under Secretary at the Union, predicted that the Union would be "for the benefit of Ireland and England." 'The Daily News' contends that his prophecy having proved false, the Union ought to be repealed! One is not so much concerned about the prophet Cooke as to let the fate of Ireland hang on the truth or falsehood of his words. When he said that under the Union Ireland and England "would tend to the same level," he was a true prophet. Ever since the Union, Irish Protestants have taken advantage of the wider field opened for

their talents, and have had almost as prominent a part in building the Empire as the English or Scots. Stifling their chagrin at the passage of the Union, they adapted themselves to the larger opportunities it opened up, realising what Pitt foresaw, and becoming a wondrous source of strength, first, to the United Kingdom, and, then, to the Empire.

If Ireland has relatively declined in importance since the Union, it is (1) because, since then, it has been falling under Ultramontane management to a constantly increasing extent, and (2) because of the expansion of England and Scotland under Protestant management. Native Ultramontanism caused absenteeism, because the landlord was prevented by the priests from doing his social duty. The reluctance of English capitalists to invest money in Ireland is attributable to the same cause, as well as to the infinitely greater openings for investment in Great Britain with its multiplication of mines, factories, and other industries.

It was the supplanting of Protestantism by Ultramontanism after the Union that caused the excessive decline of Ireland in the United Kingdom. If Ireland had remained under Protestant management, the relative decline

caused by the increase of minerals and manufactures in Great Britain might have been made up by increased development of agriculture. The resultant Irish poverty pressed most severely on the Catholics, because they, unlike the Irish Protestants, refused to take advantage of the wider sphere opened by the Union, and remained unreceptive to any guidance save that of the Roman ecclesiastics. The Protestants resident in Ireland after the Union continued to prosper, as they still prosper, under the same law as the Catholics.

The Union has assuredly benefited both Ireland and England. Since its passage we have had no French or other foreign invasion, and have enacted the greatest and best chapters of British history. The Irish Protestants, instead of concentrating on rivalry with England, have helped to build up a great United Kingdom and a greater Empire. Enabled to live in Ireland by the protection of the British Parliament, they have come round to the belief that Pitt was right, and are unanimous in their conviction that what he foresaw in 1798 will come to pass now, if an Ultramontane Government be established in Dublin.

## CHAPTER IX.

## FINANCIAL FALSEHOODS REFUTED.

NONCONFORMISTS advocate cheaper alcohol and tobacco for Ireland!

The seventh point is that the Union has brought excessive taxation and bankruptcy upon Ireland; while in the next point it is asserted that "the tribute from Ireland to England in the last ninety-three years has been above £325,000,000." How can it be maintained that Ireland was made bankrupt by the Union, when, during that period, after paying all her own expenses, she gave a contribution—or, as 'The Daily News' prefers to call it, "a tribute"—of over £3,000,000 a-year to the common expenses of the partnership to which she belonged?

Mr Birrell recently said that the Exchequer was losing two millions a-year by Ireland, and



invited Englishmen "to cut their losses by cutting Ireland."<sup>1</sup> He must have known that such a presentation of the case was false, and that the deficiency of £2,000,000 was only for 1909-10, and partly due to the financial disturbance following the Budget disputes. If Ireland be unable to make a contribution to the common expenses of the United Kingdom, owing to the enormous charge of nearly £2,500,000 a-year for old age pensions, and if that be bankruptcy, then it is the peculiar legislation of the Nonconformist Government—and not Pitt and the Union—which has made her bankrupt. But even a deficit of £2,000,000 a-year would be a small sum in comparison with what we should have to pay if we had an independent Ireland on our west, and it should be regarded as an economical and prudent outlay on national defence.

The taxes levied in Ireland are the same as those in the Outer Hebrides, namely, taxes on tobacco and alcohol and the income tax. There are many taxes in Britain from which Ireland is exempt, as, for instance, carriage-tax, man-servant tax, and inhabited house tax, while others are greater in England than in Ireland

<sup>1</sup> At Skipton, Nov. 28, 1911.

—the dog-tax being 7s. 6d. in England as against 2s. 6d. in Ireland. Irish Unionists do not complain, and if the Irish Seceders wish to lighten their taxation they need only diminish their consumption of alcohol and tobacco.

Mr Lloyd George and Mr Birrell have not dared to recommend that the duty on alcohol and tobacco in Ireland should be less than for Great Britain. No Scots member would dare to recommend that those taxes should be less for the poorest of the Scottish islands than they are for Middlesex.

When Pitt was asked for “security that Ireland should have fair financial treatment” under the Union, his answer was: “No security is necessary, the honour of Great Britain has never been found deficient.” He is now accused by ‘The Daily News’ of having “tarnished that honour,” and his words are described as “sorry bombast!” How Pitt and his successors kept that pledge is amply proved by the facts (1) that Ireland pays only the same taxes as the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and (2) that she has got an amount of exceptional financial assistance which has been not only “fair” to her, but unfair to the rest of the United Kingdom.

In 1910 - 11, to mention a few instances, old age pensions in Scotland only amounted to £1,632,000, while in Ireland, with a smaller population, they came to £2,408,000, or about fifty per cent more. The agricultural grant for Scotland was only £98,000, while in Ireland it was £400,000. Grants to Scottish universities came to only £64,000, while Ireland under that head drew £166,000 from the Exchequer. The Irish Land Commission cost the Treasury £414,500, a grant for which there is no equivalent in Scotland.

The eighth point, headed "The Equalisation of Taxation," is that the Union created "inequality" by establishing "equalisation"! For this Unionists are held accountable, though it is admitted that "Mr Gladstone extended the income tax to Ireland in 1853 at a time when Irish fortunes were at their lowest, owing to the famine," and that he "enormously increased the drain on Ireland by levying the full spirit duties." Mr Gladstone, as a temperance advocate, meant to help Ireland to sobriety, and Mr Lloyd George, following that precedent, boasts that he has decreased drunkenness by increasing the spirit duties once again.

We are told that "the tribute from Ire-

land to England in the last 93 years—apart altogether from the cost of Irish administration—has been above 325 millions,” and ignorant Nonconformists are left under the impression that Englishmen pocketed the 325 millions! The figures are not accurate, but even if they were, they would only mean that Ireland contributed something about three millions a-year as her share of the general expenses of the United Kingdom and the Empire from 1817 to 1910. The British taxpayers, collectively, never received a penny from Ireland, but, on the contrary, have paid a great deal out of pocket into Ireland. The cost of Irish administration, which, like Irish religion, is left out of count, is largely money paid into Ireland from the British Exchequer, out of what ought to be Ireland’s contribution to the expenses of defending the United Kingdom, and spent there by resident officials of the British Government. If Irish landlords are to be condemned for spending Irish money out of Ireland, the British taxpayer deserves commendation for sending his money out of England to be expended in Ireland. The vote for the Royal Irish Constabulary, for instance, £1,400,000 a - year, is paid by the

British taxpayer giving up that much of Ireland's just contribution to national defence—every penny of it being spent in Ireland.

It is mere cheap melodrama, then, to talk of "tribute," and to say, as Mrs J. R. Green is quoted as saying, that "while this heavy ransom was exacted Ireland was represented as a beggar never satisfied at the gate of England!" Is Mrs Green anxious to reduce the duty on alcohol and tobacco in Ireland, while the same duty is being increased in England as a measure of social improvement? If she be, then it is she who wants to set up inequality of taxation, and that with no other apparent result than the giving of cheap alcohol and cheap nicotine to the Irish!

The ninth point is that "equality of taxation," as between Ireland and Great Britain, means "inequality of burden" as regards Ireland. Under this head 'The Daily News' pursues its usual line, that is to say, it only discusses income tax and shirks the taxes on alcohol and tobacco, because the temperance platform, which Quakers and the Free Churches support, is that a diminution of tax on alcohol and tobacco means an increase of consumption.

Their argument about income tax is that

a man with £300 a-year in London should pay a greater income tax than a man with the same income in Ireland. This is the reverse of an economic truth, for £300 a-year in Ireland means comparative wealth, while the same income in London means comparative poverty. The Financial Relations Commission of 1896, which is appealed to by 'The Daily News,' reported that "the bare living income" should be tax free and the rest taxable. The man with £300 a-year in Ireland, having to disburse a smaller "living income," can better afford to pay the income tax than the man in London, living expenses and outgoings being much less in Ireland. Therefore, instead of being let off with a lighter tax, the Irishman should really pay more, because he has a greater taxable income. The bulk of the population in England live in towns; in Ireland they live in the country. Living in towns is so much more expensive that an Irish labourer can feed himself and pay his rent at about the same sum per week as an English labourer pays for rent alone. The Irish free labourer, for instance, gets a three-roomed house, out-houses, and a half-acre of land for a shilling a-week, which in England

would cost from five to ten times as much. The income tax, then, being both the only tax in dispute and the only compulsory tax, "equality of taxation," so far from being "inequality of burden," works out in favour of Ireland as against England, owing to the smaller cost of living in that country.

In round numbers, Ireland contains one-tenth and Great Britain nine-tenths of the population of the British Isles. If she gave and got only equal treatment, her contributions to British revenue and her drawings from the British Exchequer ought to be one-ninth of Great Britain's. But in every case she contributes less than her share and draws more. Let us take the year 1908-9 as an illustration, coming as it did before Mr Lloyd George's Budget disturbed all our financial arrangements. Great Britain contributed £139,280,500 to the revenue, while Ireland, which ought to have contributed £15,475,000, only contributed £9,250,000, or some 40 per cent less than her share. The special expenditure in Great Britain for the year—that is, Great Britain's drawings from the Exchequer for its own use, amounted to £51,300,000; while Ireland's, which ought to be only

£5,700,000, amounted to £8,667,500, or about 52 per cent more than her share!

If we go into details, we find that Great Britain paid £90,000,000 in income tax; while Ireland, which ought to have paid £10,000,000, only paid £5,334,000, or a little over half her proper share. For Civil Service, Great Britain drew £23,000,000, while Ireland, which ought to have drawn only £2,555,000, drew £5,493,000, or 115 per cent more than her share.

The payments by the British Exchequer in aid of local taxation in Great Britain were £8,377,500, while Ireland, which ought to have been paid only £930,000, received £1,446,500, or 55 per cent more than her share. After drawing for its own special expenses, Great Britain left a balance of £88,000,000 in the Exchequer for the general purposes of the United Kingdom and the Empire, while Ireland, which ought to have left a balance of £9,777,000, only left £583,000, or one-seventeenth of its proper share.<sup>1</sup> In duties on spirits and beer consumed in the country, Ireland "toed the line," as Mr Redmond would say, and almost paid her full share—and this

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Return, "Revenue and Expenditure," June 15, 1909.



is the only exception to the rule — Great Britain paying £30,638,000, while Ireland, which ought to have paid £3,400,000, paid £3,153,000!

The financial arrangement in the German Empire, the country which Mr Churchill asks us to imitate, is that the common expenditure of the Empire is defrayed by customs, excise, the profits of posts, telegraphs, and state railways, and the individual states are assessed in proportion to population to make up any deficit. If this rule were adopted by the United Kingdom, Ireland would have had to pay all the larger sums which I have shown in the foregoing tables of figures. The German state whose population most nearly approaches that of Ireland is Saxony, and, as the imperial taxation amounts to 11s. 3d. per head throughout the Empire, Saxony's contribution, apart from its internal taxation, would come to £2,500,000, in addition to which she is liable for her proportionate share of the deficit. If Saxony were persistently paying less than her fair share of imperial taxation and her fair contribution to imperial deficit, and if for the past two years she had paid nothing and had to draw on her mighty neighbour,

Prussia, to meet her own expenses for old age pensions and land purchase—which is Ireland's position towards Great Britain—and if there were no prospect of Saxony being better off, is it likely that Prussia would consent to a separation? On the contrary, is it not certain that Prussia would absorb Saxony as she absorbed Hanover?

But there is as little danger that Saxony will ever be in such a plight as there would be of Ireland's ever being insolvent if all her counties were like Antrim, Down, Derry, and Armagh, or if Grattan's Protestant Parliament could be revived. Saxony is more Protestant than Antrim, the most Protestant of the Irish counties, the Saxon Protestants being 95 per cent of the population. Her area is considerably less than one-third of Ireland's, yet she has a greater population and is one of the busiest and richest industrial states in the world. Textile manufactures, mining, metal-working, and agriculture are all carried to the highest pitch of success, the total income of all classes being estimated at £150,000,000 sterling, or over £30 a head, infants included!

## CHAPTER X.

PRICE OF THE NONCONFORMIST TREASON—  
FALSEHOODS ABOUT THE IRISH FAMINE  
AND EMIGRATION.

THE Nonconformists are about to create an Irish Romanist army!

The tenth point is that the Union does not exist, and has never existed. The ground for this extraordinary statement is that one of the Unionist objections to Home Rule is that the present Government's majority depends on the Irish Separatists. If the Union really existed, Unionists should accept the Government majority as an all-British majority and agree to break up the Union! If the Irish Separatists cannot be truly counted as British Members, it is not the fault of the Unionist party. They regard the title of "West Briton" as an epithet of contempt to be hurled at any

Irishman who supports the Union. They are keeping the Nonconformist Radical Government in office, as a *quid pro quo* for the Secession Bill, which is to set up in Ireland a separative Parliament and Executive, the entire patronage and profit of which will be vested in the Irish Separatist leaders. Mr Asquith's offer to Mr Redmond may be put in these words: "I PROMISE TO GIVE YOU AND YOUR SUCCESSORS FOR EVER THE SOLE MANAGEMENT OF AN IRISH ADMINISTRATION, WITH ITS PATRONAGE AND THE HANDLING OF ALL MONIES RAISED FROM IRISH TAXATION, IF YOU AGREE TO GIVE ME AND MY FRIENDS THE MANAGEMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE HANDLING OF ALL MONIES RECEIVED INTO THE BRITISH EX-CHEQUER FROM JANUARY 1910—THE DATE OF THE GENERAL ELECTION ON WHICH WE BECAME DEPENDENT ON YOUR VOTE—TO DECEMBER 1915, THE DATE WHEN WE MUST GO OUT OF OFFICE UNDER OUR OWN PARLIAMENT ACT."

Again 'The Daily News' says that the Union has never existed, because England has never given Ireland equal treatment—ignoring its own argument that England has been oppressing Ireland by giving her equal treatment in the matter of taxation! Nonconformists are

told (1) that Ireland has had Coercion Acts, while Great Britain has not; and (2) that Great Britain has had Volunteers while Ireland has not.

I know something about Coercion Acts in Ireland. I saw my father pulled out of bed in the small hours of the morning and imprisoned without trial under the Coercion Act, because he happened to be President of a local Land League. Nevertheless, with an experience of life in Great Britain as well as in Ireland, I feel bound to say that, with a Coercion Act in force, there is no perceptible difference between life in Ireland and England for any ordinary person. The effects of Irish Coercion Acts are mainly confined to print; and millions of Irish people only hear of them from the newspapers. Never, under any Irish Coercion Act, was there anything approaching the violence recently displayed by the present Government at the siege of Sydney Street in East London and at the Welsh mining strikes.

A Liberal Government imprisoned my father without trial, and a Nonconformist Chief Secretary, Mr W. E. Forster, the Quaker, devised that worst of all Coercion Acts, by which he gave himself the power—never exercised before or since by any Chief

Secretary—of putting men into prison without bringing them before any legal tribunal, and keeping them there without trial as long as he wished. In the annals of Coercion, even in Russia, it would be hard to beat the tyranny of that Coercion Act, passed and administered in 1881-82 by a Quaker Chief Secretary, under the authority of Mr Gladstone. What a low estimate 'The Daily News' must have of those Nonconformists whom it professes to instruct, when, with "Buckshot" Forster's Coercion Act on record, they can denounce Unionism as a policy of Coercion and the Unionists as the only Coercionists!

If, since the Union, the British Parliament has refused to give Volunteers to Ireland, it was because it feared that a Nationalist army would develop into a hostile force within the United Kingdom. One may take it, incidentally, from this condemnation of the Union for not having given Ireland Volunteers, that 'The Daily News' approves of the Dublin Parliament being given the power of raising and equipping territorial regiments, and thinks Mr Redmond ought not to accept a Home Rule Bill without that power.

If and when volunteers and territorial regi-

ments are called into being by a Dublin Parliament, then THE HOSTILE FORCE WITHIN OUR BOUNDARIES, SO LONG PREVENTED, WILL AT LENGTH HAVE COME INTO EXISTENCE.

If volunteers were established guardedly now, under the Union, it is conceivable that they might not develop into a hostile force, just as the Irish militia, officered and managed from the British War Office, and taking their training in England, have never shown themselves hostile. But volunteers under a Dublin Parliament will be drawn from a totally different class from that which composes the present militia—a class which despises the militiamen. And, just as the Protestant volunteers of the eighteenth century proved an irresistible weapon in the hands of the Protestant Parliament and were the means of wresting from England the Constitution of 1782, which we know as Grattan's Parliament, so THE CATHOLIC VOLUNTEERS, OR TERRITORIAL REGIMENTS, IF THE UNION BE REPEALED, WILL BE A WEAPON ENABLING A CATHOLIC PARLIAMENT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF GREAT BRITAIN'S DIFFICULTIES AND EXTRACT CONCESSION AFTER CONCESSION UNTIL THE FINAL GOAL OF COMPLETE SEPARATION HAS BEEN ATTAINED.

The eleventh point is that Mr Gladstone, whom Mr Parnell justly called "the Arch-coercionist," once said that there was "no alternative in Ireland between self-government and coercion,"—therefore we must dissolve the Union! For Mr Gladstone apparently this was true; but it was not until Mr Parnell had manipulated the Irish vote in such a way as to command the balance of power in the House of Commons that Mr Gladstone forsook the cause of the Union, to which Liberals and Conservatives had till then been equally loyal. It is a stain on the record of the Liberal party that they never proposed Home Rule except when they could only keep office by the support of the Irish Separatists. That was their position in 1886, in 1893, and it is their position now in 1912.

Mr Gladstone, in his Midlothian campaign of 1885, asked definitely for a majority which would make him independent of the Irish Separatists. The country did not give it to him, and then, when he found he could only retain office by the Irish vote, he suddenly became a convert to Home Rule and, in 1886, brought in a Home Rule Bill. In 1892 he returned to office absolutely dependent on the



Irish Separatists, and, in 1893, brought in his second Home Rule Bill. In 1906, his successor, Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, returned to power entirely independent of the Irish Separatists, and his Government, though it remained in that position of independence until January 1910, proposed no Home Rule Bill! It was only when Mr Asquith came back to office once more dependent on the Irish Separatists, in January 1910, that the Liberal Government proposed their third Home Rule Bill.

The twelfth point is that "The Famine in 1847," although it took place nearly half a century after the Union, is "the most damning charge ever brought against the Union!" Those who speak thus flippantly about the Irish famine are either fanatical Irish Separatists, or Englishmen with axes to grind and anxious to make profit out of the Separatists. In their accusations against all the great Englishmen who made and maintained the Union, Nonconformist wire-pullers make themselves justly liable to the epithet of "carrion crows"—so unjustly applied by Mr Birrell to Irish Unionists—because they are reviling England to please the Irish Nationalists, and so get themselves maintained in office.

The cause of the famine must not be sought in the Machiavelism of English statesmen. The Irish labourers and small cotters made the potato their standard article of diet, because it is easily cultivated and easily cooked, and with them it occupied the place which bread and meat, combined, occupied in England. It is a crop particularly subject to blight, a disease for which there was no preventative until recently. There had been heavy blights in 1814-16, in 1822, and in 1831; but in 1847 the potato blight was universal, and the inevitable result was famine—such a famine as we still hear of in British India, despite the highly organised system of British administration. There was plenty of corn and cattle in Ireland in 1847, but they had never been regarded as food for the class then threatened with starvation, and belonged to sections of the community who did not make the potato their only or staple diet. The owners of the corn and cattle continued to sell their stocks in the usual market, largely in England, and, because they did so, Nonconformists are now told by ‘The Daily News’ that the famine was not “the act of God,” but “starvation brought about by Government methods !”

Daniel O'Connell, it is recalled, urged that the export of corn and cattle should be forbidden, but he made no workable proposal as to how they should be purchased from the owners for distribution among the starving; or how the owners were to be recouped for the loss of their markets, so as to enable them to pay their rents, rates, and other outgoings, and save themselves and those dependent on them from bankruptcy. When the English understood the dimensions of the famine, they poured money into Ireland for its relief, and many well-remembered English people went across and distributed quantities of food and clothing. So far from it being true, as 'The Daily News' says, that "relief works were not started by the Government," £10,000,000 sterling was voted by Parliament for that purpose in 1847, equivalent at the then rate of wages to £20,000,000 at the present day; and there is scarcely a district in Ireland in which you will not find that the best roads were then made by the Government to give employment. If everything was not perfect in the administration of the relief, the imperfection was not the outcome of malice, as we are asked to believe, but simply of inability to grasp the needs of the situation.

I heard of the famine from my father, who was a young man at the time. My mother's father, also a young man, lost his life by famine fever, taken from poor labourers whom he was visiting with relief. It was confined to the lowest strata of the population, living with their wives and large families in mud-walled cabins—a class as helpless, suspicious, and unresourceful as the peasants of Central Russia—whose only enlightenment came to them from the priests, who were, and still are, to them as gods. These poor priest-ridden people were starved by their own and their instructors' ineptitude, and I believe that, if they were living in England at the time, measures would not have been taken to save them with greater despatch than they were taken in Ireland. Starvation was a very common and unpleasant visitor in England itself before, during, and since the Irish Famine. In the North of England the people have learned the bitter lesson of how to "clem," as they call it. The English are more self-helpful as well as more provident; but of aid from Government, the English, then and since, have got far less than the Irish. It would be just as unreasonable to blame the Union for English and Scottish starvation as for Irish.

The thirteenth point, headed "Depopulation," is that all the emigration from Ireland since the famine is due to the Union, which is just as untenable as to maintain that the greater tide of emigration out of Great Britain during the same period was attributable to the same cause. The Roman Catholic Irish—like the Protestant Irish, English, and Scots—went to America with the prosaic object of bettering their condition. My father's and mother's brothers and sisters, who were not affected by the famine, went there with the rest. There were over eight millions of people in Ireland at the famine, which meant an average of 300 to the square mile, over the whole country, with 600 and even 1000 to the square mile in many rural districts. It was too much for an agricultural country which existed by disposing of its produce outside, and it was providential that the United States was able and willing to take some of the excess. The Catholics went away to better themselves and achieved their object, just as did the Protestant Irish and Protestant English and Scots. They got into an atmosphere of freedom, amongst a majority of people who were not under the Roman system, while those who remained at home remained under

the influence of that religious-social-political system. If the Union be responsible for their emigration, then it is to be thanked for the good conferred on them.

Ulster, which is the most Protestant as well as the most prosperous part of Ireland, lost more people by emigration than Leinster, Munster, or Connaught in the half century following the famine. If the Union be the cause of emigration, and if emigration be the cause of the unprosperity of the Irish who stayed at home, there should be an equal want of prosperity amongst home-keeping Protestants and Catholics, and the Union ought to be as unpopular to-day with Protestants as with Catholics. But the facts are that the Protestants are all for the Union, and that, while the Catholics who remained at home became unprosperous, the Protestants who remained at home became and are as prosperous as any portion of the population of the United Kingdom. The Protestants who remained at home enjoyed the essentials of mental freedom associated with Protestantism — that was, and is, the difference between them and the Catholics who stayed at home. But this is what the Non-conformist wire-pullers deliberately shut their

eyes to and try to keep from their followers.

They tell us that if a Catholic Parliament be set up in Dublin under the control of men who regard the Pope and Cardinal Logue as the Vicegerents of God, emigration will cease. Experience disproves the truth of that prophecy in advance. The promise of Home Rule has not been a factor in diminishing emigration since 1886. Those who emigrate have no faith in the professional politicians. Those most likely to get posts from a Dublin Parliament are men who have not the pluck to emigrate. But the most lavish distribution of posts, even on the grand scale carried out by the present Government in England, could only touch a fraction of the expectants. There would be keen disappointment—Parnell said what he should dread most under Home Rule would be the distribution of patronage—and the surplus population of Ireland would find its way out of the country as before.

Ireland must always be a mainly agricultural country, and if her people want to make agriculture as successful in Ireland as it is in Denmark—which is the highest pitch of prosperity aimed at by Irish idealists—they must

work as hard and systematically as the Protestant Danes. They are beginning to work systematically, and they can work on with greater hope of reward and less distraction under a United than under a Dublin Parliament. In considering the alleged "depopulation" of Ireland, we must remember that Denmark, with all its prosperity, supports only 160 people to the square mile, while the population of Ireland, notwithstanding what 'The Daily News' calls its "national devastation," is about 150 to the square mile!



## CHAPTER XI.

FACTS ABOUT IRISH CRIME, POLICE, AND  
EDUCATION.

THE Nonconformist wire-pullers justify agrarian crime and support priest-controlled education in Ireland!

The fourteenth point, headed "Irish Crime," is that "unscrupulous Unionists" are not only "giving Ireland a bad name," but "always play against Irish Nationalism with loaded dice," and make that "the main part of their Irish policy."

The sole justification adduced for this violent language is that the casualty list in the Royal Irish Constabulary is much lighter than in the London police, backed up by a quotation from the report of a Commission on the Irish police to the effect that, "practically speaking, there are no criminal classes in Ireland."

The peculiarly distressing feature of Irish crime is that it is not committed by professionals, but by ordinary persons who bear no special brand to put the public on its guard against them. In England the criminal class is branded, and the rest of the community join with the police in suppressing it. Hence the feasibility of distinguishing between the general community and the criminal class. The typical Irish criminals are not only indistinguishable, but the community, instead of joining against them with the police, shelter and support them. Conflicts between criminals and police are few, and the number of unpunished crimes is the prominent feature of Irish criminality. The man who, standing in the dark outside an open door, shoots an innocent farmer's wife dead in her own kitchen, and mortally wounds her servant girl;<sup>1</sup> the man who poisons or hamstring his neighbour's cattle; the man who robs and absconds from his wife in obedience to the decree of the Roman Church; the man who abducts the daughters from the father in obedience to the ecclesiastical authority—these are very rarely brought to justice. And if

<sup>1</sup> This occurred in Clare, Mr William Redmond's constituency, in Dec. 1911.

they be tracked down, it is almost impossible to find a jury of their fellow-religionists to convict. This explains why, to quote the complaint of 'The Daily News,' "when a crime is committed in Ireland the whole Irish nation is blamed," whereas, "when a crime is committed in England, only the criminal is held guilty, and everybody regards it as an exceptional occurrence in a virtuous land." The condition of things in England, where there is a specific "criminal class," is far better. The number of London police killed on duty represents the community's strenuous fight against crime; while the immunity of the Royal Irish Constabulary represents the successful concealment of crime.

The fifteenth point, headed "The Meaning of Agrarian Crime," is, that because there has been agrarian crime in Picardy, similar to that in Ireland, agrarian crime must not be counted when considering the criminality of Ireland, and a quotation from a book, describing the treatment of a French land-grabber, will, it is assumed, settle the whole question for Nonconformists. I have noticed the resemblance between the Flemish and the Irish land agitations, but I have also pointed out, what 'The Daily News' ignores, the sever-

ity with which the French and Belgian Governments stamped out the crimes.<sup>1</sup> The community assisted the Governments in Belgium and France. "Several executions took place. Three men were sentenced to death at Hainault Assizes in 1843 for poisoning cattle, the last execution in 1850 being that of a man who had been hired for seventy francs to assassinate a landlord. At Brussels, in 1863, the *Procureur du Roi* said that, though no special legislation for land had been passed, agrarian outrages were then unknown, because it had been realised that 'any such acts would be punished by the Government (ever jealous of the rights of property) with severity.' In France the Government quartered troops on the communes and increased the gendarmerie in disturbed districts, and, furthermore, they held the out-going tenant responsible for outrages committed on his successor within six years of his leaving the farm." Would that this course had been taken in Ireland, for all such outrages are perpetrated by the out-going tenant or his friends!

The sense of the community was against

<sup>1</sup> 'Irish Land and Irish Liberty,' London, 1911, pp. 368, 369.

agrarian outrage in Picardy and Flanders; it was not against it in Ireland. If Picardy were not under the strong central Government at Paris, the outrage-mongers would have gone from a land agitation to a Home Rule agitation, and if the Parliament at Paris were dominated by men like Mr Asquith and his friends, we should have a French Separatist party advocating a legislature at Artois or Amiens.

The sixteenth point, entitled "Police and Education," is, "that there can be no better proof of the evils of the Union" than in the fact that in Ireland primary education costs 6s. 5d. per head, while police cost 6s. 7d.; whereas in England primary education costs 7s. 10½d. per head, and police only 3s. 6d., and in Scotland primary education costs 8s. 8d. per head, and police only 2s. 6d.

The annual cost of the Royal Irish Constabulary, about £1,400,000, is paid for by the British Exchequer, foregoing Ireland's due contribution to national expenses. The necessity for it is to be found, not in the passage of the Union a century ago, but in the disposition of the people to shelter and associate with those who commit outrages. The Royal Irish

Constabulary was not established immediately after, or as a consequence of, the Union, but came into existence in the general reorganisation of the police of the United Kingdom by Sir Robert Peel. The force is entirely Irish, and three-fourths Roman Catholic, and, without it, during the Land Agitation life would have been impossible for law-abiding citizens. If it has failed to stamp out agrarian crime, it is because it labours in a community friendly to the criminals.

As regards the sum spent on education by the three countries, Scotland comes out best in this comparison, although it has had a Union to contend with as well as Ireland. There is no more justification for attributing the high police rate and the low education rate in Ireland to the Union than there is for blaming the Union for Ireland's alleged disproportionate consumption of whisky and tobacco. The Catholic Irish contribute next to nothing for education; they are not encouraged to do so, because the Roman Church only allows as much education as Protestant competition forces her to allow, and will not tolerate any system of education except one completely controlled by herself.

In one year the expenditure on primary education in England is £22,000,000;<sup>1</sup> in Wales, £1,600,000;<sup>1</sup> in Scotland, £3,373,868;<sup>2</sup> and in Ireland, £1,744,000.<sup>3</sup>

Of the English £22,000,000, the people themselves by way of rates and school fees contribute £11,335,000, or more than 51 per cent, the other 49 per cent coming from the British Exchequer.

Of the Welsh £1,600,000, the people contribute £750,000, or 47 per cent, the remaining 53 per cent coming from the Exchequer.

Of the Scottish £3,373,868, the people contribute in fees, rates, and endowments, 62 per cent, the balance, or 38 per cent, being from the Exchequer.

Of the Irish £1,744,000, only £140,000, or 8 per cent, is acknowledged as from the people, the balance, or 92 per cent, being from the British Exchequer! And of the people's £140,000, nearly seven-eighths, or £121,000, consists of money spent on school-buildings, the only voucher for which is "managers' returns,"

<sup>1</sup> Statistics of Public Education in England and Wales, 1909-10-11, Part II.

<sup>2</sup> Annual Report of Scottish Education Department, 1909.

<sup>3</sup> Annual Report of Commissioners of National Education, 1909.

the sole managers of the Roman Catholic schools being the Parish Priests!

In nothing is the Nonconformists' inconsistency, to use no stronger word, more glaring and censurable than in their attitude towards Irish education. They are willing to hand over public money for education to the Roman ecclesiastics in Ireland, though the "education" which the priests give is no practical improvement on intelligent illiteracy. To learn to read is of little use, when the supply of printed matter is so guarded that one may never read anything calculated to awaken the mind, and one remains as helpless a prey to the terrors of Hereafter as one's illiterate grandfather or great-grandfather.

'The Daily News' says sententiously that "good education and not an overwhelming police force is the real guarantee of good citizenship." This is to insinuate that the education which makes good citizens can be had in Ireland in schools entirely dominated by Roman ecclesiastics. How indefensible and misanthropic this is, coming from English Nonconformists who profess such a horror of priestcraft that they allow their goods to be seized and sold rather than pay a trifling education



rate, because part of that rate would go to support some schools under the management of Church of England parsons and attended by pupils of whom the majority belong to the Church of England! The Church of England cannot produce good citizens because of its priestcraft, and its schools ought to be starved out; but the Church of Rome is well qualified to produce good citizens in Ireland, despite its infinitely greater priestcraft, and its schools are to be fed up freely with British public funds! Such is the service the wire-pullers of the "Nonconformist Conscience" are compelled to render, in return for payment in cash and kind from the Romanist party in Parliament.

## CHAPTER XII.

PAPAL SUPREMACY IN IRELAND FROM  
1172 TO 1912.

SIR PHELM O'NEILL, commander of "the Catholic Army" and original Jack the Ripper, is held up as a model to Nonconformists!

The seventeenth point, headed "Religion and the Irish Question," is that "Unionists try to obscure the true Irish question by raising sectarian issues," and that "Catholicism and Protestantism have no connection with the roots of the Irish question!" Such audacious ignorance of history would have been amazing seventy years ago, when men like Lord Macaulay represented British Liberalism; but to-day, unhappily, it accurately portrays the condition of the Nonconformist mind, nurtured on 'The Daily News' and 'British Weekly.'

‘The Daily News’ says that “it was against Catholic England that Catholic Art MacMorrough Kavanagh rebelled, just as it was against Protestant England that Protestant Wolfe Tone rebelled.”

Art MacMorrough is a popular hero with Roman Catholic schoolboys in Ireland. He was a devoted adherent of the Pope, whom, like the bulk of the Irish chiefs, he regarded as the over-lord or real sovereign of Ireland; for, be it remembered, Henry II. conquered Ireland under the authority of a papal bull, conferring the Lordship of Ireland on him in return for the payment of the tax known as “Peter’s Pence.” Geoffrey Keating, in his ‘History of Ireland,’<sup>1</sup> written in Gaelic, repeats the statement that “the Gaels, immediately on their accepting the Faith, put themselves and all they had under the power and government of the Bishops of Rome, and they had no other chief prince over them but the Bishop of Rome until the Normans gained the supremacy of Ireland.”

The Norman sovereigns of England only called themselves *Lords* of Ireland — Henry VIII., after his breach with the Pope, being

<sup>1</sup> Irish Texts Society’s translation, 1908, vol. iii. p. 2.

the first to take the title of *King* of Ireland, thereby emphasising his release from papal supremacy, which was one of the political *coups* of the English Reformation.

But the protest against papal religion and politics in England had begun a hundred and fifty years earlier, in the reign of Richard II., when John Wickliffe—of whom readers of ‘The Daily News’ or ‘British Weekly’ may never have heard—made his protest against papal doctrine and practice, earned for himself the title of “The Morning Star of the Reformation,” and was protected by Richard II. and his Queen, Anne of Bohemia, against the Pope.

When the Wickliffites, or Lollards, began to make themselves felt, the papist clansmen everywhere in Ireland revolted against Richard, and the King went thither with an army in 1395 to reduce them to obedience. Art MacMorrough, as well as a host of others, worried the royal troops. He was captured, but was released on giving hostages. On the King’s departure Art MacMorrough rebelled again, and, in combination with others, defeated the royal troops at Kells in an engagement in which young Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, Lord-Deputy and heir-apparent to the English

throne, was killed. Richard returned to Ireland in 1399 to punish MacMorrough and the others; but before he could carry out his design, news was brought to him that his exiled cousin, Bolingbroke, had returned to England at the head of an army—in company with Arundell, ex-Archbishop of Canterbury, whom Richard had impeached and banished—and was presenting himself to the nation as the Pope's nominee to the English throne in opposition to the rightful occupant! Richard II. hurried back, was seized in North Wales and compelled to abdicate!

Rightful King and heir-apparent thus removed, Bolingbroke became King, as Henry IV., and Arundell was reappointed to his archbishopric. Richard was kept in prison and soon afterwards murdered. And Henry the usurper immediately showed his gratitude by passing the statute, *De Heretico Comburendo*, for the legal burning of heretics, an odious law which then for the first time sullied the English statute-book, and was cruelly put into operation by Arundell against the Lollards or Wickliffites. Thus we see that Art MacMorrough and the papist Irish clansmen played an important part in the Pope's first campaign

for the suppression of Protestantism in England, and that here, as in every other transaction of importance, "Catholicism and Protestantism lie at the roots of what is called the Irish question." "But for MacMorrough and his allies," says Mr Bagot, "the house of Lancaster might never have reigned."

The Irish chiefs continued to support the papal sovereignty against that of the English Kings after the Reformation. In Elizabeth's reign, when, after rebellions and slaughterings, they were at last put down, the two leaders, O'Neill and O'Donnell, Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, fled to Rome, and, after spending their last days *ad limina Apostolorum*, were buried in the city of the Popes!

It is worthy of note that the lineal descendant of Art MacMorrough—namely, the legless and armless Arthur MacMorrough Kavanagh, famous Eastern traveller, for many years M.P. for Carlow, and Irish Privy Councillor, who died in 1889, was one of the most devoted supporters of Protestantism and the Union, and a leading spirit of the first Unionist Alliance formed to defeat Mr Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill.

The statement that "it was against Pro-

testant England that Protestant Wolfe Tone rebelled" is also misleading. Wolfe Tone was a Presbyterian Dissenter, and joined with the Roman Catholics in rebellion, not against "Protestant" England, but against Grattan's Parliament, in which Dissenters played a subsidiary part as compared with members of the Established Church. Wolfe Tone is a dangerous authority for modern Separatists to appeal to, for, says Lecky, he "taught consistently that the only real and final alternative for Ireland was Separation or the Union." Tone represented a Dissenting faction who aimed at climbing to power on the backs of the Roman Catholics, and, in that respect, resembled the Nonconformist wire-pullers, in whose interest this tissue of false information has been published.

The overwhelming majority of Irish Presbyterians are now against Home Rule, as they were against the Rebellion in 1798, and their General Assembly have pronounced against Secession. The small minority of them who support the Separatists have done exceedingly well for themselves by their alliance with the Roman Catholics since 1906, having got the Lord-Lieutenancy, the Under Secretaryship,

two Supreme Court judgeships, and the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Agriculture, not to mention the reward given to their leader (Lord Pirrie)—namely, a peerage, a knighthood of St Patrick, and an office in the viceregal household; besides a host of minor appointments for other latter-day Wolfe Tones!

In its effort to prove that "Catholicism and Protestantism do not lie at the roots of the Irish question," 'The Daily News' misconstrues Lord Bacon's advice to Elizabeth—to weaken the papist Irish rebels by dividing them—as a "fomenting of religious animosity," when the truth is that *all* the rebel chiefs were Roman Catholics in alliance with Rome and Spain for the destruction of England! With the same object it quotes a saying of Archbishop Boulter, who was an Englishman in favour of giving all big posts in Ireland to English-born Englishmen, that whatever "tended to unite Protestants with Papists was against the English interest." But this statement was mainly applicable to the union of Dissenter with Romanist in support of Secession, and his words came true half a century later, in 1798, when Wolfe Tone and others joined with the Romanists to start an Irish Republic in alliance



with the new republics of France and America. Mr Lecky says that "after the famine of 1741, Primate Boulter exhibited an admirable example of charity," and relates how he gave correct information to the English Government as to the fewness of Protestants compared with Catholics, showing how there were over 3000 priests in Ireland against 800 Protestant incumbents and curates. Boulter was also in favour of repealing the Test Act in Ireland in 1733, so as to make Dissenters eligible to Parliament—a reform which took place forty-seven years later.

With such colossal ignorance of history, it need not surprise us to find 'The Daily News' denouncing the Unionist policy as "the stirring up of religious bitterness,"—a description than which nothing could be farther from the truth, as applied to a policy having self-preservation as its main object, and aiming only at preventing those who differ from the Roman religion from being annihilated by the Roman ecclesiastics who teach at the present day that "the mental poison of our Irish atmosphere is Protestantism."<sup>1</sup> Because, forsooth, Irish

<sup>1</sup> Public sermon by one of the leading Irish Jesuits, Father Kane, reported in 'The Derry Journal,' June 9, 1902.

Protestants refuse to be ruled socially and politically as well as religiously by the Church which preaches that creed, the Nonconformist wire-pullers, who depend for their livings on Romanist votes, accuse them of "stirring up religious bitterness!" The Irish Protestants presumably ought to do homage to Romanism to avoid "stirring up religious bitterness" and to make it comfortable for the Nonconformist stipendiaries of Romanism! The same accusation might have been made against those who were massacred on St Bartholomew's Day, or against the English victims of Queen Mary, for protesting against their own immolation! British political methods have sunk low indeed, when the organ of a Cabinet, whose members live by Romanist support in Parliament, can charge defenders of the Union with "stirring up religious bitterness," because they will not oblige by consenting to be handed over to a Romanist Dublin Parliament.

In trying to make this point, it is also stated that "Catholic England destroyed Irish manufactures as ruthlessly as ever Protestant England has done." So far from having been destroyed by England before the Reformation, they were encouraged. "In Acts passed in the

reigns of Edward I., Edward III., and Edward IV.," says Professor T. F. Henderson, "Ireland was specially exempted from the duties or prohibitions placed on foreign manufactures." The woollen manufacture is the chief, almost the only, one included in this accusation, and that was encouraged long after the Reformation, so late as the reign of James I. who settled in Ireland a colony from the Palatinate with that object. It was Wentworth or Strafford, in the reign of Charles I., who struck the first blow at the Irish woollen trade, and even he encouraged the flax trade.

Further blows at the woollen trade were struck in the reigns of Charles II. and William III., with the result that the manufacture was crushed out.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps 'The Daily News' thinks that England was "Catholic" under those Kings! It significantly omits to mention that the woollen trade, then destroyed, was entirely in the hands of the Protestant settlers who, and not the Romanists, were victimised by this disastrous legislation. If British Nonconformists are induced to vote for a Home Rule Bill as a result of such mis-

<sup>1</sup> English Statutes, 15 Car. II., c. 7 ; 7 & 8 Wm. III., c. 22. Irish Statute, 10 Wm. III., c. 5, &c.

statements, it is not too much to say that the Union will have been destroyed by a fraud on the electors.

The eighteenth point, headed "Religious Tolerance," is meant to show that, whenever Roman Catholics acquired supremacy in Ireland they treated the Protestants handsomely! Here again the ignorance or falsification of history is so great as to constitute a serious danger as well as scandal. Nonconformists are told that the Roman Catholics were three times supreme in Ireland: first, in the reign of Queen Mary; second, during the Rebellion of 1641; and third, in 1689, when James II., having fled from England, reigned for a short time as King of Ireland.

We are told that Queen Mary—or as 'The Daily News' inconsistently calls her, "Bloody Mary"—burned her Protestant subjects in England but took them to her arms in Ireland, a falsehood calculated to take one's breath away! During the reign of Edward VI. the Reformation made little progress in Ireland, and those who had become Protestants immediately became Roman Catholics on Mary's accession. As it is put by Mr Walpole: "There was no persecution on account of the

new faith, for the simple reason that there had been no converts. Those who filled State offices had easy consciences and took their religion from the Crown. The great Earl of Ormonde conformed with the rest, and Gerald, the young heir of the house of Kildare, who had been brought up by Cardinal Pole, was restored to his estates and to his earldom.”<sup>1</sup>

In 1641 the Irish Catholics gained their alleged supremacy in a rebellion after the execution of Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, author of the well-remembered “thorough” policy. Rory O’More, of Queen’s County, one of the districts planted by Philip and Mary, after whom its capitals, Maryborough and Philipstown, are still called, headed the rebellion. Its avowed object was to compel the King to restore the Roman Catholic religion, for Rory and his instigators knew that Charles I. and his adviser, Archbishop Laud, were favourable to Roman Catholicism. It was in Ulster that the rising had its greatest success under the leadership of Sir Phelim O’Neill, who gathered together a congregation of clansmen whom he called the “Catholic Army.”

<sup>1</sup> ‘A Short History of the Kingdom of Ireland,’ by C. G. Walpole. London, 1887.

Defeated in his attacks on Augher, Enniskillen, and Lisburn, O'Neill took revenge on all the Protestants within reach — hanging Mr Blaney, the Member for Monaghan; shooting Lord Caulfield, the Governor of Fort Charlemount, whom he had treacherously got into his possession under the guise of friendship; killing all the Scotch and English in the three parishes adjacent to Augher; burning down the town and cathedral of Armagh and murdering hundreds of Protestant inhabitants. To quote Mr Walpole: “He hounded on the Irish to massacre the planters and their families. Those wretched people were swept out of their villages and driven into the Bann and Blackwater and flung over the bridge of Portadown. Men were hanged and butchered with knives. Women were systematically ripped up, especially the pregnant ones.” Another papist chief, Rory Maguire in Fermanagh, was as bad as O'Neill, stripping, killing, and ripping Protestants everywhere. The number of victims murdered in cold blood is calculated by Dr Warner at between four and five thousand, and those who met their death otherwise at eight thousand. Other authorities estimate it at double and treble these figures.

Lecky says of Phelim O'Neill's rising that "there is no doubt that crimes of the most hideous description were committed, and that all the hatred of race and creed were let loose." They slaughtered and mutilated the cattle of the English then, as they now treat the cattle of obnoxious co-religionists and Protestants.

The Civil War between King and Parliament in England was brewing, and the Irish Roman Catholics were all for the King. Owen Roe O'Neill came with a body of Irish Roman Catholics from Spain, in 1642, all trained soldiers, and succeeded Sir Phelim in command of "the Catholic Army." Many of the Anglo-Irish joined the rebellion, actuated by hatred of the English Puritans and loyalty to the cause of the King.

Rory O'More, who held a number of forts and towns in various parts of the country, issued a proclamation in which he said he believed the King would willingly grant them their rights, if he were not prevented by the Puritans, and, therefore, he (Rory) would hold the forts until the King was in a position to grant the Catholics their civil and religious liberty. The Roman Catholic ecclesiastics then came into the open and summoned

a convention at Kilkenny, to make arrangements for the government of Ireland. This convention consisted of all the Roman Catholic bishops and as many priests as could attend, fourteen Roman Catholic peers, and two hundred and twenty-six Roman Catholic Members of Parliament—its composition being an admirable illustration of the fact that Home Rule was Rome Rule, the ecclesiastics being at the bottom of the political disturbance and the recognised leaders of the rebels. They formed a Provisional Government; Owen Roe O'Neill was given command of the forces in Ulster; a separate commander was appointed for each of the other provinces—the Anglo-Irish allies being given great prominence in the commands; and war was declared upon the Puritans.

Professing complete loyalty to Charles I., they proclaimed that the Roman Catholic religion was to be re-established in the same glory and power as in France and Spain. The King's Government, represented by Ormonde, held a parley with the rebels at Castle Martyn in September 1643; a year's truce was agreed upon, and the Confederates undertook to supply a sum of £30,000, and a



contingent of troops to serve the King against the Scots. When it became known that an Irish Papist army was to be imported to put down the Commons, English indignation—especially Nonconformist indignation—against the King passed all bounds, and eventually sealed his fate. The descendants of those Nonconformists are now informed by 'The Daily News' that "Catholicism and Protestantism have no connection with the roots of the Irish question!" The provisional Catholic Government did not immediately follow the example of Phelim O'Neill, commander of the "Catholic Army," and slaughter the Irish Protestants—and for this we are asked to express our unstinted admiration. Their self-restraint, however, was due to no change of sentiment, but to the presence of so many Anglo-Irish in their camp and to the fact that the struggle in England was constantly going against the King.

But they were soon to be awakened to a sense of their duty. In 1645 the Pope sent a nuncio, Cardinal Rinucini, to the Catholic Government of Ireland, thus officially recognising its independence of England. The Italian found the Anglo-Irish peers and gentry in the Provisional Government anxious to be recon-

ciled with the King, if they could get full toleration of the Roman Catholic faith ; whereas the old Irish chiefs and the Irish bishops and priests demanded national independence and the total extinction of Protestantism. The nuncio at once sided with the Irish against the Anglo-Irish, and fanned their bigotry and vanity into flame.

Owen Roe O'Neill fought a battle that year at Benburb, against Munro and a force of Scottish soldiers who were for the English Parliament, and inflicted upon them a crushing defeat. Rinucini travelled hastily from town to town, preaching a war of extermination against Protestantism and the English. Supported by Owen Roe O'Neill, the nuncio made a state entry into Kilkenny, expelled the Supreme Council of the Catholic Parliament, who were too moderate for his taste, flung them into prison, and established a new Council with himself as president ! Ormonde, who up to this time had been with the Roman Catholic party, now appealed to the Puritan Parliament for help. Preston, the Anglo-Irish commander of the Catholic forces in Leinster, was not extreme enough for Rinucini, and the

nuncio issued a threat of excommunication against him and his army!

The Catholic Parliament at Kilkenny, says Lecky, "unanimously declared the war against the English Parliament, for the defence of the Catholic religion, to be just and lawful, and they resolved to send ambassadors to the Pope and the Kings of France and Spain." He also says that "from the beginning of the rebellion there is no doubt that the priests exerted all their spiritual influence in its favour, and they were sometimes associated with its worst crimes." Even Lecky speaks of the "arrogant and most disastrous influence of Rinucini, the Papal envoy." He quotes Clogy as saying that "the Irish hatred was greater against the English nation than against their religion." The explanation of which is that the Pope and Rinucini had hopes, in the first stages of the struggle, that Charles I. and Laud would establish Roman Catholicism in England, and the hatred of the Irish, therefore, was directed against the English nation, as represented by the Parliament, rather than against the English religion as represented by the King's representatives in Ireland.

But the tables were soon turned upon Irish rebels and papist intriguers. Colonel Jones defeated Preston at Trim. The papal legate's intolerance aroused the opposition of the Anglo-Irish. Even Rinucini's Supreme Council were glad to come to terms with Ormonde, acting in the King's name, and a treaty was signed in which Ormonde promised a free Parliament for Ireland, and a complete repeal of all the laws against Roman Catholics. This was at the end of 1648. The execution of Charles I. followed immediately. Rinucini fled back to Rome in despair. Cromwell came to Ireland soon afterwards with an army largely composed of Nonconformists, and completely extinguished the Papist supremacy.

The third period of Roman Catholic supremacy was in 1689, when James II. came to Ireland from France, bringing £112,000 in gold, the gift of Louis XIV., and accompanied by a hundred French officers and twelve hundred Irish Catholic refugees. His agent in advance, Richard Talbot, Lord Deputy, and brother of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, had been for some time in command of the army, and had received the significant Irish title of Earl of Tyrconnell. "Regiment

after regiment were disbanded and reconstructed of Roman Catholic recruits; Protestant officers were cashiered and replaced with Roman Catholics. The militia were dissolved on the pretence that they had sympathised with Monmouth, and their arms were transported to Chester. Roman Catholic sheriffs and justices of the peace were appointed. Deliberate attacks were made by the Government upon the charters of every city and borough in the island. These bodies were then reconstructed by the wholesale introduction of Roman Catholics. . . . The Protestants were disarmed. They were ordered to bring in their arms by a certain day to the parish churches; and such as retained their arms had their houses pillaged by the soldiery.”<sup>1</sup>

King James convened a Parliament, almost exclusively of Roman Catholics, there being only six Protestants in the House of Commons. The Catholic Parliament repealed Poyning's law, and made itself independent. It abolished all payments to Protestant clergy and ordered Roman Catholics to pay their tithes to the priests. It passed the Acts of Settlement and

<sup>1</sup> Walpole's 'History of Ireland,' pp. 300, 301.

Explanation, dispossessing all Protestants from lands settled on them after the suppression of the rebellions of 1641-49, and restoring the lands to the heirs of the rebels.

It passed the Act of Attainder, Lecky's description of which is as follows: "A list, containing more than two thousand names, was drawn up, of landlords who were to be attainted of high treason. One group were to be liable to all the penalties and forfeitures of high treason unless they delivered themselves up for trial within six weeks. Another group who had left the country in the preceding year were summoned to return, and unless they did so within two months were to be estimated guilty of high treason. A third group were to return and take their trial within three months, unless in the meantime the King had been restored to the English throne and received satisfactory guarantees of their loyalty." The Act vested the lands of other people, who were out of the kingdom, in the King, for the support and defence of the kingdom.

"Few persons," says Lecky, "will question the tyranny of an Act which in this manner made a very large proportion of the Irish landlords liable to the penalty of high treason,

even though the only crime that could be alleged against them was that of living out of Ireland in time of civil war. . . . Each Member of Parliament gave in the names of those of his neighbours whom he believed to be disloyal." And thus the lists of attainder were drawn up! Not only was this done, but the lists were actually kept back and not published until after the period of grace had expired, so that the condemned parties had no opportunity of making their submission! Lord Macaulay thus comments on this wholesale Act of Attainder: "If a proscribed person failed to appear by the appointed day, he would be hanged, drawn, and quartered without trial, and his property was to be confiscated. It might be physically impossible for him to deliver himself up within the time fixed by the Act. Indeed there were notoriously such cases. Among the attainted lords was Mountjoy. . . . He had been thrown into the Bastille, he was still lying there, and the Irish Parliament was not ashamed to enact that, unless he could within a few weeks make his escape from his cell and present himself at Dublin, he should be put to death!"

The heroic defence of Derry, the defeat of James II. at the Boyne, and the capture of

Limerick, brought this last period of Roman Catholic supremacy to an end. For two centuries now the Roman Church has been working to bring about a Roman Catholic supremacy in Ireland for the fourth time. And, if Mr Asquith's Home Rule Bill should pass, her aim will have been accomplished, for the new Parliament at Dublin will be as essentially Romanist as that of James II. or Rinucini.

It is in the face of these facts that 'The Daily News' asks Nonconformists to approve the behaviour of Irish Catholics, when they obtained supremacy, and to deceive themselves into thinking that "Catholicism and Protestantism have no connection with the roots of the Irish question!"

Allowing for certain exceptions, which only prove the rule, the difference between Unionists and Seceders in Ireland is the difference between Protestants and Catholics. Our sanctimonious Cabinet Ministers and the Irish Seceders try to keep the religious cleavage between parties in Ireland out of sight, but occasionally it slips from them unawares. Mr Jeremiah MacVeagh, M.P., in estimating the number of Unionists in the constituency of West Donegal, for instance, says: "The census



returns for 1911 show that the Catholics outnumber all other denominations by eleven to one. We may THEREFORE assign the 6642 West Donegal voters as follows—Nationalists, 6000; Unionists, 642.”<sup>1</sup>

The Irish Protestants have the same intense objection to being put under the rule of the Catholics as the white men in America would have to being put under the sovereignty of the blacks. The mental chasm separating Protestant liberty from the slavery of Vaticanism is as great as the racial chasm which separates the Anglo-Saxon from the Negro. And the issues at stake between them involve all the supreme social and political ideals for which men have fought and died since history came to be written.

<sup>1</sup> ‘The Times,’ Dec. 30, 1911.



## CHAPTER XIII.

## VATICAN EXPERTS AND LAY NEOPHYTES.

THE Nonconformist conscience condones Scullabogue !

How Randolph Churchill changed from Rome Rule to Buller Rule !

The nineteenth point, headed "Scullabogue," is a denunciation of Mr William Moore, M.P., for "dragging the burning of Scullabogue barn, in 1798, into his Unionist diatribes !"

Let us take a brief account of the Scullabogue incident from the pages of Lecky, the Quaker Rationalist historian to whom Separatists so often appeal: "The battle of New Ross was still raging, when a scene of horror was enacted at Scullabogue Barn which has left an indelible mark on Irish history. The rebels had collected many prisoners under

guard at the foot of Carrickbyrne mountain, in a lonely and abandoned country house called Scullabogue and in the adjoining barn. The number of the prisoners is stated in the Protestant accounts to have been 224, though the Catholic historians have *tried* to reduce it to 80 or 100." Messengers came from New Ross to say "that the prisoners at Scullabogue should be at once slaughtered, and that the priests had given peremptory orders to that effect."<sup>1</sup> English Nonconformists ought to note the prominent part taken in the rebellion by the priests, as an illustration of the fact that, one hundred and fifty years after Phelim O'Neill and Rinucini, the Roman system used physical force in attaining its ends. "Thirty-seven prisoners who were confined in the house," continues Lecky, "were dragged out and shot or piked before the hall door, but the fate of those who were in the barn was more terrible. The rebels surrounded it and set it on fire, thrusting back with their pikes into the flames those who attempted to escape. Three only by some strange fortune escaped. It is said that 184 persons perished in the barn by

<sup>1</sup> 'History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,' vol. iv. p. 394.

fire and suffocation, and that 20 of them were women and children!"

'The Daily News' says disingenuously that "the crime was not a crime of Catholics against Protestants," because "about one-fifth of the prisoners who were in the barn when it was fired were Catholics." The explanation of the presence of Catholics is thus given by Lecky: "There were ten or fifteen Catholics amongst them, wives of North Cork militiamen and servants who had refused to quit their Protestant masters!" The infuriated rebels, under the leadership of their priests, were, if possible, more incensed against these poor Catholics than against the Protestants, and burned them as perverts from the faith. As Lecky says: "The banner of religion had been raised, and priests were in the forefront of the battle."

That a newspaper owned by Quakers and written in the interests of Congregationalists, Baptists, and Methodists, who are continually preaching in favour of universal peace, should deliberately justify the massacre at Scullabogue as part of the price to be paid to Irish Separatists for maintaining British Nonconformists in office is, perhaps, the most lamentable political phenomenon of our time.

Mr William Moore, M.P., is a man whose character and antecedents are above reproach or suspicion, and it is because of his high character and sincerity that a dead set has been made upon him by Romanist as well as Non-conformist wire-pullers. It is not long since he stated that Home Rule would mean Rome Rule, and that Pat Ford, the American dynamiter, and the Pope were in a league to bring it about—which is only the bare truth, for the Irish hierarchy are as deeply committed to Home Rule as Pat Ford. Mr Moore was taken to task by a Roman Catholic Unionist, Mr Mark Sykes, M.P. for Hull, who stated in a letter to 'The Times,' that if such insolent language about the Pope continued to be used it would be the means of passing Home Rule! Here we find the Romanist installed in the councils of the Conservative party, and using his position for the Pope's benefit just as fanatically as the Romanist in the councils of the Liberal party—with this difference, happily, that the Papist is not the master in the Unionist camp as he is in the Separatist!

Nonconformists ought to ponder this well, and try to appreciate, instead of trying not to see, the widespread ramification of the Roman

organisation which cares nothing for either political party, but uses both for its own ends. Mr Asquith, recognising how useful Mr Mark Sykes promises to be in suppressing discussion on the religious aspect of Secession, took occasion soon afterwards to deliver an altogether unmerited eulogy on him for his maiden speech in the House of Commons.

By way of justifying Scullabogue, Sir Ralph Abercromby is quoted as condemning the cruelty of British troops and Irish militia at the rebellion of 1798. Taking into account the savagery of the Irish during the rebellions in the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles I., their alliances with Spain and France, the French invasion in 1798, and the ferocity at Scullabogue, strong measures were necessary, unless England was prepared to assent to separation and allow Ireland to become a hostile country on her west.

The twentieth point—headed “Is Home Rule Rome Rule?”—is that “one of the characteristically dishonest cries of Unionist politicians—a cry which unfortunately deceives many honest people—is that Home Rule means Rome Rule.” And ‘The Daily News,’ notwithstanding all the accumulated evidence of Irish history showing that Home Rule in Ireland has always

meant Rome Rule, is indignant that any one should assert that a Dublin Parliament would be amenable to the influence of the Pope!

Its method of trying to prove that Home Rule will not be Rome Rule is peculiar. It says that Pitt and Castlereagh got the Irish bishops and priests to "influence the Catholic laity into acquiescing in the Union"—therefore Home Rule will not be Rome Rule! To any ordinary intelligence this evidence would go to prove the contrary, for it shows the great political power of the bishops, and that the Catholic laity were so very much Rome-ruled that, in obedience to an order from Rome, they united with Pitt and Castlereagh and acquiesced even in the Union!

Again, we are asked to reject the theory that Home Rule means Rome Rule, because "English Governments of both parties have not scrupled since then to appeal to the Pope himself to interfere in Irish politics." Sir Robert Peel petitioned the Pope against O'Connell's agitation; Mr Gladstone sent Sir George Errington to Rome to influence the Pope against the Land League; Lord Salisbury asked the Pope to interfere at a later stage in the land agitation. But what does all this

prove except that those three British statesmen recognised the extraordinary power of the Pope in Irish politics, and mildly dared to lay the responsibility at his door in Rome? One does not approve of their policy, because each time we open a negotiation with the Pope he trades on his influence over the ignorant Irish to get exceptional treatment for the Roman system in all the British dominions.

Mr Bernard Shaw is quoted as saying: "England in Ireland is only the Pope's policeman"—therefore Home Rule is not Rome Rule! Mr Shaw's words do not mean that Home Rule will not be Rome Rule, but that he is of opinion, even at present, without a Dublin Parliament, that Rome Rule prevails in Ireland in so far as it is "Home-ruled," and that the British Government is simply policing the country while the Pope draws the profit. If the British police be withdrawn, under a scheme of what is miscalled "Home" Rule, the Pope will quickly find another country, if it be necessary, to do the policing of Ireland for him.

"Pitt and Castlereagh," says 'The Daily News,' "even considered a scheme for paying the Irish priests out of the imperial treasury"—therefore Home Rule will not be Rome



Rule! Pitt and Castlereagh contemplated making the priests dependent on the Exchequer so as to have more control over them, and, through them, over Irish politics, which is but another proof of the fact that those statesmen acted on the conviction that Home Rule, as opposed to British rule, meant Rome Rule. A quotation is also given from a private letter of that talented but erratic politician, Lord Randolph Churchill, whose principles were almost as vague as those of his son, Mr Winston Churchill. In pursuing this line, 'The Daily News' is calling a number of eminent Britishers to corroborate the main fact borne in on us by the study of Irish history, namely, that it is partly by controlling or resisting Rome Rule that England has managed to maintain her position in Ireland from the time of Richard II. and Art MacMorrough down to the present hour.

Lord Randolph Churchill said that "the sound and good and only possible Tory policy" was to "acquire the confidence and friendship of the bishops"—that is, of course, the Roman Catholic bishops. He argued that if his party would only "deal in friendly remonstrances and attractive assurances, the tremendous force of

the Catholic Church would come over to the Tory party!" Many an adventurous politician, as Lord Randolph Churchill was in 1885, when he wrote this letter—and like his son and the leading Nonconformist wire-pullers at the present moment—have fondly imagined that they could make use of the Roman Catholic bishops for their own ends. Seduced by vanity and self-confidence, and ignoring all the lessons of history, they have hoped to hoodwink the political experts of the Vatican. But the result has ever been the same—instead of using, they have been used by, the Irish hierarchy. Randolph Churchill had to sound a very different note soon after he had written that letter.

Colonel Saunderson, the then fearless leader of the Irish Unionist party, gave me the following account of a meeting he had with Lord Randolph Churchill about the date of this letter. He was asked by a friend to meet Churchill at a certain house in Dublin, and I can almost hear him now racily describing the interview, as we sat in his study at Castle Saunderson—

"I knocked at the door, asked if Lord Randolph Churchill was in, and gave my name.

I was shown into a back sitting-room off the hall, and in the dim light I saw a slender figure standing near the window. Presently I recognised the great man who came forward with his cheeks buried in a high collar, looking preternaturally wise, and holding out his hand as he said in a guttural voice: 'How do, Colonel Saunderson?'

"'How do you do, Lord Randolph Churchill?'" I said, and having shaken hands with him I waited for him to speak.

"There was silence for some moments, and I did not see my way to make conversation, so I said, 'You asked to see me, Lord Randolph Churchill. I shall be glad to hear what you want me for.'

"'Oh, what I wanted to say to you,' he said, 'is that I have decided to give Home Rule to Ireland.'

"I hesitated for a moment, somewhat stunned at the suddenness of this announcement, but as I looked at the man and realised his overweening self-importance, I almost laughed outright. I said to him: 'You may decide in favour of Home Rule if you like, Lord Randolph, that is your affair, but it is not in your power to *give* it, fortunately, although you

do occupy such a leading place in the Conservative party.'

"A sharp interchange of opinion followed, and I said to him, striking the table with my clenched fist, 'You sent for me, I suppose, because I am the leader of the Ulster Party. We have been called by the Nationalists the "Ulster Tail" of the Tory party. I am here to tell you now that in this case the dog will not wag the tail, but the tail will wag the dog, and if you want to give Home Rule, or, as we believe it to be, Rome Rule, you must do it OUTSIDE the Conservative party.'"

Colonel Saunderson used this metaphor afterwards in the House, as a retort to a Nationalist member who had derisively shouted out, "The Ulster Tail," when Saunderson was speaking.

He then left the house. Lord Randolph Churchill soon found it advisable to change his intentions about Home Rule, if he ever meant to give it, and instead of setting up a Dublin parliament sent General Sir Redvers Buller to Ireland as Under Secretary, to annihilate the Kerry Moonlighters!

Lord Randolph Churchill at that time had a more commanding position in the Conservative party than his son now has in the Liberal

party; and this encounter between him and a singularly honest Irishman shows father and son to have been equally unscrupulous opportunists on the Irish question. That Lord Randolph Churchill was ready to play the same game with the Roman hierarchy as Mr Birrell is playing, namely, the game of trying to use, and winding up by being used, does not prove, as 'The Daily News' asserts, that "Unionism is Rome Rule," for Churchill did not represent his party. It is only additional evidence of the power of Rome in Ireland, and of the high degree of probability there is that Home Rule would be Rome Rule. All the Chief Secretaries, Liberal and Conservative, have had to carry on negotiations with the hierarchy, not because they maliciously desired to foster Rome Rule, but because they wished to curb and regulate it. It was far from the best policy, but, at all events, it was better than the policy of the Separatists, who would abandon Ireland utterly to Rome Rule.

We are next reminded, by way of convincing us that Home Rule would not be Rome Rule, that when the Pope condemned the Plan of Campaign, "forty Irish Catholic Members of Parliament met in Dublin, and denied the

right of the Pope to interfere in Irish politics." I remember the incident. It was an expiring gasp of protest from Mr William O'Brien and his friends, whom the tenants held responsible for the "plan." But the Pope and the Irish hierarchy were not in the least affected by it, and later occurrences go to prove that the forty Catholics went to confession at the earliest opportunity after their protest, and did penance secretly for their sin. A few years afterwards the Bishops had Mr O'Brien's assistance in driving Mr Parnell himself out of Irish politics and into a premature grave. On such evidence Nonconformists are asked to believe that Home Rule "means the Government of Ireland by the Irish democracy, Protestant and Catholic." There was not a single Protestant on the estates which adopted the Plan of Campaign. If a Dublin Parliament would mean "Home" Rule, without disloyalty to Great Britain, the Protestants conceivably might support it; but they oppose it to the uttermost, because they know that the Catholic "democracy," to use an egregious misnomer, more solicitous about their supposed condition after than before

death, have always accepted, now accept, and will continue to accept, Rome Rule.

The twenty-first point, headed "Nationalism and Rome," is that Irish Nationalists have never taken any political suggestion whatever from the Pope, but, on the contrary, have always rejected his advice, and given him no more allegiance in political matters than the Sultan of Turkey! Such superb mendacity would be amusing if displayed at a less critical time, when there was not danger that by being circulated amongst Nonconformists totally ignorant of history it may result in betraying Ireland completely to the politicians of the Vatican. The first "proof" adduced is an assertion of O'Connell, that he was politically independent of Rome. Islam might more truly assert that it is politically independent of Mahomet! Daniel O'Connell died at Genoa on a pilgrimage to Rome—undertaken with kindred feelings to those which animate a pilgrim to Mecca—and by his will ordered his heart to be taken out of his body and sent to Rome, where it is still exhibited!

"O'Connell," 'The Daily News' tells us,

“once said, in rejecting the Pope’s advice to allow the English Government a veto on the appointment of Irish Catholic Bishops in return for Catholic Emancipation, that he took his religion from Rome, but he would as soon think of taking his politics from Constantinople.” Mark what O’Connell was doing! He was, as it were, preventing the Pope from allowing the Papal power of appointing Irish Bishops to be interfered with by the British Government! He was upholding the Pope’s autocracy, when ostensibly the Pope was prepared to shear it down to a limited monarchy! That was the only occasion on which O’Connell ever differed from the Pope, and any one with a knowledge of Roman diplomacy knows that, in coming forward to prevent the Pope from diminishing Papal power in Ireland, O’Connell was almost certainly acting at the Pope’s suggestion. If the laity of the Roman Church in Ireland had the power, in conjunction with the clergy, of appointing the Bishops, and if O’Connell prevented them from sanctioning an English veto on that local right, it would have been a display of independence. But as it was, his action was simply that of a devoted slave, who at a



moment of difficulty rescues his tyrant, and thereby earns the tyrant's everlasting gratitude. Daniel O'Connell's political advice to the people of Ireland was: "You should do all in your power to carry out the instructions of his holiness the Pope. When you have the electoral franchise, give your votes to none but those who assist you in so holy a struggle." It is alleged that "Mr John Redmond repeated the same statement"—about taking his politics from Constantinople in preference to Rome—"in Dublin during the past winter." So he probably did, and the statement will continue to be repeated, and with the assent of the hierarchy, for many generations yet; but Mr John Redmond has no more intention of acting on it than had Daniel O'Connell, who was a far abler man than Mr Redmond. His speech at Aughavanagh last October, in which he said that their religion should be their first consideration after Home Rule, shows the real man. In Nationalist Ireland all politics are included under the head of religion when the Bishops so will, except, perhaps, the privilege freely accorded to political factions of abusing and denouncing each other. When Mr Redmond says that he will not take his politics

from Rome, when Mr William O'Brien says the same, each only means in practice that he will not be debarred from abusing the other as long as he finds pleasure in doing so—and the Pope gives each full liberty to indulge.

The Fenian rising of 1867, we are next told, proves that Nationalists are not submissive to Rome; but the only evidence advanced is that Bishop Moriarty, of Kerry, declared, in characteristic language, that "Hell was not hot enough, nor eternity long enough to punish those who became Fenians in spite of the Pope's commands." There is always an isolated Bishop in Ireland prepared, or instructed, to make pronouncements at variance with his brethren. It is part of a continuous policy to secure the interests of the Church in any eventuality. 'The Daily News' does not know, perhaps, that there were many leading Fenians who were so by the Pope's command—many of them being men who went to Italy to fight in the "Pope's Brigade" against Garibaldi and the Union of Italy. The Fenian movement was a trivial affair, altogether too small to win that open support which the hierarchy have given to the Land and Home Rule agitations.

Michael Davitt, we are told, was a Fenian, and "to the end of his days was in conflict with the Bishops of his Church owing to his advocacy of secular control of education." Mr Davitt was a devout believer in the Roman system, and his advocacy of secular control of education was merely a pious (or impious) opinion expressed on English platforms when in company with Nonconformists, but never acted upon in Ireland. He had the fear of the priests branded on his innermost mind and heart, and no career better exemplifies than his the power of the Roman system over the Irish mind. Mr Davitt is dead. The Roman Church still monopolises control of Irish education.

Yet another "proof" of Nationalist independence is that Mr John Redmond "achieved his fame as a statesman" by sticking to Parnellism, "though Bishop Nulty had declared that no man could remain a Catholic as long as he elected to cling to it." In sticking to Mr Parnell, Mr Redmond acted honourably as compared with Messrs Dillon, O'Brien, Healy, and the others who deserted their chief at the command of the hierarchy. But in 1892, at the general election next following the Par-

nellite split, Mr Redmond and the Parnellites were ignominiously beaten at the polls by the nominees of Bishop Nulty and the hierarchy. Mr Redmond has had his beating, and he is now as obedient to the Church in politics as in religion. He dare not open his mouth in protest against the Pope's new decrees, upsetting the law of the land on the marriage question, and excommunicating those who bring ecclesiastics into courts of law. Like most Irishmen over fifty, he is too much engaged in "making his soul" to risk a conflict with the Church.

But we are not done yet. Nationalism is independent of Rome, because Mr Joseph Devlin—whom 'The Daily News' unctuously calls "The Catholic leader of the Ancient Order of Hibernians"—"won his spurs by leading the United Irish Leaguers of Belfast in opposition to the local Catholic Bishop, Dr Henry." Bishop Henry wished the Belfast Catholic Association to include in its programme the work of the United Irish League, and wanted to dispense with a branch of that organisation in his diocese. All the forces of the League, of which Mr Devlin was an official, supported by other Bishops, resisted the boycott of the Nationalist organisation—and

the Belfast branch continued to exist! Mr Devlin's friction with the late Dr Henry was a mere lovers' quarrel, and the present Bishop has in him a loyal devotee, who highly appreciates the patronage and confidence of the Church in his position as head of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Lastly, we are asked to believe that Nationalists are independent of Rome, because Mr William O'Brien was returned for Cork in 1910, "in spite of the determined opposition of the priests of the city." Some of the priests of Cork overtly supported the majority of the Irish party, but the priests, as a body, were more in favour of William O'Brien than of his local opponent, Mr Augustine Roche, whom they detested for his Parnellism. There are not two more devoted believers in the Roman system in Ireland than Mr O'Brien and Mr Maurice Healy, the sitting members for Cork, who both deserted Mr Parnell in obedience to the command of the Church. Those who count on such men to prove that Home Rule will not be Rome Rule show as great an ignorance of contemporary affairs as of Irish history. So far from making it "as clear as day that the Irish Nationalist is neither Pope-ridden nor

priest-ridden in his politics," 'The Daily News' has only emphasised the melancholy fact that the Irish Nationalist now, as in the days of Art MacMorrough and Owen Roe O'Neill, has no practical concept of politics except as an implement of Roman propagandism. Art MacMorrough, Owen Roe, the priest-rebels of 1798, as well as Messrs Redmond and Dillon, were all for Home Rule, but their concept of it always meant, in practice, an increase of Rome Rule.

The twenty-second point, headed "Catholic Clericalists and Unionists," shows that this is true of the English as well as the Irish Catholics. We are told that "all through the fight against Home Rule the English Catholics have been *for the most part* Unionists." It is well that Baron de Forest was not forgotten! After this it is rather disappointing to learn that the English Catholics did not support Unionism solely because they were opposed to Irish Home Rule, but that they "have frankly supported the Unionist party on the grounds that it was the party of clericalism." Has not a biographer of Mr John Redmond recorded that "a large Unionist protest signed by the Duke of Norfolk and most of the leading

Catholic peers against Home Rule was based entirely upon the fact that a Home Rule Parliament might limit the clerical power?"

The Duke of Norfolk and his friends protested that if Home Rule were granted, "a section of the Irish people would be brought into conflict with the Church," and went on to say, "we cannot look forward to such a struggle without grave apprehension, and for this, amongst other reasons, we, as British Catholics, are opposed to the policy of Home Rule." 'The Daily News' exclaims triumphantly, "That should drive the last nail into the coffin of the lie that Home Rule is Rome Rule!" On the contrary, it is only another buttress added to the great truth that Home Rule is Rome Rule. If the Duke and his friends had succeeded in getting the Irish hierarchy to abandon Home Rule, then it might be truly said that the persistence of Mr Redmond and his party in agitating for Home Rule was evidence that they were prepared to act in opposition to the Bishops. But, as the case stands, all we know is that a small junta of Roman Catholic aristocrats in England were of opinion that Home Rule would lessen the power of Rome in Ireland, while, on the

other hand, the Irish hierarchy, who are not a body of men likely to support a measure for decreasing their own power, were in favour of Home Rule.

If we call the laity the "Home" Rule party in the English Roman Catholic body-politic, and the clergy the Rome Rule or Ultramontane party, this case shows the Roman Catholic "Home" Rulers to be more solicitous for Rome Rule than the Rome Rulers! The fact is that the Duke of Norfolk, in his small way, was following in the footsteps of Daniel O'Connell, namely, he was advising the Pope as to the best course to take in the political interests of the papacy. But the Duke was under the disadvantage that he did not know his subject as well as Daniel O'Connell, though he and the Liberator may have been equally "inspired" to take action. The Pope took Daniel O'Connell's advice as being most profitable for the ecclesiastical autocracy, but the Pope took no action on the Duke's advice. On the contrary, since the date of the first Home Rule Bill, when the Duke made his protest, Archbishop Logue, the foremost advocate of Home Rule, who is in constant touch with the Pope, has been elevated to the Cardinalate.



What is the Duke's position to-day? Is he prepared to sign another protest? Home Rule was not likely to be enacted at the first attempt. If he should get up a protest now—a very improbable contingency—the question would resolve itself into this: Who is most competent to judge—the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Edmund Talbot, Major Archer Shee, Mr Mark Sykes, and Mr Rowland Hunt, or the hierarchy of Ireland—when it is a question affecting the power of the Roman Church in Ireland?

## CHAPTER XIV.

## GERMAN INVASION AND ULSTER REBELLION.

Is it the business of a Dissenter to dissent? "Our simple claim is that we shall remain as we are, with unimpaired citizenship in the United Kingdom," say the women of Ulster.

The twenty-third point, "Democracy and Nationality," is that, "if democratic ideals are to survive in this part of Europe, the Irish people must be allowed an Irish Parliament to doctor their own ills," mainly because Dean Swift said that "all government without the consent of the governed is the very definition of slavery." If this be true, Irish Unionists should not be forced to accept the rule of a Separatist Dublin Parliament. If they be so forced, their condition would be one of slavery, and the Nonconformists guilty of promoting their enslavement.

Dean Swift's ferocious denunciations of English methods in Ireland were mainly *apropos* of the legislation against Irish manufactures. It was at this period he advised the Irish to "burn everything that came from England except the coals." He is a risky authority for Nonconformists to quote, because, writes Lecky, he entertained "the bitterest animosity towards the Protestant Nonconformists." If he were alive now, his pen would wring the withers of political Nonconformity, and incidentally, it would be worth much to hear his commentary upon Archbishop Walsh's proposal that St Patrick's Cathedral at Dublin, of which he was Dean, should be handed over by "a friendly arrangement" to the Roman ecclesiastics in Ireland.

The "democratic ideals" of Dissenters seem to lead naturally to Separatism. One has heard of a couple of score of Nonconformists divided into a dozen different sects, each at daggers-drawn with the rest. When such "democratic ideals" are transferred from the doctrinal to the political sphere, and when their propagators find themselves accidentally in possession of executive power, it is a danger to the nation. Dissent knows no medium apparently between

tyranny and anarchy. Cromwell, their one great man, ruled as a tyrant, with the result that after his death the country rose as one man to welcome back a king so personally disreputable as Charles II. From Cromwell's day till 1906, the Dissenters did not regain their sway over England. Under Cromwell it was a tyranny. Now it is Separatism and anarchy.

"Nationality," like democracy, is a much-abused word. But it is certain that the "nationality" of the Irish wing of the Seceders' forces will tolerate no Dissenters; for it is a nationality under the sway of a clerical autocracy which holds that outside its own pale there can be no salvation here or hereafter. As Mr Horne says, nothing is outside the sweep of its authority!

The twenty-fourth point, "Ireland and a German Invasion," is that it is "nonsense scarcely requiring an answer among intelligent men" to assert that "a Home Rule Ireland would receive the invader and give him a base from which to attack England in the event of a war between England and Germany." The idea of a German invasion of Ireland is only a "sensational picture painted by Unionist agitators."

The obvious answer to this is that a German invasion of England, so far from being "nonsense," is accepted by our Government, as well as by our naval and military authorities, as a practicable contingency, and to prevent it we take the most elaborate and costly precautions by day and night. Since the German Fleet became formidable, we have withdrawn our best ships from China and the Mediterranean and keep them massed in the Channel and the German Ocean, where not many years ago a warship was hardly ever seen. It is no exaggeration to say that the measures we take for preventing a German invasion cost us nearly £26,000,000 a-year, which is the amount by which our annual naval expenditure to-day exceeds that of 1890!

Why then should a German invasion of Ireland be considered "nonsense"? We are told that the navy would be as well able to prevent the Germans from invading Ireland under Home Rule as under the Union. People who speak in this way seem to have no sense of the value of words. There were two French invasions of Ireland at a time when we had a Nelson amongst the commanders of our navy.

Let us suppose that Wolfe Tone and the Seceders of 1798 had as complete control of Grattan's Parliament as the Seceders of our day would have over a Home Rule Parliament. And let us suppose them to have had control of the Irish yeomanry and militia, as the Seceders of to-day will control the Nationalist yeomanry and militia which are to be created. Is it probable that, under such circumstances, Hoche would have been so easily deterred from landing at Bantry, or that Humbert would have been so easily beaten after landing in Mayo?

Mr Parnell is appealed to as having said in 1889 that Ireland would not be "more powerful to effect injury to imperial interests" after Home Rule than she is at present. "In what way shall we be stronger to injure you?" he asked. "What soldiers shall we have? What armed policemen shall we have? What cannon shall we have?" Mr Parnell was a wily politician. It was only a few years before this plausible speech that Mr Gladstone had given a separate Parliament and Executive to the Transvaal. And Mr Kruger used substantially the same words as Mr Parnell, in answer to objections raised to Transvaal Home Rule on the grounds that it would make the Boers

stronger in soldiers and munitions of war, and more powerful to injure England by asserting supremacy over South Africa ! Ten years after Mr Parnell's speech, the Boer War taught us a lesson which we should never forget. If Mr Parnell lived now, we should tell him that, under a Dublin Parliament, with its Nationalist volunteers and territorial regiments demanding complete munitions of war, to prevent the importation of arms into Ireland would be as impossible as it was in the Transvaal.

If a German force landed in Ireland now, under the Union, it would have to face a loyal executive Government and a British army corps in occupation of every strategic point, unperplexed by armed rivals or opponents. If a German force landed in a Home Rule Ireland, it would find an executive Government ready to place its official knowledge at the invader's disposal, in return for a guarantee of complete independence ; and it would find an army of yeomanry and volunteers eager to co-operate against the British army of occupation. Under such conditions Ireland would supply a base from which the Germans could either attack England from the West, or in which they could wage a wasting war against relays

of British reinforcements, as we did against Napoleon in the Peninsula, while the main German force from the home base would threaten and probably invade England itself.

'The Daily News' asks: "Which is more likely to throw itself into the arms of Germany"—Ireland under Home Rule, or Ireland under the Union? Under the Union, the Irish Seceders could only "throw themselves into the arms of Germany" by disloyal questions in Parliament, in return for German concessions to the Papacy. But under Home Rule they could receive Germany on Irish soil and take Germany to *their* arms—which would be an infinitely more serious matter, and might be the end of the history of independent Britain.

The twenty-fifth point, headed "Threatened Ulster Rebellion," is that Ulster's protest against Home Rule is only the "bluster" of "the old ascendancy party" on being asked to "surrender their class privileges." There have been no class privileges in Ireland for many generations, and, since the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1870, no legal privilege for one religion more than another. The difficulty has been to prevent the Roman



Catholic ecclesiastics from seizing the administration for themselves and their nominees, as they now hope to do under Home Rule. The Government has always been eager to promote Roman Catholics to the highest offices when their ability was commensurate to the work. We have had Roman Catholics in every office but the Lord Lieutenancy—Roman Catholic Lord Chancellors, Lord Chief Justices, Lord Chief Barons, Commissioners of National Education, and Vice-Presidents of the Local Government Board. And, in recent years, the power of the ecclesiastical autocracy over the professional Catholic laity has been growing to such an extent that it is more and more difficult to find a Roman Catholic now who has any existence apart from the ecclesiastical managers of his Church.

There is no ascendancy party in Ireland except the Roman ecclesiastics and Separatist politicians. Nor are the men and women who are most devotedly attached to the Union the descendants of the old privileged class. They are working men and women, who work harder for their livings than Cardinal Logue's and Mr John Redmond's followers. Whatever they have is gained by the sweat of their brows,

and all they ask is that they may not be robbed of the reward of their labour by being put under the heel of the unprosperous, agitating Romanists. Theirs is a fight for self-preservation, not for privilege or ascendancy. The remnant of the landlord class left in Ireland have no ascendancy now. They cannot determine the rents of their tenants without the consent of a Court, and they cannot eject except for non-payment of the rent so determined.

The women of Ulster well voiced the feeling of Protestant working men and women about Home Rule when they declared at their meeting on January 18, 1912, that "under an Irish Parliament the whole country would be reduced to rags and poverty which are only to be found now where the rule of the National League is supreme." "We do not want a separate Parliament for Ulster," they continued, "OUR SIMPLE CLAIM IS, THAT SHOULD HOME RULE BE FORCED UPON IRELAND BY A POLITICAL PARTY MISLED AND MISINFORMED AS TO HER TRUE INTERESTS, WE SHALL REMAIN AS WE ARE, WITH UNIMPAIRED CITIZENSHIP IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND WITH REPRESENTATION AS WE NOW HAVE IT IN THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT. But if, in contempt of this righteous

demand, based as it is upon loyalty to our King and to the Constitution, we are thrown out of our heritage with all its security for liberty and life, we make it known to all whom it may concern that WE STAND BY OUR MEN FOLK IN RESISTING TO THE UTMOST THE DOMINATION AND CONTROL OF A REBEL PARLIAMENT IN DUBLIN, and in their resolve to hold Ulster in trust for the United Kingdom and Empire.”

The opposition to Home Rule comes from a Protestant democracy who object to being placed under the rule of the Inquisition. And we may be perfectly assured that if it were proposed to place England under the rule of any Parliament as exclusively Romanist as a Home Rule Parliament would be, there would be a protest from the British Nonconformists as vehement as that now heard from Ulster.

We are told that because armed resistance was threatened at the time of the Catholic Relief Bill in 1829, and again when the Church Disestablishment was impending in 1870, and because armed resistance did not take place in either of those cases, therefore there would be no armed resistance to a Home Rule Parliament.

It was only a section of Protestant enthu-

siasts who uttered the threat in 1829 and 1870. The late Recorder Falkiner of Dublin, whose words are cited, was well known to be a devoted adherent of the Church of Ireland, and when he said that "a million and a half of Protestants of all denominations were ready to oppose the Bill at the expense of their blood if necessary," he spoke with genuine emotion, but without authority. This was obvious from his including the Presbyterians amongst those who would shed their blood to defend the Church Establishment! The same may be said of the other authority cited, Mr David Plunkett, now Lord Rathmore, whose elder brother was Archbishop of Dublin.

Home Rule is not a case parallel to Catholic Relief in 1829 or Church Disestablishment in 1870. After those reforms, the Government of the country remained unchanged. There was nothing to rebel against. The Roman Catholic Relief Act merely enabled a number of Roman Catholics to enter the British Parliament at Westminster, where they were only one-tenth or one-eleventh of the whole body. The even tenor of British administration was unaffected. It was the same after Disestablishment in 1870. The revenues paid in tithes

and rents were paid to a Government Commission, instead of to an ecclesiastical body, and it made no difference to those who paid. Even the clergy of the Church suffered nothing financially, inasmuch as they received their usual stipends for life, it being only the new men who came in gradually after 1870 who had to depend upon voluntary contributions. The clergy and the laity of the Disestablished Church took counsel together, and never was the ability of Irish Protestants better displayed than by the measures they took for maintaining their Church.

There was then nothing to rebel about, for there cannot be a rebellion except there is some dividing gulf between the rebels and the authority against which they rebel. If the Protestants had rebelled in 1829 or 1870, it must have been against a British Government with which they were in general sympathy. At present the talk about rebellion comes, not from professional advocates like Recorder Falkiner or Lord Rathmore, not from the defenders of the vested interests of a landlord class, or an Established Church, but from working men and women, assembled in their thousands, and constituting twenty-five per

cent of the Irish population, who protest against being cut off from the United Kingdom—a totally different situation from 1829 and 1870.

Again, if the Home Rule Act be passed, there would be a change not merely affecting a few hundred clergymen as Church Disestablishment did, not merely altering the representation of one-tenth or one-eleventh of the British House of Commons as did the Catholic Relief Act. There would be a violent, sudden, and complete change of Government affecting every inhabitant of the island. A new Government, which never existed before, would demand allegiance from Irishmen who believe they owe their lives and liberties to the British Parliament. This new Government would demand new taxes and pass new laws altering the conditions of life in Ireland. All the channels of administration would be changed. Between this new Government and Irish loyalists there would be a gulf as wide as any which ever separated Government from governed. The loyalist minority would be infinitely worse off than a minority of Federalists would have been in the slave States of America after the Civil War, if the Seceders had succeeded; for in Ireland there would be a sharper cleavage of creed between

the Romanist Government and the subject Unionists.

“The Unionist bullies,” as ‘The Daily News’ calls the Ulster Members, are not “the masters of a political caucus” which would govern Ireland “with the remorseless hostility and violence with which Russia governs Poland.” They represent both Irish Protestantism and Irish Unionism in this case. When they had control of Ireland for twenty years, 1886-1906, except for three years of Liberal Government from 1892 to 1895, they passed the Land Purchase Acts which have made the farmers of Ireland the lords of the soil, the Irish Agriculture Act which established the highly endowed Department of Agriculture, and the Local Government Act which gave Irishmen the same control over their own affairs as Englishmen or Scotsmen. During the three years, 1892-95, the Liberals did nothing for Ireland.

The Nonconformists are therefore being misled, when they are told that the talk about rebellion is merely the “brag and bluster” of Ulster Members of Parliament “echoing the much better men who went before them”; and that “the ordinary intelligent Irish Protestant”

has no part in it, but "is disgusted when he is not amused." It is the ordinary intelligent Protestant who talks about rebellion now, and he is not speaking for the peculiar vested interests of a privileged class or creed, but in self-defence against being deprived of the protection of the British Parliament and against having his life and property made dependent upon the will of the Roman religious-political system.



## CHAPTER XV.

## THE SECEDERS' MYTH ABOUT "DUBLIN CASTLE."

Is Mr Birrell, at £4500 a-year, "a placeman impenetrable to Irish ideas and Irish needs"?

The twenty-sixth point is that "Dublin Castle has driven Ireland into bankruptcy," and "Ireland cannot afford Dublin Castle, because it is as costly as it is bad."

Dublin Castle here stands for British Government in Ireland. One would imagine that it was some monstrosity having no connection with British rule, something quite separate and apart in its own iniquity. The fact is that it is the town residence of the Lord Lieutenant, and its subsidiary buildings contain the Privy Council office, the offices of the Chief Secretary and Under Secretary, of the Dublin police, of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and some other boards. Dublin Castle is merely a handy ex-

pression like Downing Street. It contains no dungeons or instruments of torture, and has no power apart from the representative authority which its occupants derive from the United Parliament and the votes of the British electorate.

A person named Sydney Brooks is quoted as likening it to "a Russian bureaucracy in Finland." What then? Nothing is changed thereby. But that gentleman's further statement that it is "uncontrolled by Parliament in London or by any representative body in Ireland" is utterly untrue. The Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary are absolutely dependent on Parliament, and, as for their being uncontrolled by any representative body in Ireland, it is only true in the same sense that Downing Street and its occupants are uncontrolled by any representative body in England, or that the Scottish Office is uncontrolled by any representative body in Scotland. Not only are the Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary dependent on Parliament. The Dublin Metropolitan Police depend for their pay on Parliament and the Dublin Corporation; the Royal Irish Constabulary on the vote of Parliament renewed every year. Apart from Parlia-

ment, there is no representative body which ought to have control over the Government of Ireland. Dublin Castle, then, is in reality a kind of Home Rule which Ireland has had ever since the Union and which Scotland has never had.

Mr Chamberlain is quoted as having said, a quarter of a century ago, that the Irish people regarded the Castle "as an embodiment of foreign supremacy," and "compared the rule of England in Ireland to the armed rule of the Austrians in Venice." 'The Daily News' omits to add that there has not been, since 1886, and there is not, a more uncompromising opponent to Irish Home Rule than Mr Chamberlain! The position of Austria in Venice was never parallel to that of England in Ireland. Venice was for centuries an independent state, governing itself and other countries, with a distinguished individual history, a country famous for wealth, commerce, art, and literature. When it came under Austrian dominion, it continued to be part of a great nation of different race, different history, and different language from Austria. The Venetians, as Italians, had no affinity with the Austrian Germans, and

threw in their lot with the rest of Italy for the purpose of becoming part of a united nation, one in language, in history, and in race. The Austrian occupation of Venice only lasted half-a-century. The case of Ireland is totally different. For over one hundred years now, double the period of the whole Austrian rule in Venice, Ireland has been governed without the employment of soldiers, except in the limited degree in which military are employed in England, as by the present Cabinet in the late Welsh mining strikes. The Irish and British are practically the same race and speak the same language. The occupation of Ireland by England has now lasted without a break for nearly eight centuries.

The further charge is made against Dublin Castle that "this evil and incompetent form of Government is controlled by sixty-seven boards, departments, and offices!" If this be a crime, it must also be a crime that the affairs of Great Britain are carried on by boards, departments, and offices, to the number of which the present Government has added considerably. Names have very little value for serious men, but the Nonconformist wire-

puller seems to think it a heinous offence for a number of men engaged in public business to call themselves a board in Ireland, while it is quite proper for them to be so called in England.

Lord Dunraven is quoted as saying that Dublin Castle is "the most expensive system of government in the world," which only means that the British Government are spending in Ireland practically all the Irish revenue in salaries to resident officials. Of the members of Dublin Castle boards, the worst absentees are the Lord-Lieutenant and Chief Secretary. The present Government might have proved its desire for economy by diminishing the salaries of Lord Aberdeen and Mr Birrell, especially Mr Birrell, who seems to spend nine or ten months of the year out of Ireland. Therefore 'The Daily News' does not come into court with clean hands when it makes such accusations. The expensive Civil Government of Ireland was really an English way of showing generosity to Ireland, mistaken, perhaps, but not indefensible. Dublin Castle at present consists of Lord-Lieutenant Aberdeen, Chief Secretary Birrell, Under Secretary Dougherty, Lord Chancellor Redmond Barry,

Attorney-General O'Connor, Solicitor-General Ignatius O'Brien, and Crown Solicitor Malachy Kelly—the first three being Dissenters, the last four Roman Catholics. Lord Chancellor Barry is an intimate friend of Mr John Redmond, to whom he owes his advancement. Attorney-General O'Connor has always been the official counsel to Archbishop Walsh, to which he owes his preferment. Solicitor-General O'Brien is a Cork Roman Catholic and a Nationalist. The Crown Solicitor is a Connaught Roman Catholic and Nationalist.

There is not an individual amongst the present heads of Dublin Castle whom 'The Daily News' would dare to describe in the language it uses of the Castle collectively, yet they are all involved in the collective denunciation. Is Lord Aberdeen, at £20,000 a-year, as "costly as he is bad"? Is Mr Birrell, at £4500 a-year, "a placeman impenetrable to Irish ideas and Irish needs"? Is Sir James Dougherty, the Under Secretary, "evil and incompetent"? Is Lord Chancellor Redmond Barry guilty of "waste and misapplication of money"? Are Lord Dunraven's words true of all these people collectively—namely, that they are "a small but avaricious section who

think that the country should be run for their benefit alone"? And if 'The Daily News' dare not attack the characters of those seven men, thrown together accidentally by a variety of causes, by what right dare it asperse the Unionist predecessors of those men? The truth is the attack on Dublin Castle is nothing but insincere and threadbare political rhodomontade, calculated to deceive the ignorant. It is false rhetoric, obviously meant to gain the support of the credulous for the project of breaking the Union, in order that "a small but avaricious section" in England may retain office for the utmost period possible under the Parliament Act.

The twenty-seventh point—"Home Rule, what is it?"—is that "Home Rule does not necessarily violate a single line of the Act of Union." We are told that under Mr Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill the Irish legislature was to be subordinate to Westminster, and it is insinuated that it would be so now under Home Rule. There is no means of making the Irish legislature subordinate except by Poyning's law, which made laws passed by the Irish Parliament inoperative without the consent of the British Parliament. When Grattan's

Parliament got Poynings' law repealed in the Act of Renunciation, in 1783, it did so backed up by a force of armed Protestant volunteers—the constitution of 1783 being little more than the repeal of Poynings' law. An Irish Parliament within the scope of Poynings' law would only be accepted as the thin end of the wedge, and would be the head-centre of a bitter Home Rule agitation for the repeal of that law and a restoration of Grattan's Constitution. And in that agitation the agitators would be backed up, not by a noisy unarmed peasantry, but by sixty or eighty thousand armed volunteers and an Executive Government with such power of reprisals as Mr Parnell never had at the zenith of his popularity. As for an Irish Parliament outside the scope of Poynings' law, it would be an abuse of words to call it a subordinate Parliament.

With Irish members sitting at Westminster as well as Dublin, and voting on all legislation affecting the three kingdoms, foreign policy, and the empire, the situation would be impossible. The Dublin Parliament would be discussing and passing resolutions on imperial and foreign policy. Its members would come



over to Westminster as not merely members of the British Parliament, but also representatives of a national Government elsewhere; and this double authority would be used to dictate to English and Scottish members on the most important affairs of Great Britain and the empire. Foreign rivals wanting to carry a point would begin their operations at Dublin. When Mr Cecil Rhodes was devising his imperial projects in South Africa, he first sent Mr Parnell £10,000 for the Irish Party, with the result that he never got any Irish opposition in the British Parliament; but when the Boer War broke out, the Irish party to a man were with Kruger and against Rhodes, because the Boers were doing what the Irish Seceders hope to do some day.

The futility of hoping for finality from any Home Rule Act is well exemplified by the fact that Mr Gladstone in his first Bill fixed Ireland's contribution to the revenue at one-fifteenth of the whole. The estimate of national expenditure for the year 1911-12, as we find from our income tax demand notes, is over £181,000,000 sterling—one-fifteenth of which would be over £12,000,000. At the date of the first Home Rule Bill our national

expenditure was only £90,000,000, or one-half of what it is at present. Mr Asquith dare not ask a Home Rule Ireland to contribute £12,000,000 a-year to the common purse. This shows what an unexpected change has taken place in the twenty-five years. And it is a mere truism to assert that there would be a still greater change in the situation in the next twenty-five years. Indeed, with a Parliament in Dublin, which, instead of contributing to the common revenue, would be a constant drain upon it, one does not see how the United Kingdom could be maintained. It would not be a question of Ireland's bankruptcy, but of the bankruptcy of the United Kingdom and the Empire.

To say that a Home Rule Act would not "violate a line of the Act of Union" is the language of people who do not know black from white, or truth from untruth. The Act of Union abolished the Irish Parliament and the Executive dependent on it. The abolition of that Parliament and Executive was the Act of Union. The re-establishment of that Parliament and Executive would be the repeal of the Act of Union, and those who deny it

are people who attach no definite meaning to words.

The twenty-eighth point—"Home Rule and Separation"—is that because separation did not follow Catholic Relief in 1829 and Church Disestablishment in 1870, it cannot possibly follow Home Rule. This is like arguing that, because a man did not die after the amputation of a leg ten years ago and an arm five years afterwards, he would not die now if one were to cut off his head! As we have already pointed out, there is no analogy between the reforms cited and Home Rule. The assertion that "Home Rule is not separation but the only alternative to separation" is quite contrary to all evidence, and to Wolfe Tone's view that "there was no alternative but separation or the Union." Home Rule would be separation. It is claimed for Mr Parnell that "he had never desired more than the restoration of Grattan's Parliament, with England and Ireland united under the same crown." Grattan's Parliament, under the control of the Romanist Seceders, would be a co-ordinate Parliament and virtual separation; and it was because Pitt foresaw this that he

passed the Act of Union. Mr Parnell said at Cork in 1885: "We cannot under the British Constitution ask for more than the restoration of Grattan's Parliament. But no man has the right to fix the boundaries to the march of a nation." Mr Redmond at Kanturk in November 1895, said: "The consummation of our hopes is to drive the English bag and baggage out of our country." Mr Devlin at Philadelphia in November 1908, said: "I believe in the separation of Ireland from England until Ireland is as free as the air we breathe." Mr Kettle at New York said the acceptance of Home Rule was only tactical—"If you are to take a fortress, first take the outer works!" Mr John Dillon, at a meeting of the Ancient Order of Hibernians at Dumbarton, said the "true and sterling Hibernians would never give up the glorious struggle till THE LAST BIT OF BRITISH RULE WAS EXTERMINATED IN IRELAND."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Derry People,' Sept. 1, 1906.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## IRISH SECEDERS A SPENT FORCE IN POLITICS.

IRELAND cannot pay her old age pensions and have cheap alcohol under Home Rule! Should Great Britain be asked to pay them?

The next four points are (29) that "old age pensions are absolutely secure under Home Rule;" (30) that the present *deficit* in Irish finance is not valid, but "faked" for the purposes of "the Unionist bogey of a bankrupt Ireland;" (31) that "self-government will increase the taxable wealth of Ireland to such an extent that she will be able to bear her present rate of taxation and even a higher rate with equanimity;" (32) that Home Rule will enable Ireland to pass necessary remedial legislation which she cannot get from the United Parliament.

The Unionist candidates in Ulster are vilified

for saying at the last general election that "under Home Rule Ireland could not afford to pay the old age pensions," and for using that "as an argument for continuing the Union which has resulted in such excessive national poverty." Ireland's contribution to the common revenue in 1908-9, after paying her own expenses, was £583,000, as we have seen. In 1909-10, she not only gave no contribution whatever, but she drew from the Exchequer £2,357,000 more than she contributed. In 1910-11, she contributed £321,000 more than she drew. The two years, 1909-10 and 1910-11, taken together, show a *deficit* against Ireland of £2,036,500. She would have had to borrow that amount if the British Exchequer had not been there to give it to her free and without any hope of return! The Irish old age pensions, now amounting to £2,342,000 per annum, are the main cause of this *deficit*, on account of which Mr Birrell, with brutal levity, at Skipton invited Englishmen to cut their losses by cutting Ireland. Another cause of the *deficit* is the loss to the British Treasury on the issue of Land Stock, a loss which the Irish local authorities refused to bear and forced the Treasury to suffer! If Ireland is taxed exces-

sively at present, and if Home Rule will reduce her taxation, how can she ever meet the pension claims? The only reason advanced for the assertion that the old age pensions "will be absolutely secure under Home Rule" is that they will be annually decreasing in number, while (cheerful prospect) they will be "annually increasing in England." The reason assigned for the disproportionately high number of pensioners in Ireland, as compared with Great Britain, is that the pensioners are the surviving remnant of the large Irish population of seventy years ago, and that, as Ireland's population has been decreasing for nearly seventy years, the number of people eligible for pensions will be decreasing year by year. Even assuming that hope to be well-founded, it will take half a century to bring the cost of Irish pensions down to the true rate, as judged by the present population, and no allowance is made for the increased cost which will follow any reduction of the age limit. For practical purposes we must take the present figure as the pension liability of Ireland for many years, and the question for practical men is how is it to be met if a Dublin Parliament be set up with separate powers of taxation, unless by borrow-

ing, or by an increase of the present "excessive" taxation, or—BY THE BRITISH TAXPAYER?

If Ireland be over-taxed under the present system, which only compels her to pay income tax and the duties on alcohol and tobacco, we must assume that a Home Rule Government would reduce some of those taxes. And if it did, how could Ireland pay the old age pensions? It is alleged that the Seceders would reduce the expenses of Irish Government. Such a hope is beyond the region of possibility. The political preaching and practice of our day are fatal to economy. Millions are thought less of now in the House of Commons than thousands used to be thirty years ago. It is only the most sanguine of visionaries who would venture to predict that, if the Seceders were installed in Dublin Castle, with control of an Irish treasury, they would cut down expenses—that would not be Irish! There might be a re-arrangement of patronage, but not retrenchment.

Does the Dublin Corporation, now that it is entirely Nationalist, spend less than the old Unionist Corporation? Do the Nationalist County Councils spend less than the old Unionist Grand Juries? On the contrary, they spend more; the officials draw higher salaries,



and there are more of them ; though, when the old bodies were in existence, the people now in power used to denounce them for extravagance. In 1893-94, five years before the Irish Local Government Act, the old Grand Juries and other public bodies spent £4,747,785, including a Government contribution of £400,000—net expenditure, £4,347,715. In 1908, ten years after Local Government, the County and District Councils spent £7,756,934, including a State contribution of £1,344,289—net expenditure, £6,412,645, an increase of 50 per cent with a *decreasing* population !

The Royal Irish Constabulary vote of £1,400,000 is the one item definitely marked down for reduction. The complaint is made that the entire vote should not be set down as "Irish" expenditure, and that, if Sir R. Hamilton's suggestions were adopted, £600,000 of it should be put down as "imperial." Even if it were cut down by that amount after Home Rule, the saving would be spent in other expenses of Government. The Constabulary vote is orthodox Irish expenditure, every penny of it being spent in Ireland by the police and their families, who are all Irish, and its reduction or withdrawal would not give the undiluted

pleasure which we are led to imagine. It would be like the closing up of a factory, with a wages bill of £1,400,000 a-year, the cost of which is borne almost entirely by British taxpayers. Ireland would be considerably embarrassed by the loss of this administrative bounty which the United Parliament pays by remitting Ireland's just contribution to the general expenses of the United Kingdom.

'The Daily News,' forgetting its allegation that excessive taxation under the Union has made Ireland bankrupt, says, in discussing this point, that it is "the Unionist theory that Ireland is bankrupt;" but it adds that the Union is "an expensive as well as an immoral luxury," and that, if Ireland is bankrupt, "obviously it is not bankrupt by the act of God, for only a few years ago it was paying a dividend of between two and three millions to the Imperial Exchequer." The sanctimonious 'Daily News' knows well that the present Irish *deficit* is solely due to old age pensions, and that, under the Union, it can only be met by the generosity of the British Exchequer; while, after Home Rule, increased taxation would be the only alternative way of meeting it.

If that increased taxation be not raised from

Irishmen in Ireland, it must be raised by taxation of imports, including British manufactures. This would be the favourite Separatist policy. I once heard Mr Parnell say that Ireland could live and flourish on her own produce, if she were "surrounded by a brass wall." The English Seceders are thus committing Great Britain to a policy which would probably result in a taxation of British imports in Ireland, while Irish imports would have to enter Britain free of duty, under Free Trade. If the Irish Seceders should try to raise the additional taxation within Ireland, they would have to proceed by a land tax, or a tax on manufactures. They would hardly dare impose a land tax on tenant-proprietors, because they are their best friends and are powerful enough to resist payment, as they resisted payment of rent. There would therefore be an inducement to tax manufactures, such as export porter, linen, woollens, and shipbuilding. This is, perhaps, why the publishers of this pamphlet forecast that Home Rule will enable Ireland to pay "even a higher rate" of taxation than at present, and increase her "taxable wealth"!

The Unionist Alliance, we are next told, is "sadly mistaken" when "it sums up the

results of Nationalism as misery and outrage." There may not be outrage everywhere in Nationalist Ireland, but there certainly is misery, domestic and public—and that very often unconnected with poverty—of which the English wing of the Seceders' Alliance seem to have no knowledge. They tell the British Nonconformists that "the spirit of national pride and self-reliance" will be "furthered by the establishment of a native parliament." What proof of the productiveness of national pride can they offer from the conduct of the Nationalist party in Parliament? For the past quarter of a century, the position of the Irish Seceders in Parliament has been one of sulkiness, miscalled "national pride," and they desire to indulge this weakness in haughty isolation in a Dublin Parliament. If they alone were concerned, one would not stand in their way. But if they get control of Ireland, the industrious Protestant Irish will be oppressed, Great Britain may be dragged down from her hard-won position, and ruin brought upon the three kingdoms.

It is asserted that the Seceders could pass remedial legislation in a Dublin Parliament which they cannot pass in the United Parlia-

ment. The projects which would be rejected at Westminster and passed in Dublin would only be such as could not stand the criticism of practical men, and, instead of benefiting, would injure Ireland. Of the two policies, Home Rule and the Union, the Union is the rogue we know, Home Rule is the rogue we do not know. The Protestant Parliament before 1800 is no precedent whatever for the proposed Romanist Parliament. The Union policy has entirely succeeded from a British point of view, and it is just on the point of being completely successful from the Irish point of view. The agitation for Home Rule was never a genuine agitation. Started in a fit of pique, in 1873, by Isaac Butt, son of a clergyman of the then recently disestablished Church, it only lasted five years, was never more than nominal, and collapsed with Isaac Butt's death in 1878. The Land Agitation, then started by Messrs Davitt and Parnell, thrust Home Rule aside. It was by the land agitation that the Nationalist parliamentary party rose into power. When the main objects of the land agitation were achieved through the various land acts, the Nationalist party concentrated on Home Rule. But in proportion as they made Home Rule

the main plank of their platform, and as the land question receded into the background, so did the force of public opinion behind them in Ireland steadily decrease.

The Irish people at home refuse to support Mr Redmond's party, whose members have to go begging to the ends of the earth—a sight unparalleled in the civilised world—to raise the modest sum necessary for their maintenance, when 6d. per head per annum from the native Roman Catholics would give each Nationalist M.P. £1000 a-year! The Irish party can never be more powerless to injure Great Britain than they are now, and have been since Parnell's death. There are no successors amongst the young men prepared to take up the line of objurgation and outrage so energetically worked by Parnell, Davitt, Dillon, Redmond, O'Brien, Sexton, Healy, and the others. When O'Connell was dying, there was the Young Ireland Party eager to thrust him aside and take his place. After them came the Land Leaguers, eager to thrust out Butt and the remnant of the Young Irelanders. The Land Leaguers, in their turn, ceased to be virile or formidable when the land grievance was abolished by remedial legislation. As land

is the only industry in Roman Catholic Ireland, the settlement of the land question has cleaned the slate.

Ireland is now settling down gradually into the condition of almost all peasant-proprietor states without manufactures or large towns — a state of enviable quietude and the healthiest physical conditions of life. The Irish party, as an agitating power, is but the ghost of its former self, and only exists on the spent force of the old land agitation and the sympathy of Nonconformist wire-pullers.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## COMMERCIAL SLANDERS ON IRELAND REFUTED.

THE Union has made Ireland one of the most prosperous lands in Europe—and the Union alone can keep her so!

The time selected for breaking the Union is just when Ireland, as the result of the Union, is enjoying a prosperity and commercial activity, not only unprecedented in her history, but above the average of the United Kingdom, and exceeding that of the majority of European countries. This statement may seem incredible to those whose only knowledge of Irish affairs is derived from the continuous stream of libels on Ireland's commercial reputation with which the Irish Seceders and their English allies are overwhelming the public through the Press.

During 1910 the total volume of Ireland's



trade, inwards and outwards, amounted to the huge figure of £126,000,000, or £29 per head of the population—the imports and exports being almost equal in value.

Let us compare this with the trade of other countries. The total volume of trade, inwards and outwards, in the Australian Commonwealth was only £28 per head of the population in the same year; of Canada, only £20 per head; of France, only £13 per head; of Germany, only £12 per head; of Sweden, only £11; of the United States, only £7, 16s.; of Italy, only £6 per head of population.

The combined export and import trade of Great Britain and Ireland, in the same year, only came to £22 per head, so that Ireland is well above the average of the United Kingdom in commercial activity. The total volume of the United Kingdom's trade, inwards and outwards, in round numbers, came to £1,000,000,000. Ireland's share of this, judged by the standard of population, should have been £100,000,000, instead of which she has had £126,000,000, or 26 per cent more than her share! It is little wonder, then, that the special commissioner of a London newspaper, recently sent over to Ireland, should

have recorded that "what most astonished him in Ireland generally was the amount of money," and, he adds, "the love of it."<sup>1</sup> The Irishman's talk about his "love" of money, like his professions of love for the fair sex, must be taken *cum grano salis*. But of the amount of money in Ireland there can be no doubt, as the following figures may help us to realise.

The export of live stock from Ireland to Great Britain in 1910 was greater than at any other period of her history, amounting to £15,547,713.<sup>2</sup> The relative greatness of this figure can best be understood by stating that it was three times as much as the value of live stock imported into the United Kingdom from all foreign and colonial countries put together. Ireland's export of eggs to Great Britain was only exceeded by that of Russia, and amounted to £2,744,133. Her export of poultry exceeded in value the amount imported into the United Kingdom by any other country, being £927,035, as against £303,260 from Russia and £163,527 from France, which came next on the list. Her export of butter amounted to

<sup>1</sup> 'Daily Mail,' Jan. 31, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> These figures are from the 'Report on Irish Imports and Exports' issued in 1911 by the Department of Agriculture, for which we have to thank Sir Horace Plunkett.

£3,584,818, in which she was only beaten by Denmark, which sent into the United Kingdom in 1910 butter to the value of £10,225,950, Australia coming third with £3,566,952. Irish exports of bacon to Great Britain came to £3,691,981, as against £6,782,819 and £6,360,480 received into the United Kingdom from America and Denmark respectively. Her export of potatoes was larger than the quantity received in the United Kingdom from all other sources, including France and the Channel Islands.

Nor is it only live stock and agricultural produce that Ireland is now exporting. Her exports of textile materials are far from contemptible, even judged by British standards. Their estimated value in 1910, including Ulster linen yarn and linen goods (£14,939,081) from Belfast, cotton goods from Londonderry (£2,086,437), woollens (£617,436), silk, poplins, velvet, rope, cordage, jute, and so forth, came to the respectable figure of £20,000,000, or just £5 per head of the population. The Irish export of porter in 1910 amounted to £1,838,397; of whisky to £1,927,698; of tobacco to £528,426; and of other manufactured goods to £6,250,000—bringing the

total export of Irish MANUFACTURED goods for the year up to the large figure of £31,500,000.

Ireland's total yearly exports, including agricultural produce and manufactured goods, are of greater value than the total exports of each of the following countries: Canada, Switzerland, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, New Zealand, Norway, and Portugal, and are nearly equal to those of Australia. There are only three European countries whose total trade per head of population exceeds that of Ireland, namely, Holland (which comes first), Belgium, and Switzerland. Holland has her great colonies; Belgium her coal and other minerals; Switzerland is surrounded by the markets of her great neighbours. In placing Ireland next to those most favoured small countries, and above all the other Home-ruled nations, the Union, it must be admitted, has done exceedingly well for the Emerald Isle.

It is at such a moment, in return for their temporary support in Parliament, that Mr Asquith is about to yield and give the Seceders all they ever asked or dreamed of at the zenith of Parnell's power—all that would be most ruinous to Great Britain! He is not yielding because there is danger of rebellion or revolt

in Ireland, the cowardly excuse put forward by British Separatists in 1886. If he announced to-morrow that he would not propose Home Rule, Nationalist Ireland would not be at all disturbed. There would be some verbose resolutions at county and district councils, but there would be no real disappointment or soreness. During a recent journey of inquiry in Ireland, nothing struck me more forcibly than the fact that, amongst Nationalists, the expectation of Home Rule is altogether confined to wire-pullers and place-hunters; and if, as we feel sure, Separation shall now be defeated for the third time, the vast majority of Irish Separatists will heave a sigh of relief. It is the passage of Home Rule, not its rejection, which would belie their prognostications. Mr Asquith's only excuse for proposing a Home Rule Bill is that, if he did not, Mr Redmond would turn him out, and an appeal to the country with Home Rule as the main issue would not send Mr Asquith back to office.

The thirty-third point, "Ireland's influence at Westminster," is that the Irish Separatists have never been able to get Irish reforms passed "by expressing themselves constitu-

tionally at Westminster," but only as the result of "Irish opinion expressing itself at home in violence and outrage." Have we never had violence and outrage in Great Britain as an antecedent to reforms? Have Nonconformists already forgotten the scenes of indescribable violence and slaughter at the Welsh mining strike in 1911, when Mr Winston Churchill, the Home Secretary, ordered the military to fire at British citizens and shoot many of them dead? Human nature is still unhappily far from perfect, and it is still difficult to convince the man who has that he must part with what he has for the benefit of the man who has not. In Great Britain, no less than Ireland, the whole process of modern statesmanship has been a gradual increase in the numbers of the governing classes, which now consist, in the ultimate resort, of the electorate of the United Kingdom. Our complaint now is that the electorate has not been consulted about Home Rule, and that the United Kingdom is going to be broken up without the consent of the people.

Ireland's position at Westminster was revolutionised by the Representation of the People Act of 1904. Prior to the general

election of 1885, the Irish representation was full of anomalies, and it may have been true that the real wants of the people were not ventilated at Westminster. But, since then, the great power of the Irish party in Parliament has been sufficient to enable it to carry almost any practical project it wished to put forward, short of repeal of the Union, the restoration of canon law and the re-establishment and re-endowment of the Roman Church on pre-reformation lines. But they have made no practical proposals. Looking back over the parliamentary reports, one finds that the "Irish nights" have been orgies of scolding and theatricality, and the real interests of Ireland have never been sensibly discussed, except when the British Government brought forward an Irish measure. From 1886 to 1892 the Irish Seceders were in bitter hostility to the Unionist Government, and gave vent to nothing but abuse and rhodomontade, while the Government gave Ireland some most successful instalments of Land Purchase and extended Mr Gladstone's Land Act to leaseholders. From 1892 to 1895, the Irish Seceders were in strict alliance with the Liberal Government, which they kept in office

for three years, but they produced nothing for Ireland in the way of remedial legislation. From 1895 - 1905, when the Unionists were again in power, the Seceders were in a state of collapse, engaged in the dissensions consequent on the Parnellite split, and, while they were thus quarrelling, the Unionist Government gave Ireland Local Government, a great measure of Land Purchase, and many other reforms.

The Romanist Seceders have been omnipotent in Ireland since December 1905. If some Presbyterians have got office there, it is because, insignificant as they are, they pose as Irish representatives of Nonconformist Liberalism, and claim their share of the spoils as a *quid pro quo* for the Nonconformist Liberal promise to confer the Government of Ireland on the Romanist Seceders. Any practicable project for the benefit of Ireland which the Nationalists might have chosen to bring forward at Westminster, since 1905, would assuredly have been passed. Since January 1910, over two years ago, they have been all-powerful at Westminster as well as in Ireland. But so tied up are they by the ecclesiastical managers of their Church, that



they could not move, and have sat like stocks and stones on the benches : their easy position for twenty-five years now being that, until they get a Parliament in Dublin, they will not propose any of the remedial legislation with which their brains are teeming !

The strength of the Nationalist representation at Westminster is a new phenomenon, which the ordinary British citizen, and especially the Nonconformist, does not fully realise in its bearing upon the Irish question. The Land Agitation had reached its zenith before the Representation of the People Act of 1884. It was because the Irish farmers had not sufficient direct representation at Westminster that the agitation reached so great a height. With the full popular representation Ireland now has at Westminster, no agitation can ever again reach the dimensions of the Land Agitation. The specious argument that, in order to prevent revolution, we must set up a Dublin Parliament, is out of date. We have prevented, not only revolution, but also agitation, by the Representation of the People Act of 1884. Since then there has been no agitation, only the smouldering embers of the pre-existing Land Agitation, and Ireland's influence

at Westminster is now so pronounced that she can get anything she wants short of separation and the re-establishment of canon law. What is still wanted is that the Irish Roman Catholic members should take an active part at once in the Government of Ireland and the United Kingdom.

The future of Ireland will be assured when they rise, like the Protestant Irish and the Scots, to the higher level of self-government which is theirs under the Union. If Mr Redmond, for instance, would take office in the Government, as his friend Mr Redmond Barry has done, he would find that he could do all that is needed for Ireland, and much more effectively than if he were Prime Minister in a Dublin Parliament, which would be only an enlarged, and by no means an improved, edition of the Dublin Corporation.

Perhaps it is too much to expect that men so bound by the trammels of the old sulking policy should, at this stage of their existence, change to a policy of enlarged and active statesmanship. But assuredly the day is near when we shall see the sulking *régime* considerably modified if not actually ousted by younger men, let us say of the type of Mr

Redmond Barry, who will see their way to play a worthier part as the representatives of Ireland, by accepting responsibility for the Government of Ireland in the United Parliament.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

CANADIAN HOME RULE AND THE AMERICAN  
CIVIL WAR EXAMINED AND EXPLAINED.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN would have hanged Mr Asquith and Mr Redmond!

Must Ulster linen pay for the old age pensions in Ireland?

The thirty-fourth point, headed "An Economic Paradox," is that Ireland "offers a spectacle of economic abnormality the most amazing in Europe," because she exports her agricultural produce! If this be so, all the agricultural countries in the world are economically abnormal, including Denmark, the Argentine, the United States, and the British Dominions. If a Home Rule Government should prevent Irish farmers from selling their produce in the highest market, Home Rule would not increase Ireland's taxable wealth.

The rural population of Ireland produce more food than they want. The urban populations of Great Britain cannot produce enough of food for themselves, because they are otherwise employed, and buy it at a remunerative price from Irish farmers, who, being occupied in producing food, cannot produce the manufactured goods produced by the urban population of Great Britain, and buy them at a lower cost than they could produce them. This is a normal economic condition produced by natural laws, which it would be disastrous to interfere with.

Does the present Government propose to prevent Scottish beef-producers from selling their meat in England, or the Danes from selling their bacon and butter in England, or the Australians from sending us their wool, or the Canadians from sending us their wheat, or the Welsh from selling their coal to foreigners, on the grounds that they are committing an "economic abnormality"?

Ireland is not exceptional in exporting its agricultural produce. Denmark, with a population of 2,500,000, exports £24,000,000 worth of agricultural produce; Ireland, with a population of 4,382,000, exports £30,000,000 worth,

when her due proportion, judged by Denmark, would be over £40,000,000. It is said that, "in healthy and normal countries, home producers appeal in the first instance to the home markets." This is done in Ireland, but, as everybody is more or less engaged in agriculture, the surplus food produced has to be sold elsewhere, as it is sold by Denmark, Australia, Canada, and the Argentine, which are all accounted highly prosperous countries.

It is contended that Ireland suffers by her exports being equal in value to her imports. If so, then New Zealand must suffer still more, because her exports exceed her imports by £2, 10s. per head of the population. Australian exports also exceed the imports by more than £2 per head. The exports from the United States exceed the imports by a sum of £55,000,000 per annum. Some of the poorest countries in Europe show the highest excess of imports over exports, Portugal, for instance, only exporting half as much as she imports.

The thirty-fifth point consists of quotations from John Stuart Mill which only amount to a repetition of the statement, already dealt with, that the conditions of life in Ireland are different from those of Great Britain. Since

Mill wrote, forty years ago, great changes have taken place, making the conditions of life in the two countries much more alike. His condemnation of what he called "the attempt to maintain English dominion over Ireland by brute force," is not relevant to the present situation. Great Britain refuses to step down and out from her position of responsibility for Ireland, in order to hand the government and finances of that country over to a little junta of Seceders who happen for the moment to hold the balance of power as between political parties in the House of Commons. That is Great Britain's present position, and, instead of "maintaining English dominion over Ireland by brute force," the United Parliament is giving Ireland everything she wants, refusing to her only the right of secession for the profit of a junta of Nationalist agitators. Whatever criterion one judges by, whether actual practice in Ireland or representation at Westminster, Ireland is now being governed according to Irish ideas. Mill's objection of forty years ago to having the Irish forced to acknowledge "the superiority of English notions about the way in which they ought to be governed" is absolutely without foundation to-day.

The thirty-sixth point, headed "Canada and Self-Government," is that all the objections against self-government for Ireland now were used against the granting of self-government to Canada. Though at first sight there would seem to be no analogy between a country separated only by fourteen miles of water from Great Britain and a country thousands of miles away,—an old, settled, and stationary country, with a small area and hardly any undeveloped resources, and a new country with vast area and vaster possibilities,—there is a similarity between the case of Canada and Ireland, a similarity which is suppressed by 'The Daily News.'

All the grounds advanced against giving self-government to Canada were fully justified. The Duke of Wellington urged that "local responsible government and the sovereignty of Great Britain were incompatible." Has not that proved true? The sovereignty of Great Britain does not exist in Canada. Our Parliament has no more power, in the ultimate resort, over the Parliament of Ottawa than it has over the Parliament of Paris. What has kept Canada amenable to the friendly influence of Great Britain has been



the influx into it of British — not Irish — immigrants.

The French inhabitants of Canada, who were in the majority when Wellington opposed Canadian self-government, are in somewhat the same position as the Romanists in Ireland. Lord Stanley described them as “a majority in numbers only, while in wealth, education, and enterprise they are greatly inferior to the minority of British descent.” These French Romanists acknowledge no allegiance to Great Britain. Their most representative man, Sir Wilfred Laurier, was the prime mover of the recently defeated attempt to establish commercial preference with the United States, which would have been fatal to closer commercial relations with Great Britain. They refused to follow the example of the other dominions by contributing to the British navy for the protection of Canada, and started to build an independent navy for themselves. If it were in their power, as descendants of the people who were in a majority in Canada at the time of Wellington’s prophecy, they would have cut Great Britain long ago. The explanation of Canada’s recent change of policy in Great Britain’s favour is that the Canadian

Romanists have been overwhelmed by the influx of British Protestant immigrants.

“Does any man in his senses nowadays suggest,” asks ‘The Daily News,’ “that it would be better for either Canada or England if the counsels of the Duke of Wellington or Lord Stanley had prevailed?” It would have been better if the French Romanists had not been given power in Canada until the Protestant British settlers arrived to outnumber them. They gave Canada a bad start, which kept it back for many decades, and they did many things which were better undone.

So much for the analogy of Canada to Ireland. The unbridgeable difference between them, and this concerns us most, is that there is no prospect of an influx of British Protestants into Ireland after Home Rule, such as took place in Canada. If Home Rule be given to Ireland, the country will belong to the Romanist majority in perpetuity. From these facts it is manifest that the case of Canada should be a warning to us to keep the United Kingdom under one Parliament and one Executive.

The thirty-seventh point is that the difference between North and South in Ireland is only the same as the difference between North and South

in England, apparently because a gentleman, who is described as "an Irish Protestant clergyman and an able historian," has said that "England shows exactly the same kind of cleavage!" Are the Nonconformists asked to believe then that the North of England is mentally free, while the South is still in the leading strings of ultramontane ecclesiastics? Few of them can be so utterly ignorant of Ireland as to believe even 'The Daily News' when it tells them that the only difference between Belfast and Dublin is the difference between Leeds and Birmingham! This is only another phase of the Nonconformist wire-pullers' subterfuge on the question of religion in Ireland.

'The Daily News' goes on to say for itself that the difference between North and South in the United States shows "the same cleavage," and, with singular fatuity, it reminds us of the War of Secession — which is the most powerful of all historical arguments against the Irish Secession which now threatens us! The Southern States said that the Northern majority at Washington was not governing them as they wished, and they determined to start a Parliament and Executive of their own, under which they might continue the practice of keeping

slaves. "A house divided against itself cannot stand," declared Abraham Lincoln. "I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free."<sup>1</sup> And the Northerners used the gun, and thrashed them into abolishing slavery and remaining in the Union. Fifty years' experience of the result enables us to judge whether the upholders of the Union or the Seceders were right. The United States to-day is the greatest and most successful nation in the world, which it assuredly would not have been if the Seceders had succeeded in breaking the Union; and, perhaps, America's most intense admirers are the British Non-conformists who are being now seduced into yielding to the Irish Seceders and breaking up our British Union!

Abraham Lincoln, one of the wisest and bravest of men, charged the Roman ecclesiastics in express terms with fomenting the civil war for their own interests and helping the South against the Protestant North. The Southern or Slave States were permeated by French Romanist ideas. Beauregard, who fired the first gun at Fort Sumter and began the war on April 12, 1861, was a Roman Catholic.

<sup>1</sup> 'Addresses,' June 16, 1858.

The Pope publicly shook hands with Jefferson Davis, and gave him a letter of approval and support. "I feel more and more every day," said Abraham Lincoln, "that it is not against the Americans of the South alone I am fighting. It is more against the Pope of Rome, his perfidious Jesuits and their blind and blood-thirsty slaves, than against American Protestants. . . . It is Rome who wants to rule and degrade the North, as she has ruled and degraded the South from the very day of its discovery. She divides our nation in order to weaken, subdue, and rule it. Morse<sup>1</sup> has told me of the plots made in Rome to undermine our institutions and our laws, destroy our schools, and prepare a reign of anarchy here, as they have done in Ireland, in Mexico, in Spain, and wherever there are any people who want to be free."<sup>2</sup>

The difference between North and South in France, Portugal, and Italy is not analogous, as 'The Daily News' suggests, to that between North and South in Ireland. It only goes to prove that the Roman system will always be found more powerful amongst the soft South-

<sup>1</sup> Professor Morse, inventor of electric telegraphy.

<sup>2</sup> 'Inner Life of Abraham Lincoln,' Carpenter. Chiniquy, 'Fifty Years in the Church of Rome.'

erns than the Northerns. Lourdes is in Southern France, the bulk of the superstitious idlers of Italy are in the South, but the cleavage between North and South in either of those countries is not so great as between Protestant Antrim and Romanist Kilkenny; yet 'The Daily News' would not have the hardihood to suggest that the control of France should be given to the Lourdes district, or the government of Italy handed over to the Neapolitan believers in the liquefied blood of St Januarius.

'The Daily News' tells Nonconformists that "Nationalism aims at building bridges over the Boyne and uniting the people of Ireland into one nation." We know the kind of unity that a Nationalism which is synonymous with Romanism will enforce—it is the unity which was established in France by the massacre of the Huguenots. If Mr Redmond and his party showed a fraction of the independence of Roman control which the Nationalists of France, Italy, and Portugal have shown, there would be some justification for asking us to believe that their Nationalism is not merely a mask for Romanism. Let them call upon the Roman Church to withdraw its new marriage decree and its new decree forbidding the laity to have recourse

to the courts of justice when they are wronged by the clergy. To do so, even at this, the eleventh hour, though open to suspicion, would be a first step on that career of independence which their English allies so unreasonably claim for them.

The thirty - eighth point, headed "The Dreaded Tax on Linen," is that "one of the most disastrously effective of the arguments against Home Rule is that a Dublin Parliament would tax the linen trade out of existence," which, we are told, is "too foolish to appear often in print, but it is whispered abroad in business circles in Ulster like a secret password!" In no part of its argument does 'The Daily News' appear more absurd than when it tells its friends that "foolishness like this scarcely requires an answer among intelligent men," for that is tantamount to saying that "business circles in Ulster," composed of the shrewdest men in the world, are not intelligent men. If a rumour be accepted by them, it is a proof that it is well founded. 'The Daily News,' however, knows much better than the "business circles of Ulster," and it declares that the rumour "is as foolish as though some one were to say that a Dublin Parliament would sell the

Ulster Protestants as slaves to the rubber prospectors of the Belgian Congo!" It would be a very foolish person indeed that could be deceived by such language, but if a Dublin Parliament is as likely to sell Ulster Protestants as slaves as to put a tax on Ulster linen, then God help the Ulster Protestants under Home Rule! To sell people as slaves nowadays is impossible; to sell the million and a quarter of Irish Protestants into slavery, let us hope, would be beyond even the insidious power of the Roman system. But to put a tax on Irish manufactures would be, as we have shown, not only possible to a Dublin Parliament, but would be in the highest degree probable if Ireland is to continue to pay the old age pensions.

And how absurd it is to expect people to believe that "just as a London Parliament dare not put a ruinous tax on Lancashire cotton, so a Dublin Parliament dare not put a ruinous tax on Ulster linen!" The qualification "ruinous" implies the possibility of some taxation on linen, but this is, in fact, to say that a Romanist Dublin Parliament would be as sympathetic towards the Ulster Protestants, who have made and hold the linen trade, as the London Parliament is to the Lancashire



cotton trade! Carried away by its own absurdity, 'The Daily News' is beguiled into admitting that "in either case" such action "would bring about conditions of civil war." Here is an admission that the Ulster Protestants, then, under certain conditions, are capable of rebelling against a Romanist Dublin Parliament, and it is not true, as we were assured a few pages earlier, that the talk about an Ulster rebellion is nothing but the "brag and bluster" of "Unionist bullies." The possibility of rebellion being admitted, is it not probable that people so remarkable for shrewdness as the Ulster Unionists will rebel at the start, while they are yet able to effect something, and will not wait until the Romanist Government feel strong enough to tax linen? That a Romanist Parliament will not tax Ulster linen, we are told, is amply proved by the fact that Ulster linen is bought and used in the Nationalist parts of Ireland at the present day! One fears that if Ulster linen depended on Nationalist consumption, the trade would be far from prosperous.

'The Daily News' seriously asks: "Can anybody but madmen suppose Mr Joseph Devlin, M.P. for West Belfast, would take part

in a plot to reduce his constituents to a state of unemployment and starvation?" One would imagine from this that Mr Devlin was one of Belfast's prince-merchants, which is the reverse of the truth. He represents the Roman Catholics, whose total rates come to less than the Roman Catholic wages bill paid by the Corporation. It is like asking the question: "Can anybody but madmen suppose Mr George Lansbury, M.P. for Bow, would take part in a plot to reduce his constituents to a state of unemployment and starvation?" Commercially speaking, Mr Joseph Devlin is of as little consequence in Belfast as Mr Lansbury is in London. Mr Lansbury was not, of course, responsible for the London Dock strike last year, but that strike was a plot which brought unemployment and might have brought starvation upon a large section of Londoners. Is Belfast so much saner than London that what happened in London would be impossible in Belfast? The dock strike was deliberately undertaken with the knowledge that it must produce unemployment and, perhaps, starvation. But it was not undertaken for that purpose, but with an ulterior object. If Mr Joseph Devlin, or any

person like him, after Home Rule, were to tax the Protestant linen trade, it would not be for the purpose of injuring his friends, though that might incidentally take place, but with an ulterior object. The lengths to which credulous Romanists will go against their own best interests pass all bounds. Englishmen will scarcely believe, but I have it on unimpeachable first-hand authority, that while the first Home Rule Bill was pending in 1886 ignorant Ulster Roman Catholics were actually casting lots for the houses and properties of their Protestant neighbours, in the belief that there would be a proscription and division of the spoil after Home Rule!

The thirty-ninth point is that the Irish linen trade does not owe its prosperity to the Union. Unionists do not assert that it does. All we say is that it has managed to survive the evils which the Separatists attribute to the Union, and we point to its survival as one of the many proofs of the falsehood of the charges made against the Union. The trade was always in the hands of Protestants, before and since the Union. It was much extended at the beginning of the eighteenth century by French Protestants who sought refuge in

Ulster from Romanist persecution at home. If it be true that the Union has killed industries which were in the hands of Roman Catholics, while it has enabled industries in the hands of Protestants to flourish, is not that one other proof that the difference between Catholicism and Protestantism lies at the root of the Irish question? Mr Lecky is quoted, but as usual the quotation obscures rather than enlightens. Nonconformists are not told, for instance, that Lecky records that the linen manufacturers of Ulster favoured the Union. One of the "motives operating in Ulster which were favourable to the Union," says Lecky, was that "the free trade with England, which was expected to follow it, was certain to give a great impulse to the linen manufacture of Ulster."

'The Daily News' says that "if there had not been any Union" the linen trade "would have achieved a far greater pitch of prosperity than it has actually done," the reason advanced being that it would have had "a magnificent market" at home and abroad. The Nationalist Irish are not liberal users of linen, and how could it have had a better outside market, seeing that the Union opened to it the English

as well as all the other markets? This misstatement is, in fact, a repetition of the erroneous assumption that the Protestant management of Grattan's Parliament would have continued through the nineteenth century, as it existed in the eighteenth. It was because Pitt knew it could not continue that he insisted on the Union. The method of the Government and 'The Daily News' is to assume that Grattan's Parliament would have done as well under Romanist management as it did under Protestant. They suppress and pretend to ignore the religious issue for fear of awakening the Nonconformist conscience and alienating their supporters.

## CHAPTER XIX.

IRISH LAND PURCHASE EXAMINED AND  
EXPLAINED.

IF linen is spared, the land must pay the pensions!

The fortieth point, headed "Home Rule and Land Purchase," is that Ireland owes nothing whatever to Great Britain for the vast scheme of Land Purchase which has been carried through! Professor Kettle, who is described as "the distinguished economist," is quoted as saying that "Ireland has not enjoyed the use of imperial credit; she has only enjoyed the right of access to the British money market under imperial auspices"—which is an Irish way of saying the same thing twice and supposing that the different words mean different things, and illustrates the truth of Carlyle's saying that the Irish Catholics "have

never let the fact tell its own harsh story to them; have always said to the harsh fact: 'Thou are not that way, thou art this way!'"

The British Treasury guarantees the interest on Irish Land Stock, just as it guarantees the interest on Consols, and, as it is for Ireland's benefit alone that this is done, what is it but giving Ireland "the use of imperial credit"? 'The Daily News' apparently agrees with Mr Kettle that if a hundred million pounds worth of Land Stock were offered to the British money market on the sole guarantee of Mr Redmond and a Dublin Parliament, it would be taken up with more avidity and at a higher price than when offered by the British Government! Such a statement refutes itself. Lord Macaulay would say that a schoolboy, reading it in cold print, could recognise its falsehood. A loan guaranteed by the British Government is the highest class of national security—other countries, even of such great resources as Germany, Japan, and Russia, having to borrow at much higher rates of interest. If Ireland were under a Separatist Government, instead of borrowing on the best terms, she would hardly come higher in the category of nations

than Servia, Bulgaria, or other states whose loans are taken up by speculators and often are impossible of flotation.

One of the most serious objections to handing Ireland over to the Separatists arises in connection with Land Purchase. When the Purchase Act of 1903 was passed, it was stipulated that Irish local authorities should bear the loss, if any, caused by paying cash to the landlords who refused to accept Land Stock. The local authorities refused to bear this charge, and it now falls on the British treasury. If this be done under the Union, what may we not expect under a Dublin Parliament? If a Nationalist Ireland acted thus, foreign creditors would call it repudiation. The liability incurred by the British Government on account of Irish land now stands at a total of £60,000,000,<sup>1</sup> and there are purchase agreements pending, awaiting completion, for £60,000,000 more. It is estimated that the

<sup>1</sup> 'Irish Land Commission Accounts,' 1909-10; published 1911. Advances to tenant purchasers (*a*) under Acts 1881 to 1885, £8,147,647; (*b*) under Acts of 1891 and 1896, £12,132,441; (*c*) under Act of 1903, £31,514,847; (*d*) payments of bonus to vendors, £3,562,941; (*e*) advances to District Councils under Labourers Act of 1906, £2,201,340; (*f*) advances to Congested Districts Board, £1,269,662; (*g*) advances for reinstatement of evicted tenants, £268,884.



completion of Irish Land Purchase will involve a total expenditure of about £200,000,000. But the end is yet far off, and meanwhile poor landlords, anxious to sell to tenants willing to buy, are kept waiting, many of them in great distress, because the Government will not advance the money, and Mr Redmond will not use his power to compel the Government. The Separatist policy, since 1905, is to stop land purchase, though they do not avow it, so that after Home Rule a Dublin Parliament might have the power of forcing sales with greater advantage to the tenants.

The position in Ireland now is this. The British Government is collecting half-yearly the purchase instalments on the £60,000,000 advanced, just as the landlords used to collect the rents. Few English people, especially Nonconformists, realise the vast pecuniary gain the Land Acts have brought to Irish tenant-farmers, who are no exception to the rule that much covets more. The land courts set up by Mr Gladstone's Act of 1881 reduced rent in 377,400 cases from £7,452,129 to £5,908,090—a reduction of over four shillings in the pound, and representing a net annual gain to the tenants of £1,544,039. The rents

are fixed by the land courts for a statutory term of fifteen years; and at the expiry of that period 139,094 tenants again applied to the courts to have the rent re-settled, with the result that they got a further reduction of £487,450 a-year! This makes a total of £2,031,499 per annum gained by the tenants under the Act of 1881, but this high figure—equivalent to a capital sum of £66,000,000 at 3 per cent—does not represent the total reductions, for many cases were settled outside the land courts.

The tenants who have bought their farms under the Purchase Acts have done even better. Under the Act of 1885, seventeen years' purchase of the rent was the price paid by 25,367 tenants. Any of these tenants whose rental was £100 a-year has only had to pay £68 a-year since purchase, and after paying that for forty-nine years he becomes absolute owner. The amount of their former rents were £594,680—on which they got a reduction of 32 per cent, or 6s. 6d. in the pound! Under the Acts of 1891 and 1896, 40,502 tenants purchased at an average price of seventeen and a half years—their former total rent being £663,646, on which they also

got a reduction of about one-third. The total reductions obtained by these two lots of tenants came to about £400,000 a-year.<sup>1</sup> Under the Act of 1903, the purchase price has been higher, but the period of repayment has been extended from forty-nine to sixty-eight years. Under this Act 113,720 tenants had purchased up to the 31st March 1911, at a total price of £41,110,357.<sup>2</sup> The reduction in the annuity payments as compared with the rent is given in 83,895 of these cases as 28 per cent on a former rental of £1,450,000, making the gain to the tenants £300,000 a-year, so that we may put down the gain to the whole number of tenants at £400,000 a-year. We may put the total known reductions of rent down at £3,000,000 a-year—equivalent to the interest at 3 per cent of a capital sum of £100,000,000!

Alarmed by this enormous pecuniary gain, the policy of the Separatist leaders is to discourage land purchase (1) because it is proving fatal to agitation, and (2) because they hope under a Dublin Parliament to get the land at a still lower price than the purchased tenants

<sup>1</sup> Report of Irish Land Commission, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Estate Commissioners, 1911.

paid. Some of the unpurchased tenants are dissatisfied and have formed an association to revive the operation of land purchase. Obviously they do not trust the ability of a Dublin Parliament to carry Land Purchase to a successful completion. At meetings of the Munster unpurchased tenants, for instance, at Tipperary and Cork in January 1912, a deputation was appointed to wait on Mr Redmond and ask him "to have a *compulsory* Purchase Bill immediately introduced into Parliament." At the Cork meeting, the reason alleged was that an Irish Exchequer would not be able to borrow money for many years; and that when it did borrow, it would be at so high a rate of interest that the purchase annuities to be paid by the tenants would be ruinously high.<sup>1</sup> This does not show much confidence in the coming of Home Rule, despite individual protestations to the contrary, and the speakers obviously are not in the inner circle of the United Irish League, though they are all Nationalists. Nor does it show the reliance on Ireland's unaided influence in the money market so glowingly dilated on by Professor Kettle. Mr Redmond could compel the present

<sup>1</sup> 'Cork Examiner,' Jan. 9, 1912.

Government to bring in a Bill forcing the rest of the landlords to sell; but he will not move.

If a Home Rule Bill were to pass, either the British Government would still continue to collect the half-yearly instalments, or it would delegate the collection to the Irish Government. If it remained its own collector, with a Nationalist Executive in power, it would become as unpopular as the landlords. Tenants who have recently purchased and are liable for half a century of payments would forget *all* they have gained and hate its annual collectors as cordially as the rent-warners and bailiffs. And it would be at the further disadvantage, compared with the landlords, that it would have a hostile Government at Dublin Castle. If it delegated the collection to the Dublin Government, it would be a betrayal of the holders of Land Stock, unless it were prepared to make good a substantial deficit in the annuities.

Under the Union all the machinery of British Government is available for enforcing the purchase contracts, and there are few hopeless arrears. But under Home Rule, with an unsympathetic Executive at Dublin, how

could the *Sassenach* agents collect what will come to be regarded as *Sassenach* rents? The present Government may not have much sympathy with the capitalists who hold Land Stock, but it would be a damaging blow to British credit if they were deserted. And what would be the fate of the landowners, many of whom bought at a high price, who would have to sell under a Nationalist Parliament? The truth is that Land Purchase constitutes a monetary link which binds Great Britain to Ireland more closely than ever, and is, from a financial standpoint, the most powerful argument against breaking up the United Kingdom.

If Home Rule should ever come, there will be a rude awakening in store for the tenant-proprietors. Assuming that there would not be a tariff on British and other imports—which has always been the most favoured policy of revenue-raising amongst the Irish Separatists—the land being practically the only wealth in the country, the necessary increase of taxation to maintain old age pensions would have to fall on the farmers ultimately. For even if the Ulster manufacturers were first mulcted, they could not

long afford to pay, and the land would have to be relied upon for revenue as it is in the American States and in European peasant-proprietor countries without minerals or manufactures.

## CHAPTER XX.

HOME-RULED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES—ULSTER  
INDUSTRY—BELFAST'S GROWTH.

BULGARIA or Servia is the Nonconformist ideal for Ireland!

The forty-first point, headed "Ireland's Great Resources," is that "there are about half a dozen nations in Europe less populous and with smaller incomes than Ireland, which enjoy national self-government and have national armies and other luxuries of their own at a cost of far less than Ireland's present revenue!" Amongst these countries, which Ireland is asked to envy, Bulgaria is placed first, it being also the country whose population comes nearest to Ireland's. I should not have thought that any one who knew the condition of both countries would wish to see Ireland in the position of Bulgaria with its



“national army and other luxuries.” Let us look at the question from the standpoint of the United Kingdom, and not exclusively from that of the Irish Seceders, as ‘The Daily News’ wants Nonconformists to look at it. Home Rule was given to Bulgaria in 1878. Has it tended to consolidate the Turkish Empire, as we are told that Home Rule in Ireland would consolidate the United Kingdom? On the contrary it has ruined Turkey; Bulgaria has cut off Turkish suzerainty and proclaimed itself a sovereign state. There was solid reason for Bulgaria’s action: its people were massacred and persecuted by the Turks. But does any one contend that if Turkish rule in Bulgaria before 1878 were of the same representative character as British rule in Ireland, Mr Gladstone would have led a crusade for the expulsion of the Turks?

Bulgarians, it is said, only pay a revenue of £6,885,000, whilst Ireland’s is now about £10,000,000. Does any one imagine that, after Home Rule, Ireland would adopt the semi-savage Bulgarian methods of life, in order to reduce its national expenditure to the Bulgarian figure? Bulgaria is an agricultural country, but, though it has Home Rule, it

exports its wheat to the United Kingdom and elsewhere, thereby showing that Home Rule does not prevent it from being "an economic paradox." In Bulgaria military service is obligatory from the age of twenty, and a standing army of 200,000 men is maintained. Is this the prospect 'The Daily News' asks us to look forward to in Ireland after Home Rule?

Of the other countries quoted, Greece can hardly be an object of envy to any but the most ignorant Irish Nationalists. Its "national pride and self-reliance" leave it in a very miserable state. Neither can Servia excite our envy as patriotic Irishmen. We wish for no more assassinations! Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece are all countries which have been separated from a greater country by Home Rule. The illuminating point about them at this crisis for Britishers is that their independence has weakened the country from which they were cut off.

Switzerland, that ancient home of liberty and Protestantism, affords no precedent for granting Home Rule to Ireland; but it is analogous to Ireland in that the Protestant cantons compare as favourably with the

Catholic cantons as do the Irish Protestant counties with the Catholic.

Norway, which is also cited as a small country which has got self-government, is the most convincing of all modern instances against granting Home Rule to Ireland. Fourteen years after the Union of Ireland with Great Britain, Norway was transferred by treaty from Denmark to Sweden, and, after that, she enjoyed Home Rule with a separate Parliament and Executive, almost the same as we are invited now to give Ireland. How eloquently Mr Gladstone used to expatiate on the "golden link of the Crown" as ample to secure the union of Great Britain and Ireland after Home Rule, and how confidently he used to point to Norway and Sweden as proof of his contention! And how utterly mistaken he was we all know. In the comparatively short time since he used to be citing the case of Norway as an argument for Irish Home Rule, Norway has completely parted company with Sweden and set up a king of her own!

Denmark, which is also mentioned as possessing self-government, affords no precedent for granting Home Rule to Ireland. It was always an independent kingdom—a country

with a great history. Why should it not have self-government? If it had been united with Prussia for the last 800 years, as Ireland has been with England, then, and only then, would it be analogous to Ireland. And if it had been, is it likely that Prussia would now give it a separate Parliament and Executive? That is a question which only admits of one answer—and that, as even ‘The Daily News’ will admit, must be in the negative.

Wurtemberg, the last country mentioned, has been independent from time immemorial. Its case is not like Ireland’s—the only way in which it could be analogous would be if it proposed to withdraw its representatives from the Reichstag at Berlin, where it has 17 members out of a total of 397. And if Wurtemberg proposed to withdraw those seventeen men, the Prussians would occupy her territory and almost certainly abolish her present system of self-government.

It is also alleged, under this point, that because “Irishmen like Lord MacDonnell and Sir Robert Hart” have distinguished themselves as administrators abroad, “Ireland is richly endowed with financial genius to turn her resources to the best account” under Home

Rule. One has never before heard it claimed for Lord MacDonnell that he is a "financial genius," the administration of an Indian district being very much a matter of routine, requiring little originality and involving no management of a turbulent representative assembly like a Dublin Parliament. Sir Robert Hart was a financial genius, but he came from Protestant Portadown and had no sympathies with the Irish Separatists, being a typical instance of those Irish Protestants who threw themselves heart and soul into the wider opportunities opened up to them by the Union. If it had been possible to maintain Grattan's Parliament under Protestant management, Hart and men like him would have worked in it for the benefit of Ireland; but they would be powerless in a Romanist Parliament, where the task of regulating finance would be infinitely more difficult than the work Hart did at Peking. A Dublin Parliament would be governed by a very different class of men from Sir Robert Hart—a class who would model their conduct on Tammany Hall with Boss Croker as their mentor.

The forty-second point is that the "Unionist orators" claim unjustifiably that "Ulster con-

tains all the wealth and intelligence of Ireland." I do not remember ever having heard or read of an Ulster orator saying this. Most of the intelligence and energy of Ireland is concentrated in its five north-eastern counties. But Ulster also contains counties like Donegal, Cavan, and Monaghan, the great majority of whose inhabitants are Romanist; and counties like Tyrone and Fermanagh, with a substantial majority of Romanists; and counties like Armagh and Derry, where the Protestants have only a slight majority. Therefore any average struck for Ulster is weighted by all those Romanists.

The test applied to prove to Nonconformists that the Roman Catholic provinces of Leinster and Munster surpass Ulster in wealth and intelligence is the rateable valuation, and in order to get the most favourable figures, the three large cities, Belfast, Dublin, and Cork are omitted. The rateable valuation of the country districts of Ulster is £3, 4s. 10d. per head of the whole population; whereas in Munster it is £3, 6s., and in Leinster £4, 17s. 3d. The reason of this is very obvious. The land in Munster and Leinster is more fertile than in Ulster, and therefore a higher

rateable value is fixed upon it by the Government valuers. The richest pasture-land in the world — the ancient kingdom of Meath — is wholly in Leinster. The famous Golden Vale is wholly in Munster. Ulster possesses no such rich lands as these. Almost the entire of the immense county of Donegal is barren bog and mountain, and large tracts of all the other Ulster counties are infertile. 'The Daily News' says characteristically that "the Unionist picture of Ulster as a province flowing with milk and honey, compared with the rest of Ireland, is the sheerest bunkum." So it would be, if it were ever drawn in reference to the Ulster soil. The fact that a higher valuation is put on the land in Leinster and Munster is due to its natural fertility, and so far from proving, as 'The Daily News' tells Nonconformists, that "the Catholics of the South" are in thrift, business capacity, and intelligence "fully the equals" of the Protestants of the North, it proves the reverse, for the Protestants have done better on their indifferent land than the Catholics have done on their good land. Ulster has the highest rateable value if Belfast be included, and it is interesting to note how Belfast has outgrown Dublin in wealth, and

exceeds in this respect all the other Irish county-boroughs put together.

The receipts of the Belfast Corporation in 1909 were £1,071,106; the expenditure was £1,070,239; and the debt £3,304,289. The Belfast Water Commissioners, a separate body, received £131,368 and expended £125,181 in the same year, the debt being £1,837,662. The totals for the two bodies were: receipts, £1,202,454; expenditure, £1,195,420; debt, £4,506,743. In Dublin the Corporation owns the water supply, and the total civic receipts in the same year were £704,926; expenditure, £705,873; debt, £2,565,694. In Cork, the capital of Munster, the figures were: receipts, £130,257; expenditure, £132,559; debt, £314,313. In Limerick the receipts were £73,531, and expenditure, £80,251; in Waterford the receipts were £44,706, and the expenditure, £46,713; and in Derry the receipts were £55,271, and the outlay, £55,196. Belfast municipal receipts, £1,202,454; expenditure, £1,195,420. All other county-boroughs: receipts, £1,008,691; expenditure, £1,020,592.

If one examines the rateable value of the capitals of Leinster and Munster, it will be found that the largest ratepayers are Protes-



tants, who have acquired their property by hard work, under the protection of the British Government, not in the midst of an unsympathetic community, but under the jealous eye of that community's powerful ecclesiastics. This point, then, like the others advanced to justify the Nonconformist treason, goes to prove the case for the Union and against separation.

## CHAPTER XXI.

THE TRUTH ABOUT IRISH COUNTY COUNCILS  
AND CATHOLIC TYRANNY.

“THE time is come when we can exult in the trouble of England. We hope the Continental Powers will aid the Boers in wiping her out!” An Irish Nonconformist’s house was stoned because he held a prayer meeting in it!

The forty-third and forty-fourth points are that because disastrous results have not followed the establishment of County Councils in Ireland, we may safely establish a Dublin Parliament and Executive, and, incidentally, that it is “a frigid and calculated lie” to say that “Irish Nationalism means Catholic tyranny!” It was a Unionist Government that gave Local Government to Ireland, and they did so because, in their opinion, it was

not likely to produce the evils sure to follow Home Rule. The Unionists gave Local Government to Great Britain in 1888, and after ten years' trial extended it to Ireland in 1898. If this precedent were followed in the case of Home Rule, if three or four local parliaments were established in England, Wales, and Scotland, and if they proved of real use and worked satisfactorily, few Unionists would oppose the granting of a similar parliament to Ireland.

But the County Council is no precedent for a parliament. Even the London County Council, great as it is, does not fulfil the functions which would come within the scope of a parliament operating over Southern England. County Councils carry no executive power. They are subject to the law of the land, instead of being the makers of the law, as a parliament would be. County Councils are subject to the Parliament, inasmuch as they are subject to the Local Government Board, whose President changes with the Government and is directly responsible to Parliament. Their accounts are audited by Government auditors, their proceedings scrutinised by Government inspectors, their mem-

bers kept within rigid limits and liable to be surcharged if they illegally expend public money. To contend that because these bodies have been a success, local parliaments would be equally successful, is an argument which does not hold even in Great Britain. That can only be proved by experience. How much more untenable is the argument that because Irish County Councils have not raised the standard of revolt and gone hopelessly wrong in finance, a Dublin Parliament and Executive would involve no risk!

Irish County Councils are subject to the inspection and audit of the *British* Government. They are kept within rigid bounds, and one knows from experience that, if it were not for the check of the Local Government Board, the finances of many of them would be in a hopeless muddle. So far as they dare, in matters which do not come within the Local Government Board's control, they have lost no opportunity of expressing their disloyalty to Great Britain. They can raise the standard of revolt only by passing resolutions, and they have done so to the extreme limit of their capacity. During the Boer War, the only occasion

when the United Kingdom was engaged in hostilities since the Irish Local Government Act, the Roman Catholic Councils passed the most hostile resolutions against the United Kingdom and in favour of the Boers. One resolution, passed at a United Irish League meeting in Cork, at which the chairman of a Council presided, was as follows: "THAT WE CALL ON ALL THE NATIONALISTS OF THE DISTRICT, YOUNG MEN AND OLD, TO JOIN OUR RANKS, TAKE A LESSON FROM THE GALLANT BOER FARMERS, AND BE UP AND READY FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST VILLAIN JOHN BULL, WHO PLUNDERED US OF OUR NATIONAL RIGHTS. THE TIME HAS COME WHEN WE CAN EXULT IN THE TROUBLE OF ENGLAND. WE HOPE THE CONTINENTAL POWERS WILL AID THE BOERS IN WIPING HER OUT. SHE CAN NEVER COMMAND AMERICAN SYMPATHY WHILE IRISH INFLUENCE IS PARAMOUNT IN THE STATES. SHE IS HATED EVERYWHERE, AND HER DOWNFALL IS IRELAND'S GLORY. WE CALL UPON THE YOUNG MEN OF THE DISTRICT TO JOIN OUR ORGANISATION, AND BE UP AND WATCHFUL." Two chairmen of Councils were removed from the Commission of the Peace, which they held *ex officio*, in con-

sequence of promoting resolutions of this kind.<sup>1</sup> It was the only punishment the Government could inflict on them, unless it honoured them by a prosecution for treason. Under a Dublin Parliament they would have been treated as heroes.

A Dublin Parliament, composed of men like the County Councillors, and having control of the Executive Government, would acknowledge no superior authority, and this is where it would differ essentially from the Councils. It could raise the standard of revolt, not only by disloyal resolutions, but by its yeomanry and volunteers. Its finances would be as uncontrolled as its politics. No British Government inspector could attend its meetings *ex officio* to make reports and criticisms upon its proceedings, as the Local Government inspectors attend the Council meetings. No British Government auditor, with orthodox ideas of finance, could overhaul its accounts and surcharge its members. Therefore, on this as on all other points, Nonconformists are being deceived when they are told that, because the County Councils

<sup>1</sup> Messrs Thomas Barry (for the meeting referred to) and Kendal O'Brien.

have not succeeded in breaking the Union and making themselves bankrupt, a Dublin Seceders' Parliament would necessarily be solvent and loyal.

'The Daily News' says, in discussing these points, that "it is a frigid and calculated lie" to say that "Irish Nationalism means Catholic Tyranny"—the proof advanced being that in 1907, after the County Councils had been eight years in operation, a certain percentage of the paid officials who were not Roman Catholics remained employed in the Roman Catholic counties. Twenty-one counties out of the thirty-two are cited, and the result shows that in that year there were more Protestant officials in the Catholic counties than there were Catholic officials in the Protestant counties. The explanation is easy and obvious. Many of the officials of the old Grand Juries were taken over by the new Councils, because of their experience in the work, and because it was cheaper to keep than to dismiss them and pay the statutory compensation in addition to the salaries of the new officials. But this state of things is being altered with the greatest speed, and, at the present rate of progress, there will

soon be not a single paid official in any of those counties except a Roman Catholic, or, in exceptional cases, a nominal Protestant who subscribes to the full Roman Catholic programme. It is a constant complaint, verified by fact, that it is useless for a Protestant to apply now for any post under any of the Roman Catholic Councils unless he consents to pass under the Roman yoke, and even then, in nine cases out of ten, he will not succeed against a Roman Catholic.

A curious case arose lately out of a contest for a dispensaryship. Two young Roman Catholic doctors became candidates—one of them the parish priest's nephew. A young Protestant doctor, one of the few still left, seeing that the split in the Roman Catholic vote would give him a chance, stood at the last moment, and was elected—a phenomenal occurrence! When he entered on his duties he was called every night to attend some patient many miles away, and he noticed that the cases, so far from being urgent, might well have waited until the daytime. But he dare not refuse to go, because the callers always brought "red tickets"—orders



issued by a Poor-Law Guardian, and which must be obeyed.

After a while he began to suspect that he was being victimised, and when he answered the next midnight call, to a labourer's wife suffering from some trivial ailment, instead of giving vent to indignation as he had heretofore done, he looked grave and asked if the woman had received the sacraments.

"Is she then so bad as that?" cried the husband.

"If she has not been to her religious duties," said the doctor, "you should get the priest at once."

Roman Catholics believe that without the last rites of the Church there is practically no chance of salvation. The woman screamed, and her husband hurried away for the priest, who was bound to come, as the doctor had advised him to be sent for.

The priest went to the labourer's cottage that night; and whenever the doctor was called at night afterwards, the priest had to follow in his tracks.

When this had gone on for some time the parish priest called on the doctor and complained of having been so often disturbed at

night. The doctor said that of late he, too, seldom had a night's rest.

"I see you're a smart young man," said the priest. "Let us be friends."

They shook hands, and the doctor got no more unnecessary night calls.

One reason why the majority of the officials under the Grand Juries were Protestant was that there were not Roman Catholics qualified for the positions. The Roman ecclesiastics prohibited the laity from attending the non-sectarian Queen's Colleges, but did nothing to compensate the laity by providing scientific or other useful higher education for them, spending all their energy and a good deal of the laity's money in training priests at Maynooth and other theological colleges. It was almost, if not quite, impossible to find Roman Catholics qualified for county surveyorships, assistant surveyorships, and kindred posts. And if this was true of the Roman Catholic counties, it was doubly true of the Protestant counties.

The last evidence of Roman Catholic liberality to Protestants, contained in the forty-fifth point, is so minute that, in bringing it forward, the English Separatists are painfully dragging

forth the exception which proves the rule against their own contention. A Presbyterian minister, we are told, said lately that in the South of Ireland he knew of a Protestant lady who was elected a Poor Law Guardian, and three Protestants, one of them being the Earl of Bandon, who were chairmen of District Councils! From these slender premises 'The Daily News' rushes to the conclusion that Protestants are handsomely treated everywhere in the South and West of Ireland, and, to cap the climax, it asks: "If Protestants are persecuted in the Catholic parts of Ireland, how is it that the Presbyterian population, according to the last census, has increased in Catholic Munster and Leinster, while it has decreased in Protestant Ulster?" There are in round numbers 440,000 Presbyterians in Ireland, and of those 426,000, or 96 per cent, reside in Ulster—from which the reader may see how few live in Munster and in Leinster, and how insignificant a matter is the increase of a few scores, caused perhaps by the migration of Pirrie-ites in anticipation of Home Rule!

'The Daily News' shows its ignorance of Ireland, or it is deliberately deceiving Non-conformists when it asserts that "public life

is political in the South and West: it is sectarian only in the North." Romanism has it all its own way in the South and West, and it sees to it that no sectarianism is tolerated. It is not long since a Romanist mob looted the house of a Protestant Nonconformist ten miles outside Dublin, because he held a prayer-meeting upstairs in his own house. Extra police had to be kept in the village for over a week, during which rioting continued before the Nonconformist's house by day and night, until the parish priest ordered its discontinuance.

The Church of Ireland rector, an accomplished and scholarly man, had the courage to condemn the conduct of the Roman Catholics from his pulpit in the following terms: "A man of the town, who does not belong to my congregation, but who worships the same God, has used the right which he and every other Christian possesses of holding meetings in one of the houses in the town. The man and his friends have met with the most violent intolerance from our Roman Catholic neighbours, who have ruthlessly stoned the house of meeting, and have for the past week destroyed the peace of the town and made night hideous with shameless yelling and ribaldry. For

that foolish intolerance and bigotry there has been no adequate cause, no proselytism or street preaching." It should interest Non-conformists to learn that street preaching is held to be "adequate cause" for a riot in Roman Catholic Ireland. "This violent intolerance in a free country," continued the rector, "has rudely and senselessly insulted God-fearing men. That is the way all over Ireland. The lower classes of Roman Catholics are very ignorant, and consequently a ready prey for any bad leading and bad passions. So sensitive are they about religion that they will hardly mention the subject, and the least suspicion of proselytising—which I am glad to say the Church of Ireland never attempts—is sufficient to drive our Roman Catholic neighbours of a less educated class into paroxysms of senseless intolerance."<sup>1</sup> Soon after that sermon, the preacher, a distinguished man with every prospect of a higher preferment in the Irish Church, resigned his rectory, left Ireland with his wife and family, and accepted a small country living in England!

Far from being "a frigid and calculated lie,"

<sup>1</sup> 'Irish Times,' Oct. 19, 1908, and other dates, under the heading of "Religious Riots at Swords."

it is only the bare truth that "Irish Nationalism means Catholic tyranny." But in speaking of "Catholic tyranny" we should not condemn the guilty with the innocent. The Roman Catholic laity are naturally disposed to be friendly with the Protestants. How many Protestants—clergymen, doctors, landlords, agents, stewards, merchants—have I known, for whom the middle and lower class Catholics amongst whom they lived had the most touching affection and deepest respect, looking up to them as beings of a higher order and yearning to be like them! But, alas! how invariably the priests circulated slanderous stories and reports about these Protestants! How surreptitiously, how successfully the characters of those Protestants were blasted, their influence with the Catholic laity blighted—out of envy and fear lest respect for the individual should lead to respect for the individual's religion! I have never seen a case in which the Catholic laity acted badly towards a Protestant, except where they were prompted by the priests, who would often pursue a secret campaign of slander and disparagement for years, and, when at length it resulted in some open display of hostility, would come forward to

defend the individual whose position they had undermined.

The forty-sixth point is that "Unionists are always trying to work upon the imagination of the ignorant and the timid by picturing the urbane and moderate Mr Redmond as a truculent ogre, masking the passions of a tyrant under hypocritically sweet speeches," and that a speech which he made at Coalisland, in 1906, "breathing the spirit of conciliation towards all Irishmen," has been "distorted into the very opposite of its actual meaning!" This is an example of the florid rhetoric which the English Seceders have borrowed from their Irish allies. 'The Daily News' deserves our thanks for recalling to our memories the true Mr Redmond at a moment when he is touring Great Britain with speeches of a blubbering, sentimental type which are utterly alien to his real self.

What Mr Redmond said at Coalisland ought to put all prudent men on their guard against handing the Government of Ireland over to him and his colleagues. The words were spoken in Ulster at a juncture when he and his party were of no use to anybody and seemed completely *hors de combat*. The Campbell-

Bannerman Government had come into power with a majority of nearly 400 in the House of Commons, the Nationalist vote was not worth a farthing to either of the English political parties, and Mr Redmond's occupation as political handicapper at Westminster was gone. The Liberals had no intention of proposing a Home Rule Bill, and his fortunes, so far as the public could see, seemed at the lowest ebb. He was therefore in a mood for candid speaking when he made this Coalisland speech.

"I don't want Home Rule," he said, "to come in the garb of a bitter hostility and political defeat for any intelligent and honest section of my countrymen. There is one section of the minority opposed to us that has no title to the name of honesty or intelligence. I am not speaking of them. They are only a handful even of the Protestants of Ulster, and I fear they must be overborne by the strong hand."

Mr Redmond's purpose was twofold, to convey by *innuendo* to the world that it was only "a handful of the Protestants of Ulster" who opposed his attempt to secure the dictatorship of Ireland, and to frighten his opponents into



surrender. The *innuendo*, of course, is false, and the Protestants of Ireland have not been frightened into co-operating with him. It is only "a handful of the Protestants of Ulster," the Pirrie-ites, who support him, in the hope of making a fortune under Home Rule in return for their services. The claim he advanced at Coalisland was that all irreconcilably opposed to his scheme are neither intelligent nor honest; and for such people, that is for one-fourth of the population of Ireland, his message was that "they must be overborne by the strong hand!"

Nonconformists are told that "obviously this is not a threat." If so, then words have lost their meaning. Mr Redmond gave vent to that menace when his party were reduced to temporary impotence and he thought the public would not heed what he said. He does not re-utter it now, as he goes cooing about Great Britain and gushing with pretended love for the Empire and for all who differ from him. He does not say now, when the longed-for dictatorship seems within his grasp, that even one Irish Protestant "must be overborne by the strong hand." But if he gets a Dublin Parliament, he will be found to act up to his

Coalisland speech, and to his recent Aughavanagh speech, in which he said that, after Home Rule, their religion would have the first claim on Roman Catholics !

Mr Redmond is a native of the town and county in which were perpetrated the worst horrors of the Rebellion of 1798. It was on Wexford Bridge, on a midsummer day in 1798, as Froude graphically relates,<sup>1</sup> that “ninety-seven men, whose crime was to be of the Protestant religion — country gentlemen, magistrates, tradesmen, merchants, clergymen—were ceremoniously and deliberately murdered.” As a Wexfordman, used to act under the priests in social and political affairs, his position was well put by Father Murphy of Enniscorthy at a meeting on December 5, 1911: “Wexfordmen have no reason to hang their heads with shame at the part played by the priests and people of Wexford in dark but glorious '98. There stood the priests with the people and the people with the priests” !

<sup>1</sup> ‘English in Ireland,’ pp. 498-9.

## CHAPTER XXII.

NONCONFORMIST JUSTIFICATION OF MIXED  
MARRIAGE DECREE.

THE most ignorant and narrow-minded Irish Roman Catholic Bishop—son, perhaps, of a tramp labourer,—when it comes to a political deal, is able to twist round his finger men like Mr Asquith and Mr Birrell.

The forty-seventh point, headed “Mixed Marriages,” is that “only ignorant or bigoted people could believe that a Home Rule Parliament would fall under the influence of the Catholic Church to such an extent that it would alter the present marriage law and declare illegal all marriages not sanctioned by the Pope”; and, as a corollary, that “Unionist politicians live in Ireland by the exploitation of ignorance and bigotry”! The Irish Unionist members do not live by politics, but

are all independent men who make their living by close attention to their businesses or professions, in which they are highly successful, forming in this respect a striking contrast to the most prominent English and almost all the Irish Seceders, who actually live by political "exploitation."

'The Daily News' professes "the gravest objection to the *Ne Temere* decree," because "it incidentally denies the ecclesiastical validity of any marriage between a Protestant and a Catholic unless it has been celebrated by a Catholic priest." That is more than Mr Redmond or any of the Irish Seceders have dared to say. When 'The Daily News' wrote this, the Pope had not issued his *Motu Proprio*, excommunicating any Roman Catholic in these islands who shall bring an action at law against an ecclesiastic without the leave of the Church. So fast are the politicians of the Vatican progressing that it is hard to keep pace with them! There would be many more surprises for us if a Home Rule Bill should become law. The cruelties perpetrated under the *Ne Temere* decree in Ireland almost surpass the bounds of credibility, and this too at a moment when Mr Redmond is doing his

utmost to convince Great Britain that religious toleration will be the order of the day after Home Rule !

It would be Mr Redmond's interest to stop these cruelties, because they are alienating British sympathy even amongst his misinformed Nonconformist allies. But so slavishly obedient to Rome is he, that he dare not appeal to the Pope to stay his hand until after Home Rule ; or, if he has appealed, his appeal has been unsuccessful, and he dare not utter a word by way of criticism or disapproval of the *Ne Temere* decree and the scandalous proceedings of Irish priests under its authority. Nonconformists are told that "ecclesiastical law and civil law are two different things." They have been different things in Great Britain since the Reformation. But it is one of those probabilities almost amounting to certainty that under Home Rule they will not continue different. Since the publication of the *Ne Temere* decree, the Roman ecclesiastics have been proving that the difference is not one of fact but of theory ; and after Home Rule the Nationalist leaders, who are even now "dumb dogs" in the face of the new decrees, will be the very men to abrogate

British law in favour of canon law in regard to marriage, which they esteem a religious, not a civil, function.

'The Daily News' says that "marriage before a state registrar should be made compulsory in all cases." If so, let it call on Mr Asquith before Home Rule to pass a law compelling all marriages in Ireland to be contracted before a state registrar, which, as it points out, is the law in France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, and other countries, and let it be made *ultra vires* for an Irish Parliament to repeal that law.

If Mr Asquith and Mr Redmond join in doing that, they will have given some evidence that Home Rule is not to be Rome Rule. No general preamble to a Home Rule Bill, such as Mr Gladstone put in, forbidding an Irish Parliament to "impose any disability or confer any privilege on account of religious belief," would meet the case; for the canon lawyers, who would be great personages after Home Rule, would argue that it imposes no disability to compel parties contracting mixed marriages to comply with the conditions of the Roman Catholic Church. Dr Clifford, the well-known Baptist minister, said recently,

after his return from Canada: "There is nothing so stirring the Canadian conscience as this decree, and I found that the one thing upon which Canadian Protestants are concentrating their attention is getting rid as early as possible of the tyranny of the Pope of Rome." Home Rule in Canada has always meant Rome Rule, and, but for the influx of British Protestants, would have meant separation and hostility. Are Nonconformists going to confer the Civil Government of Ireland upon a body of men who are the slaves of the tyranny that has so long held Canada in its grip? Ireland has no prospect of the relief which Protestant immigration brought to Canada.

Shall conscientious Nonconformists maintain their principles, as voiced by 'The Daily News,' and insist on the Government making it a condition precedent to Home Rule that marriage before a state registrar should be compulsory in Ireland? Since Ireland is to be provided for first in the matter of Home Rule, it should also have the benefit of this marriage law before Great Britain, especially with the ruthless cruelty of the priests under the *Ne Temere* decree so flagrantly in evidence.

The forty-eighth point quotes Mr Devlin, M.P., as saying that "the M'Cann case has been the greatest asset to the Ulster Tory party since the days of King William III.," which is another way of saying that it has been the most damaging blow to the Irish Separatist party since the battle of the Boyne crushed the last Irish-Italian conspiracy. Who conferred this great asset on the Ulster Tory party? Who inflicted this blow on the Irish Separatists? The Pope of Rome and the Vatican politicians! Yet so Rome-ridden are Mr Devlin and his chiefs, Mr Redmond and Mr Dillon, that they have not dared to protest or remonstrate even in the mildest form against the action of those whom they believe to be God's Vicegerents! They are running the risk of losing the great prize of the Government of Ireland, which they now think within their grasp, rather than run what they conceive to be the greater risk of driving the Pope to use St Peter's keys to lock them out of Heaven and into Hell.

'The Daily News' makes a great point of the fact that the Unionists did not mention the name of the priest who advised M'Cann to desert his wife, steal her furniture, and



abduct her children. Mrs M'Cann, in her memorial to Lord Lieutenant Aberdeen, wrote : " A short time before our second baby was born, my husband spoke to me about changing my faith in consequence of the way the Roman Catholic priest was rating him, and I was visited on several occasions by this priest, who told me I was not married at all ; that I was living in open sin, and that my children were illegitimate ; and he pressed me to come to chapel and be married properly. He threatened me that if I would not comply with his request, there would be no peace in the house, that my husband would not live with me, and that if he did so his co-religionists would cease to speak to him or recognise him." How can any one say who advised the pious runaway ? Nobody but M'Cann could tell us that, and he cannot be discovered. No organisation in Great Britain or Ireland, except the Roman Church, could have spirited away M'Cann and his two children, and successfully kept all three in hiding for over two years, in defiance of all the machinery of the British Government. If Mrs M'Cann prosecuted the priest she alludes to for action calculated to provoke a breach of

the peace, his answer would have been a denial of her account, and a statement that he was doing his duty as ordered by his superiors. I take it that if she mentioned his name in the draft memorial, as submitted for approval, she was ordered to strike it out by Mr Birrell or his deputies, lest it should saddle them with the onus of prosecuting, and that the memorial was only received on condition that it contained no names.

“The Unionists have again and again been challenged,” says ‘The Daily News,’ “to give the name of the priest, which they say they know, and to have the whole story thrashed out in a libel action, and their repeated refusal is suggestive of the dishonesty of the party game they have been playing.” People who believe this—and one can hardly reckon the Cadburys in that category—must know nothing of this case or of the methods of the Church of Rome. If the name of a specific priest were mentioned as having advised M’Cann to take the criminal step of deserting his wife, that specific priest would bring an action for libel, go into a witness box and swear that he did not give the advice. Nobody but M’Cann could disprove his statement. The

action would be decided without entering into the merits of the M'Cann case, and without securing the reappearance of M'Cann; and the priest, by fixing the trial in some Romanist part of Ireland, as he would be sure to do, would be awarded heavy damages by a Romanist jury.

The celibate Roman ecclesiastics are not upstarts at the game of politics, as are Mr Lloyd George, Mr Birrell, Mr Asquith, and the rest of their English allies. They are not as ingenuous, as innocent, or as inexperienced as Mr Cadbury's paper would give Nonconformists to understand. They are far too astute for the vainglorious Nonconformist wire-pullers, who think that, because they happen to be Cabinet Ministers, they can put the Roman politicians in their pockets and use them for Nonconformist ends. The most ignorant and narrow-minded Roman Bishop—son, perhaps, of a tramp labourer; brother, perhaps, of an associate of assassins; the recipient, perhaps, of no education whatever except the technical instruction in priestcraft at Maynooth—when it comes to a political duel, is able to twist round his finger men of the type of Mr Asquith, Mr Lloyd

George, Mr Birrell, Mr Sylvester Horne, the proprietor of 'The Daily News,' and the editor of 'The British Weekly. These wire-pullers got their beating over the Irish Councils Bill in 1907, and have taken it with humble submissiveness, thankful that salaries and profits still remain to be drawn.

'The Daily News' argues that, as "it was under the Union the M'Cann desertion took place," we ought to set up a Romanist Parliament in Dublin to get justice done to Mrs M'Cann and others in the same plight! So far as it is possible, with a British Government in open alliance with Romanism, the existence of the Union has prevented a repetition of the M'Cann case by concentrating public censure upon the papal decree and on the Irish bishops and priests who have made themselves the instruments by which that decree was put into practice in their native land. Under a Romanist Dublin Parliament the M'Cann case would be accepted as a matter of course by the Government of Ireland, and no public censure passed upon it. On the contrary, M'Cann would probably get Government preferment. The great value of the case is that it is a small example of the

wholesale degradation of Protestants which would take place under Home Rule.

What the Roman ecclesiastics' object was in promulgating the *Ne Temere* decree, and the other decree excommunicating laymen who seek redress against a priest in a court of justice, I do not profess to explain. One only knows that the effect of this policy has been three-fold: (1) the Roman ecclesiastics, now while British rule still exists in Ireland, are establishing certain preliminaries to the full supremacy they mean to claim there after Home Rule; (2) if Home Rule (unhappily for Great Britain) should come, it would be easier for them to start from that vantage ground and achieve the absolute supremacy they used to have in France, and still have in Home-ruled Quebec; (3) in case Home Rule should be defeated (may Heaven grant it), they will have at least secured these advantages in the turmoil of the present discussion, and it will be possible for them to claim in future negotiations with the British Government that their new decrees prevented the break up of the United Kingdom.

Those who say that the new decrees have been promulgated in order to stop Home Rule,

do not speak with authority. Bishop Browne of Cloyne wrote on November 20, 1909, to Dr Thomas Addis Emmet of New York, descendant of Robert Emmet: "You mention another statement of your informants, namely, 'That at heart the priests of Ireland are secretly opposed to Home Rule, and that in consequence many of the people cannot give them confidence as of old.' Now the statement is opposed to the record which every day's experience supplies. You have only to read from day to day our Irish newspapers to see how earnestly the priests of Ireland advocate and demand Home Rule, and how persistently they subscribe, and encourage their people to subscribe, to the maintenance of the United Irish Parliamentary party, the first and chief point in whose programme is Home Rule for Ireland. The statement is ridiculous and absurd."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Incidents of My Life,' by T. A. Emmet, 1911.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## MIXED MARRIAGE PERSECUTION IN IRELAND.

THE wife is robbed of husband and children, the father robbed of his daughters, the young bride coerced to leave her husband, engaged couples shadowed by priests and detectives, bigamy is encouraged and the bigamists let off free by Roman Catholic judges!

The M'Cann case, which first attracted public attention to the *Ne Temere* decree, was briefly this. A Presbyterian girl married a Romanist in Ulster some years ago, the ceremony being performed in a Presbyterian Church, duly licensed for the purpose, by the duly qualified minister of that church. The couple had children and lived in amity, until the new papal decree, promulgated for the first time in the British Isles at Easter 1908, began to make itself felt in Belfast. That decree was enacted at the Council of Trent, but its pro-

mulgation was withheld in the United Kingdom ever since from motives of policy. Through all the intervening centuries, Rome acknowledged the validity of marriages between Protestants and Romanists in this country, if performed by a Protestant minister in a Protestant church, and dispensations were constantly given to believing Romanists for such marriages. Rome, of course, always tried to make the best terms possible for herself by force or persuasion in each case—her full claim being for marriage in a Roman Church and all the offspring Romanists. But she accepted what she could get, and relied on her influence over the Romanist party to the marriage to convert the other party eventually and the children.

When the papal decree was promulgated in Belfast, the Romanist husband was informed by the priests that the Presbyterian woman, to whom he had been married and by whom he had children, was not his wife in the eye of the Church or of God. This procedure is not confined to Ireland. Before this Belfast case was heard of, a Scottish Romanist Bishop denounced publicly all marriages not in accordance with the Tridentine decree, whether before or after



its promulgation, as “adulterous and incestuous connections,” and his words were recorded in all the English newspapers.

The *ultimatum* of the priests to the Belfast husband was: “If you want to cease living in sin and make your children legitimate, you must be married again by a Roman priest in a Roman church.” The wife, being as firm a Protestant as he was a Romanist, refused to submit to a re-marriage. Her position was: “We are married according to the law of the land and of God, and this newly published decree does not alter that.” The priests, finding that she was not to be bullied or cajoled, felt bound to give an example of their powers under the new decree in Belfast; and the husband, acting on clerical advice, took the two children away from their mother by subterfuge, stripped the home of the furniture belonging to the wife, and has left her from that day to this—approaching two years now—without means of subsistence.

Robbed of the children whom she had reared and loved, the betrayed wife took out three successive summonses against the pious deserter: but the summons-servers could not find him, and the summonses have not yet been

served. The British Government in Ireland, chiefly in the hands of Presbyterians and Nonconformists for the past five years, was petitioned, as already stated, but the reply was that it was powerless.

Early in 1911 two great meetings were held in Belfast and Dublin—the first presided over by the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, the other by the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin. Leading peers, privy councillors, merchants, and professional men protested with one voice against the ruthless cruelty with which the Roman Church treated the Protestant wife who dared oppose its ordinances. Debates were held in both Houses of Parliament. The Chief Secretary for Ireland said the police had been instructed to use the utmost vigilance in finding the children, but they had not found them: and he abased himself and his office, as the responsible head of the Irish Executive, by promising to write to the Romanist Bishop of the diocese to ask his lordship if the husband and children were hidden in any of the diocesan institutions! But he has never published the reply received from the Bishop, and Mrs M'Cann is still without her children.

The Bishop has no fear of Mr Birrell or Dublin Castle. He knows, as every one who has studied the question knows, that the British Government dare not send an officer of the law armed with a search-warrant into a convent, monastery, reformatory, college, presbytery, hospital, asylum, or palace owned by the Roman Church in Ireland. One of Mr Birrell's Jesuit patrons, Father Finlay, wrote as follows in the Jesuit periodical, 'The Month': "The marriage in the Presbyterian Church was wholly invalid. The husband was conscientiously bound to separate from the Presbyterian woman unless she consented to a re-validation of the marriage." No more explicit defiance of the law could be imagined than this advice.

One meets many shrewd people who say that, while this case is to be deplored, it will mean little or nothing in practice, because British judges and courts of law will effectively punish Roman priests and their dupes, when they are prosecuted, as they are sure to be, for breaking the British marriage laws. We have no guarantee that this will be so. A case was recently tried in Ireland—it was mentioned by the Earl of Donoughmore in the debate in the House of Lords. Two first cousins, Roman

Catholics, were married by their parish priest in 1892—a binding marriage by British law. They did not apply to Rome for a dispensation, a formality imposed on first cousins as a pretext for an extra fee, and which is never refused. The omission was condoned, and it did not at all affect the legality of the marriage by British law, as first cousins are not within the prohibited degrees of kindred. Sixteen years passed away, and after the promulgation of the new decree in 1908, the Bishop of the diocese (Wexford) informed the couple that, while their marriage was lawful by British law, it was null and void by the law of the Church. And by the Bishop's express directions and sanction, EACH OF THE PARTIES GOT MARRIED TO ANOTHER PERSON WITHOUT GOING THROUGH THE FORMALITY OF APPLYING FOR A DIVORCE. What was to be done? Here was the Pope's law brought into direct conflict with the law of the land! The police brought a prosecution for bigamy—they could not evade their responsibility—and the parties were tried in 1910 by a Roman Catholic judge (the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland) and a jury. A letter from the Bishop and another from the parish priest were read in court, and the law of the

Roman Church explained for the benefit of judge and jury. The judge discharged the prisoners without punishment, and, what is infinitely more serious for us, gave as his reason for so doing that, though they were legally guilty, they were not morally guilty, inasmuch as they were obeying the directions of their bishop!

Every man that has served on a jury knows that one of the commonest observations of judges is that our courts are courts of law and not courts of morals. Here we find that well-established maxim of law set aside in deference to the ruling of a Roman bishop and the authority of the Pope. The Lord Chief Justice of Ireland holds that, while bigamy is a crime, those who procure the perpetration of bigamy, if they happen to be priests and bishops of the Roman Church, only establish their claim to public veneration.

A constabulary inquiry recently held in Ireland strikingly illustrates how Rome is not merely using our law courts, but also the police, for establishing the supremacy of the Pope over the King in this mixed marriage question. In February 1911 a sergeant in the Highland Light Infantry was walking in the

Mardyke at Cork with an Irish girl, to whom he was engaged at the time, and to whom he actually got married within a month. The Dyke, as it is called, is one of the recognised public walks of Cork, and if young people, keeping company with a view to marriage, who cannot meet in their own or their friends' houses, are to be forbidden to walk there, I do not know what is to become of them. And grave, indeed, is the moral responsibility of the clergyman who forgets that such places are, as a great Englishman put it, the drawing-rooms of the poor! A Roman priest of Cork, observing that this Roman Catholic girl was keeping company with the Highland sergeant, and eager to prevent a marriage not in accordance with the newly promulgated decree, set a watch on the young people, and, seeing them in the Mardyke that evening, went to a detective sergeant, who was doing what is called public-house duty in the city, and got him to leave his beat and come to the Mardyke. They crept stealthily after the young couple, and when they came to a dark place the priest sprang forward and flashed an electric light on them, shouting, "Lovely! Lovely! What kind of indecent conduct is this?"

Mark you, there is no suspicion whatever thrown on the respectability of either of the parties. If there had been indecency the priest and detective would have been able to formulate a charge, and would not have hesitated to do so. The only indecency the flashlight revealed was in the owner's mind.

The Highlander asked the priest what he meant. The priest's answer, as reported in 'The Irish Times,' was, "Clear out, or I'll knock you down with my stick!" The man explained that he was a Protestant, and as such not a subject of the priest's. The girl said she had become a Protestant, and both assured him they were engaged to be married and the date fixed. The detective threatened them that if they did not move on he would arrest them. He would have done so if the flashlight had given him any justification.

The priest and the policeman then went away, and the couple, on considering how they had been treated, followed the priest; and the Highlander said he would report the outrage to his colonel. The priest's reply was, "Report me to my bishop." The Scotsman did not see his way to recognise the bishop, and went straight to the police-station, reported

the incident, and on his return to barracks reported to his commanding officer.

The result was that an official inquiry into the conduct of the detective was held by two police officers in Cork, at which the detective was charged by the authorities with "neglect of duty by going with the priest outside the borough boundary when he should have been engaged on public-house duty, and with furnishing a false return, making it appear that he entered licensed premises at the very time when he was acting under the priest's orders in the Mardyke." The other detective on duty with him was also charged with making a false return, by concealing the fact that his comrade had separated from him during hours of duty.

The result of the inquiry was that the detective sergeant was found guilty of deserting his post and making a false return, and the constable was found guilty of making a false return; but both were let off unpunished—the sergeant because of his previous good character, the other because he acted by the sergeant's orders! How could the authorities dare to punish them for obeying a priest?

In the County Cork there is a Protestant



farmer who married a Roman Catholic woman many years ago, and had many children by her, who were all brought up Protestants under agreement made at the time of the marriage. Much churlishness was shown by the priests towards the couple, but the legality of their marriage was acknowledged, as was done all over Ireland in similar cases until the publication of the *Ne Temere* decree. Those Nonconformist politicians who allege that "Catholicism and Protestantism do not lie near the roots of the Irish question" will do well to study this case.

Seven years ago, about the year 1904, one of the couple's children died. So bitter was the hatred against them that nobody would supply a coffin for the little body, and the father had to go a long distance to procure one. On his return he found that the corpse had been stolen, and he could get no information as to who took it or where it had been taken to! Suspecting that it had been buried in the Roman Catholic graveyard, he went there at night, found his suspicions correct, exhumed the body, leaving the coffin in the grave, which he recovered, so that what he had done might not be noticed, and reinterred it secretly at night in the Protestant churchyard, his own burial-place.

When the *Ne Temere* decree was published in Ireland in 1908, a determined onslaught was made on this man's wife, as on other women in her position all over the country, urging them, under threat of pains and penalties in this world and the next, to compel their husbands to remarry them according to the Roman Catholic rite in the Roman Catholic parish church. The unhappy wife did not long survive the issue of the *Ne Temere* decree, for she died in the year after its publication, leaving the widower with five children, who were all being brought up as Protestants.

There were two big girls, aged sixteen and fourteen, who used to attend worship at the Church of Ireland parish church regularly with their father. At the end of September 1911 these two girls went to school one morning, and from that day to this they have never returned home, and have never been seen or discovered by their father! Neither police nor voluntary searchers have been able to trace their whereabouts. All the efforts made by the bereaved father, by the Church of Ireland rector, and by the other Protestants in the neighbourhood, have proved futile. All that has been ascertained was a rumour to the effect

that one of the girls had been seen at Mass at the local Roman Catholic chapel.<sup>1</sup>

Contrast this state of things with what exists in Great Britain. One reads occasionally of a little boy or girl being lost. The most recent case was that of a baby in the East End of London. Before that it was a little boy in the mountains of Wales, or a little girl in the Midlands. In all these and other cases the entire neighbourhood, as well as the police and detective force, backed up by the efforts of the newspapers, set the country ringing with the hue and cry. Men and women were out day and night searching for the missing little ones, and their efforts never once flagged until the lost children were restored to their parents! How different it is in Ireland, and in this district of Cork where ninety-five per cent of the people are Roman Catholics! Not one of them have raised a finger or moved a foot to restore these girls to their father who so sadly needs them. The all-powerful priests stand callously and mysteriously aloof. The Royal Irish Constabulary can do nothing. The Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, the whole power of the Irish

<sup>1</sup> 'Irish Times,' Oct. 4, 1911.

Executive can do nothing. All of them, like Macbeth, let "*I dare not wait upon I would,*" for they are afraid of the Roman ecclesiastics!

They all know for certain that the Roman Church has got the children; and that knowledge paralyses their efforts. Nothing can be done by law or voluntary effort when the Roman ecclesiastics assert what Mr Silvester Horne, M.P., admiringly calls their "imperial sway." Nothing is "outside the sweep" of their great authority! Theirs must be the right to snatch the child from the parent, and the wife from the husband, and to absolve the citizen from his allegiance to the laws of the land.

Last November, in South Tyrone, two Roman Catholic priests entered the house of a Protestant working man while he was away at work, and tried to coerce his young wife, who was a Roman Catholic before marriage, to abandon him and her home. They were accompanied by the young woman's father, "who stood by," says 'The Irish Times' report,<sup>1</sup> "while his daughter was subjected to questions and accusations which, if her story is true, can be described as nothing less than abominable

<sup>1</sup> 'Irish Times,' Nov. 14, 1911, gives full details and names

insults." There can be no doubt as to the facts, for the woman made an *affidavit* in presence of witnesses, one of them a local Justice of the Peace, which appeared in 'The Belfast News-Letter.' "On the 3rd of November 1911," she swears, "I was alone in my house while my husband was absent at his employment. Between four and five o'clock on that afternoon the Rev. —, Roman Catholic curate, accompanied by a Roman Catholic missionary, came in without any previous warning. The missionary asked me, 'Where did you get married?' and I replied that I had got married in St Anne's Cathedral, Belfast. He then said, 'You might as well not have got married at all. You are not married. You are living in sin. You are as bad as those who are on the streets.' I replied, 'I believe I am married all right, and I believe my marriage will stand as it is.' My father came in and heard part of this conversation. He agreed with what the missionary had said, and the latter remarked in his presence, 'We will not leave this house until you go with us.' At this time I was crying at the idea of being talked to in such a way and because of the threat to take me away from my husband and

my home. My father took no notice of this, and said, 'You must leave this house with us. The curate did not talk so much as the missionary, but he also urged upon me to go. Through their influence over me when alone, I was compelled to go out and leave the house in their company. They wanted to lock the door, but I locked the door myself, and proceeded down the road towards —— (where my husband was at work), which is less than a quarter of a mile away. I ran after going from the door, and my father followed demanding the key. He overtook me and got possession of the key by force. He then shouted back to the two clergymen, 'I have got it.' The clergymen next got into the trap, which was driven by a third person, apparently a servant. They walked the horse past my father and me, and went on in front. It looked as if they were under the impression that I was going with them. All this time I was endeavouring to make for where my husband was at work. My husband, however, had heard of what was going on at our home, and met me on the road. He said, 'James, what is this you have got up to now?' My father answered, 'It is not my fault. I have

got nothing to do with it.' He then ran away. I told my husband that my father had the key, and asked him to get it. My husband, on hearing this, followed him and took the key from him. While this was happening the two clergymen were still on the road in front. I returned home with my husband a good deal put about. I may add with regard to my marriage that it took place in the Cathedral mentioned, on the 2nd of February 1911, the clergyman being the Dean, the Very Rev. John J. Robinson. My maiden name was ——, and I was 24 years of age. I produce the certificate."

This affidavit was signed by the wife, her husband, and two witnesses. The magistrate, who was one of the witnesses, in a letter to the Press, states: "My reason for taking an active part in having this case brought before the public is that it is an interference by the Roman Catholic Church with the civil and religious liberty of a British subject. For years civil and religious liberty has been the law in the British Isles, and we, Britons of all creeds, including Roman Catholics, should see that those liberties are preserved. From my observation, —— and his wife are a most

attached couple, and I was struck with the cleanliness of the house and its tidy appearance, everything being in its place, showing, in my opinion, that she was anxious to make the home as comfortable as she could for her husband on his return from his work. She is a bright and intelligent woman, and it would be a crying sin to blight her young life." An eyewitness of her encounter with the priests said, "She made a most plucky fight for freedom." If she had been got away before her husband's arrival, it is more than probable that her whereabouts would now be as undiscoverable as that of M'Cann and his children.

These outrages on married people are occurring constantly, and many of them never get into the papers. Canon Ardill tells of a case in his neighbourhood where a woman who has been married for years is spoken of by the priests as "Miss," since the promulgation of the new decree, and addressed by letter by her maiden name as if she were still a spinster.

On January 3, 1912, at Belfast, a Roman Catholic man was committed for trial on bail to the assizes charged with having knowingly signed a false notice when endeavouring to



obtain the marriage licence, by stating he was a bachelor. He afterwards admitted he had been married, and alleged that the Roman Catholic clergy put him and his wife asunder. The defending solicitor said the marriage had been a mixed one, and the accused conscientiously believed that he was a free man!<sup>1</sup>

It is no answer to all these proofs of the interference of the Roman ecclesiastics with the course of British law in Ireland to single out the M'Cann case, as if it were the only one, and say that, because Unionists did not mention the name of a particular priest in that case in the debate in the House of Commons, "it is suggestive of the party game they have been playing with the domestic troubles of the miserable Mrs M'Cann." If the Union be broken upon such a presentation of the case, it will have been done by fraud, and, as far as 'The Daily News' and the leading Cabinet Ministers are concerned, will have been accomplished by Nonconformist treason. The name of the priests and parties in the South Tyrone case were given in the wife's *affidavit* and appeared in all the Irish papers. This is true also of the other cases,

<sup>1</sup> 'Daily Mail,' Jan. 4, 1912.

and the names of the clergy implicated in M'Cann's case have also appeared in print.

When Rome Rule thus prevails in Ireland, with a Presbyterian Lord Lieutenant and a Baptist Chief Secretary working in close alliance with Mr John Redmond and Mr John Dillon, how much more will Rome Rule prevail when the Seceders are left alone to face an ignorant Romanist electorate and the men whom they believe to be the Vicegerents of God, and when, as Mr Redmond said at Aughavanagh, the first thing the Irish Roman Catholics must "be mindful of" will be "their religion"?

A Nationalist protest against the ecclesiastical tyranny practised under those papal decrees would evoke enthusiasm throughout Great Britain and win the sympathy of all creeds and parties. Dire indeed must be the mental terror inspired by the Church which can keep the Irish Seceders dumb when so manifest an advantage might be gained by plain speaking!

## CHAPTER XXIV.

## CANON LAW ALREADY IN FORCE IN IRELAND.

MR REDMOND dare not speak about the new *Motu Proprio* for fear of excommunication!

No Catholic may bring an action at law against a priest!

The silence of the Irish Seceders about Pius X.'s new *motu proprio*, which excommunicates any person who brings an action at law against an ecclesiastic in these countries, is even more eloquent of their fear of Rome than their defence of M'Cann. They have not dared to make an intelligible statement on the subject, though the newspapers have been full of criticisms of the new decree. After two months, Archbishop Walsh of Dublin came to their relief in a letter to 'The Freeman's Journal,'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dec. 30, 1911.

in which he conveyed by *innuendo*, for he did not assert it, that the new decree will have no effect in Ireland. To prove his case he cited certain *obiter dicta* of Cardinal Cullen which really prove up to the hilt, not only that the new decree will have effect there, but that it was specially aimed at Ireland. The older law which the new *Motu Proprio* affirms and interprets is Pius IX.'s *Constitution of the Apostolic See*, promulgated in 1869. Four years after that, in 1873, the famous case of *O'Keeffe v. Cullen* was tried, in which an Ossory parish priest brought an action against the Cardinal at Dublin. Cardinal Cullen was asked: "Is there not at this moment an actual law of the Church that no layman shall bring a cleric before a lay tribunal?" Cardinal Cullen's answer was "No." He was then asked specifically if the *Constitution* did not so enact; and his answer was that it did, but that in most countries it had been abrogated by *Concordat*. It was pointed out to him that there was no *Concordat* between the British Isles and the Papacy. His answer was: "In countries where there is no *Concordat*, such as Ireland, England, and the United States of America, the Holy See has

declared that breaches of ecclesiastical immunity are to be overlooked." He was further asked to state whether such a breach of ecclesiastical immunity in Ireland was not in fact a breach of the ecclesiastical law. His answer was: "It is a breach of the law as it was, not a breach of the law as it is now brought down by custom." Archbishop Walsh describes Cardinal Cullen as "an expert in canon law," and leaves those who read his letter under the impression, or the delusion, that Cardinal Cullen's *dictum* overruled the *Constitution* of Pius IX., in so far as Ireland is concerned, and his *innuendo* was so interpreted by many English newspapers.

But the true meaning of Cardinal Cullen's *dictum*, as given in *O'Keeffe v. Cullen*, is: "The ecclesiastical law forbade Father O'Keeffe from bringing this action against me, but since Father O'Keeffe has broken the ecclesiastical law, and since we have no power to punish him as long as British law is supreme in Ireland, all we can say is that the custom in Ireland makes it impossible to carry out the ecclesiastical law there and it has become abrogated." Father O'Keeffe's action proved that the canon law could not be enforced as

against those who wished to appeal to the law of the land. Father O'Keeffe broke down the *Constitution* of Pius IX. on that point in Ireland, for if a priest could bring such an action, *a fortiori* a layman could do so. Matters standing thus in Ireland, the new decree of Pius X., signed on the 9th of last October, complains that "even their Eminences the Cardinals are brought into a court of laymen," and it definitely overrules Cardinal Cullen's *obiter dictum*. Coming at the present crisis, this is obviously done in view of a possible change in the system of government in Ireland in the near future, favourable to the enforcement of canon law.

In a postscript Archbishop Walsh says: "In the canon law, as in the law of England, the opinion of a lawyer even of the highest authority, whilst it may well justify the action of any one who relies upon it, is not an authoritative decision. Such can be given only by a judgment of the supreme tribunal"—which is the Holy See. The Holy See's authoritative decision has now been given, overruling the opinion expressed by the canon lawyer, Cardinal Cullen. That the decree does apply, and seems to have been specially

framed for Ireland, to clear up the doubt raised by Cardinal Cullen's opinion in 1873, is shown by its opening words: "Though all diligence be employed in *framing* laws, it is often impossible to guard against every doubt which may subsequently arise owing to *adroit interpretation* of the same." That is to say, though Pius IX. employed all diligence in "framing" his *Constitution*, he was not able to guard against the "adroit interpretation" put upon it by Cardinal Cullen, when driven into a corner by the action of Father O'Keeffe.

The next sentence of the new decree is equally clear: "Sometimes, moreover, on the part of jurists there are such contrary opinions that the law cannot be otherwise ascertained than by an authoritative pronouncement." That is to say jurists, or experts in canon law like Cardinal Cullen, having differed about the effect of Pius IX.'s *Constitution*, "an authoritative pronouncement" is now necessary, especially in countries like Ireland, where a change in the system of government favourable to the enforcement of canon law is about to take place. And the Pope expressly enacts that "private individuals who, by appealing to a lay judge, may compel the lay judge to

bring a member of the clergy before his tribunal," do in fact incur the extreme penalty of excommunication.

Cardinal Cullen did not question the liability of legislators and Government officials to the penalty of excommunication imposed on them by the *Constitution* of 1869. If a Dublin Parliament be established, its Catholic Government and Executive will incur the penalty if they pass or execute any laws bringing ecclesiastics before a State court, or interfering with the prerogatives of the Roman Church. That was in no doubt, and the leading Irish Seceders show by their awesome silence that they are keenly sensible of the risks they run under that breach of the decree. What we now know, on Pius X.'s supreme authority, is that private individuals who bring actions against ecclesiastics without the leave of the Inquisition, *alias* Holy Office, will likewise be excommunicated.

A week after this letter of Archbishop Walsh's, Bishop O'Donnell, who signs the United Irish League's yearly appeal for funds jointly with Mr John Redmond, came to the relief of the political agents of the hierarchy at Westminster with a letter to 'The Free-



man's Journal,'<sup>1</sup> in which he follows the same line of argument. But, less modest than his superior who quoted Cardinal Cullen, Dr O'Donnell sets up his own "expert" opinion against the fresh decree of the Pope! His letter, while intended to allay public anxiety, is really calculated to increase it. He says the Bishop of a diocese must first try to make a peaceable settlement between the ecclesiastic and the aggrieved layman who is about to seek redress in a court of justice! If the Bishop fails, he cannot forbid recourse to the civil courts! Bishop O'Donnell's words are: "If a peaceable settlement be not reached, a prelate is not permitted to forbid recourse to the ordinary courts when a layman chooses to sue a priest for a temporal matter, even where the law against impleading ecclesiastics before lay tribunals is in full force."

What is this but to make the Bishop a Grand Jury to whom the layman must first appeal before bringing his action at law? Does it not imply also that it is only when the question in dispute is "a temporal matter" that the said Grand Jury can give his consent for the ordinary course of justice to proceed?

<sup>1</sup> Jan. 10, 1912.

What is "a temporal matter," in the opinion of a Roman bishop, when a priest is the defendant in an action brought by a layman? Is it not evident that anything in which a priest, *qua* priest, is concerned, may be interpreted as "a spiritual matter," and therefore improper to bring before a court of law?

We may infer the wide interpretation Bishop O'Donnell himself would put upon "spiritual matters" in such cases from an extraordinary statement in his letter that the new decree "has been designed as a prop to freedom, and never produced the effect wrongfully alleged by those who have assailed it as a menace to liberty!" "A prop to freedom" for the ecclesiastic, perhaps, but assuredly a serious "menace to liberty" for the layman! The decree, it will be noted, does not forbid the priest from bringing an action at law against the layman!

This new decree has already been mentioned in the Irish law courts. At Roscommon Quarter Sessions, in January 1912, the parish priest came into court in a licensing case and told the Bench that "he was willing to give evidence, but REFUSED TO TAKE THE OATH WITHOUT FIRST CONSULTING HIS BISHOP."<sup>1</sup> At Dun-

<sup>1</sup> 'Belfast Evening Telegraph,' Jan. 6, 1912.

garvan Quarter Sessions, at the end of a case in which a layman sued a priest for money due for repairing an elementary school, the presiding judge, being a Roman Catholic, and son of a late law lord, said "he only HOPED THE PRIEST WOULD GET THE PLAINTIFF RELIEVED OF THE EXCOMMUNICATION that is incurred in cases of the kind." The plaintiff's solicitor said—"I hope he will include me also in the absolution!"<sup>1</sup>

If Home Rule were to be established, the canon lawyers would become the greatest personages in Ireland under this decree, for Protestants and Roman Catholics alike would be retaining them for opinions and cases in Court, and appeals to Rome would become as numerous as they were in England before the Reformation. Actions against priests and bishops—for libel, slander, undue influence in procuring legacies—have been decidedly frequent in recent years in Ireland, and I am disposed to think, for that and other reasons, that it was the Irish hierarchy, in view of Home Rule, who procured the promulgation of the decree whose effects they are now trying to minimise.

The decree itself is worth giving in full, if

<sup>1</sup> 'Cork Constitution,' Jan. 4, 1912.

only for the contrast its clear language affords to the ambiguity of the Irish canon lawyers—

“Of Our own motion,

“Concerning bringing clergy before the tribunals of lay judges.

“Though all diligence be employed in framing laws, it is often impossible to guard against every doubt which may subsequently arise owing to adroit interpretation of the same. Sometimes, moreover, on the part of jurists who have undertaken to investigate the nature and force of a law, there are such contrary opinions that what has been settled by law cannot otherwise be ascertained than by an authoritative pronouncement.

“This we see happened after the promulgation of the ‘Constitution of the Apostolic See [1869].’ For among writers who have expounded that ordinance a great dispute had arisen concerning section 7, namely, whether the word ‘compelling’ applies only to legislators and public persons, or whether it applies to private individuals also, who, by appealing to a lay judge, or bringing an action before the latter, may ‘compel’ the lay judge to bring a member of the clergy before his tribunal.

“Doubtless the meaning of this section has been frequently declared by the Congregation of the Holy Office. But now in these times of injustice, when so little regard is paid to the immunity of ecclesiastics that not only clerics and priests, but also the bishops and even their eminences the cardinals, are brought into courts of laymen, the case altogether demands from Us that, by the severity of the punishment, We keep to their duty those who are not deterred from an act of such sacrilege by the gravity of the offence.

“Therefore We, of Our own motion, do ordain and decree as follows :—

“Excommunication :

“Whatever private individuals, whether of the laity or in holy orders, men or women, do summon to a tribunal of laymen any ecclesiastical persons whatever, be the case criminal or civil, without permission from the ecclesiastical authority, and constrain them to attend publicly in these courts—all such private individuals incur excommunication at the hands of the Roman Pontiff.

“Moreover it is Our will and pleasure that what has been ordained by these letters be

established and ratified, notwithstanding anything whatsoever to the contrary.

“Given at Rome at St Peter’s, on the ninth day of October in the ninth year of Our pontificate.

“PIUS THE TENTH, POPE.”<sup>1</sup>

We can imagine the state of mind of a credulous Roman Catholic going before the Bishop, as a Grand Jury, and asking for leave to proceed in a law court against a priest who has criminally or civilly wronged him. And we can imagine the steps the Bishop would take to bring about what Bishop O’Donnell calls a “peaceable” settlement.

“The effect of the decree,” wrote a London newspaper,<sup>2</sup> “is to deny the Roman Catholic justice and to deprive him of one of the most elementary rights of the citizen. . . . It comes as evidence to prove that the Church of Rome has abated none of its ancient claims, and stands in the twentieth century precisely where it stood in the twelfth.”

“If, in the light of the decree,” wrote a Dublin newspaper,<sup>3</sup> “the Nonconformist states-

<sup>1</sup> ‘Dublin Daily Express,’ Dec. 22, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Daily Mail,’ Dec. 23, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Irish Times,’ Dec. 26, 1911.

men—Mr Asquith, Lord Haldane, Mr Birrell, Mr Lloyd George—and the other Protestant members of the Ministry persist in handing over the destinies of Ireland to men whose consciences as legislators are kept under the direst sanctions, they will betray not merely the Unionists of Ireland (for whom they have but little care), but every principle of British liberty.”

## CHAPTER XXV.

## HOME RULE MUST LEAD TO SEPARATION.

THE Irish Seceders in Parliament could not, if they would, repeat the obstructive tactics by which the Parnellites made their name!

Local Government and Land Purchase have killed their power for Agitation!

The forty-ninth point, headed "Lord Rosebery's Nonsense," is that the Liberal ex-Premier is "the most cheerless prophet of modern times," for saying that "dual government is a vulture gnawing at the vitals of the Empire." A defence of Lord Rosebery is not germane to the subject under consideration. But if he said this *apropos* of the proposed breaking of the Union by setting up dual government at London and Dublin, one can entirely agree with him, and add that such a dual government



would gnaw away the vitals of the United Kingdom in a very short time. 'The Daily News,' of course, extols what it calls "dualism," alleging that it exists within the British Empire at present, and that the German Empire is "founded on dual government of one kind or another."

When one speaks of "dual government," it seems rather that one means two rival and co-ordinate systems. And such, it is true, are found in the British Empire, but not yet in the United Kingdom. The Governments of Australia and Canada are co-ordinate with the Government of the United Kingdom, for the home Government could do nothing, if it would, to prevent those Dominions from starting as independent nations. A trifling change only would be necessary: the dismissal of the Governor-General, the only official now sent out from home. It is idle to pretend that we should undertake a war to compel either Dominion to receive our Governor-General. For this reason our Empire cannot be called an Empire in the true sense of the word, which means a number of countries held together by force of arms and of law. Our Empire is, as the best authorities say, so far as the self-

governing Dominions are concerned, a voluntary alliance between kindred peoples based on kinship and mutual interest.

Where kinship does not exist, the alliance cannot be relied on, as in the case of the Canadian Romanists, who refused to contribute to the British Navy, and would build a fleet of their own; or the Africander Dutch, who tried to drive us out of South Africa. As long as the British Canadians are in the majority, they will maintain the voluntary alliance with the United Kingdom, as will the Australians and New Zealanders. It is false to say that "Canada resorted to rebellion," as 'The Daily News' says, "in order that a dualist form of government might be granted to her." The desire of the French Canadians was not for closer union with the United Kingdom, and they hoped that their dual government would lead to utter separation, as it would have done but for the influx of British immigrants. In South Africa the Dutch have just been given supreme control of the Dominion. It is too soon to pass judgment on that portentous event. The Dutch are not Romanist, but Protestant, and for that reason they are delivered from the machina-

tions of Roman ecclesiastics, and more likely than the French Canadians to remain loyal to a connection which costs them nothing, and cannot fail to be of great advantage to them.

The relations between the Commonwealth and Colonial Parliaments in Australia cannot be described as "dualism," any more than the relations between the Congress at Washington and the State Congresses, or between the Reichstag at Berlin and the State Parliaments throughout Germany. The spheres of the Commonwealth Parliament, the Washington Congress, and the Berlin Reichstag are kept distinct from the spheres of the Colonial and State Parliaments. If we began by establishing separate parliaments for England, Scotland, and Wales, or even if we established them simultaneously with a Dublin parliament, the United Kingdom would be adopting the system in force in Australia, Germany, and the United States, which is not "dualism." But there is no demand for local parliaments in Great Britain. The Government's attempt to create a demand, in order to cover its surrender to the Irish Seceders, has been an absolute failure. If a

parliament be now established in Dublin, it is absolutely certain to become an independent parliament. If it is not so at first, it will make itself independent by dint of agitation and rebellion. The establishment of such a second parliament might be justifiably called "dualism," and would make the United Kingdom what Abraham Lincoln said the United States would become if the Southern Confederacy had its way, namely, a house divided against itself. There would be "a vulture gnawing at its vitals," and it could not flourish.

The last and fiftieth point, called "The English Argument," is that "even if Ireland did not want Home Rule, it would have to be thrust upon her in the interests of the British democracy." The reason assigned for this is that the Irish Seceders obstruct British business in parliament, and the late Colonel Saunderson is quoted as having said, in 1898, that "he was thankful for the presence of the Irish members at Westminster because they retarded legislation." This quotation, taken out of its context, is likely to be most misleading. 'The Daily News' seems to know nothing of the late Ulster leader, *apropos* of

whom it says that "there is nothing which the old-fashioned Tory likes better than to see the Parliament machine moving very slowly." Colonel Saunderson, so far from being an old-fashioned Tory, was a Liberal until Mr Gladstone's sudden conversion to Home Rule, and sat from 1865 to 1874 as Liberal member for his native county of Cavan. When Colonel Saunderson was helping Captain Boycott and fighting against the Land League and National League, Mr Gladstone was as keen a Unionist as the Ulsterman, and was imprisoning Mr Parnell and his colleagues. So much for "the old-fashioned Tory!"

When Colonel Saunderson spoke of the Irish members retarding legislation, he was alluding to the days when they were full of energy and turbulence, and when money was freely pouring into their coffers. It is out of date to repeat in 1912 what was said in that connection in 1898. Since Local Government and Land Purchase were passed the Irish members have not retarded legislation at Westminster. It is absurd to say that "if Home Rule were denied to Ireland, Irish battles will all begin to be fought over again." There are no battles to fight. Home Rule, as I have shown, never

really appealed to the Irish public. The leaders in Parliament could not, if they would, repeat the tactics of obstruction by which the first Parnellites made their name. The old men and the new men are alike incapable, even if the new rules of Parliament did not make it impossible. Now that the Seceders have accepted the (to them) large salary of £400 a-year provided by the Treasury, subscriptions from Ireland and abroad will cease, and they will become the most quiescent, indifferent, and least active section of the House of Commons.

In closing its argument, 'The Daily News' exposes the insincerity of the Government's alleged policy of Home Rule All Round as naively as Mr Churchill, by saying that if British problems are to be attended to, "THE IRISH CLOG MUST BE REMOVED"—which is an admission that there is no Welsh, Scottish, or English clog, and that the Irish Seceders are THE ONLY SECTION wanting a separate parliament!

Are we to yield to "Fulvia" now, when she has ceased to be formidable? Are we to supply her with the power to do the United Kingdom more injury than she or

her predecessors have ever inflicted on it before or since the Union, because, forsooth, having bullied the British Parliament in Parnell's day, she may resume her scolding if we do not surrender to her? One would fain trust that even the most selfish, cowardly, and henpecked type of man, who calls himself a Britisher, will see the fallacy, and not merely the fallacy, but the treason of such a policy.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

## MR CHURCHILL'S DEFENCE OF THE TREASON.

MR CHURCHILL, with his wife, went to Belfast under the protection of 5000 soldiers to address 5000 Roman Catholic Seceders in a tent outside the loyal city which refused him the use of a hall!

Mr Winston Churchill put the case for breaking the Union in the most captivating form at Belfast.<sup>1</sup> He is a new force in British politics, being the first Yankee "orator" of a stereotyped class, well known in the United States, who has become a British Cabinet Minister. His sounding phrases, solemn countenance, and wise shakes of the head are all redolent of the paid "orator" of the American shows. Belfast regarded his visit as that of a public burglar, able and determined to loot

<sup>1</sup> 'The Times,' Feb. 9, 1912, and other daily papers.



the city by means of the Seceders' votes, and asking leave to boom his methods in the most comfortable hall in Belfast! Let those who are disposed to criticise try to put themselves in the place of the Belfast people, and ask themselves how they would act if it was proposed to put their persons and property under the rule of a parliament dominated by moonlighters, perpetrators of agrarian outrage, and Roman ecclesiastics! The Belfast people gave him to understand that he was not welcome in the city, and his Roman Catholic friends placed at his disposal a Nationalist football field, in a marsh outside the city, and Mr Churchill brought a tent with him from Great Britain. There, under the protection of 5000 soldiers and a thousand constabulary, he spoke to 5000 people, 90 per cent of whom were Romanists, called together by Mr Devlin, M.P.; and immediately after his deliverance he departed from Ireland "amidst a storm of hisses" from the Protestant loyalists of Belfast and Larne.

Standing beside Mr Redmond, he told the assembled Seceders that they were to have "an Irish Parliament with an Irish Executive responsible to it," having "a real responsibility

in finance," and "able to grip and to control large areas of taxation." When the Ulster merchants and mechanics read this the next day, they must have felt the grip of Mr Redmond already on their savings and earnings!

Plagiarising a well-known advertisement of pens, he said Home Rule would "come as a boon and a blessing to the Empire." A voice shouted—it may have been Boss Croker's—"And to America!" Whatever may have been the meaning of the interrupter, Home Rule would give the United States such a lever over the British Parliament that British independence would be only a name and no longer a reality.

His real business being to secure three years of office for himself and his colleagues from Mr Redmond, and to offer Mr Redmond in return an Irish Parliament and Executive "able to grip and control" the obnoxious Protestants who had compelled them to meet in a dripping tent in a marsh, he hid his humiliation by "oratory" about "the great dream which could be dreamed of ultimate unity with the English-speaking peoples all over the world!" He had the Irish political boss

of America before his mind. "In every other part of the English-speaking world," he said, "Irishmen have won their way, out of all proportion to their numbers, to positions of trust, affluence, and authority—PARTICULARLY POLITICAL AUTHORITY!" Is it not obvious that, if the Irish boss were to get a Parliament of his own in Dublin, he might be trusted to see to it that, in the rivalry between the Parliaments, Dublin and not Westminster would always come out on top? It is not true of the Romanist Irish, amongst whom he spoke that day, that they win positions of trust, affluence, and authority abroad, out of all proportion to their numbers. That is true of the Protestant Irish who support the Union, and told Mr Churchill that he was not welcome to give particulars of his treason in Belfast. Mr Churchill wants to annex their achievements for the Seceders' benefit, just as his party try to annex the achievements of Grattan's Parliament and put them to the credit of Mr Redmond and the Nationalists!

He asked us to believe that, after Home Rule, the Irish Seceders would give their loyalty and service to England, and not to Ireland as distinct from England, which

implied a poor opinion of their political astuteness and of the intelligence of those who would read his speech. If, as he contended, without adducing any proof, the Irish-Americans "have deflected the policy of the United States" prejudicially to Great Britain in the past, have they not done so for their own ends, and will they not do so with greater effect than ever when they have a Parliament and Executive of their own at Dublin? It is not for the benefit of Great Britain that the Separatist wirepullers have worked for Home Rule, it is not for her benefit they would use it if they got it. It is to "Ireland a Nation"—Ireland separate and distinct from Great Britain—in other words, to their noble selves, AND THEIR RELIGION, that the Seceders will give their loyalty and service after Home Rule!

The speed and ruthlessness with which a number of suffragettes were consecutively hurled out of the meeting showed "the strong hand" of Mr Devlin and Mr Redmond. No English meeting ever handled the sisterhood so thoroughly. One would have imagined that a body of New York policemen constituted the stewards.

“Will you give self-government to the women of Ireland?” cried a suffragette, just before she was hurled out of the tent into the rain and the marsh. A pertinent question, for, under a Romanist Parliament, the women of Ireland would become as the women of Spain and Portugal—prisoners and slaves to be kept in subjection and espionage!

But, perhaps, the high-water mark of confidence in his own power of deception was reached when he described “the valiant Boers” and the Dublin Fusiliers fighting at the Tugela River.

“AND NOW,” he exclaimed, “WE HAVE GOT THEM BOTH!”

This is the very language of puerile cowardice, and, if it prevail in England, it is the sure symptom of national death. If we have GOT the Boers, we have GOT them by giving them control of the British South Africa which, AFTER GRANTING BOER HOME RULE, we had to fight for and failed to preserve for Britishers! It is easy to GET people on such terms, as long as you have something to give away—almost as easy as to get a collection of new farthings by paying a sovereign apiece for them!

Mr Churchill presumably is going to GET the Irish Seceders by giving them the fair land of Ireland to work their will upon—that land for which Britons have fought all down the centuries, for which Britain has done so much, and which is now prosperous and loyal and no trouble or danger whatever to us—beyond the scolding of “Fulvia,” whose tongue is getting soft under the influence of increasing years and will grow softer under the influence of increased pin-money! Great Britain may exist in all her ancient independence without South Africa, but with an independent Romanist Ireland on her west, her day as a great power would have come to an end.

Mr Churchill said that, after Home Rule, Great Britain would be bound to continue subsidising Ireland by making advances for Land Purchase and payment of old age pensions. If the Asquith-Redmond Government is unable to advance the badly needed money for Land Purchase now, owing to the reluctance of the money market, how can it hope the market will be more favourable after Home Rule? The certainty is, as the Unpurchased Tenants' Association pointed out, that the money would have to be bor-

rowed at a much higher rate of interest after Home Rule, and the tenants would strike against the increased annuities, or, as is more likely, the Dublin Parliament would force the landlords to sell at prairie value.

Mr Churchill followed Mr Birrell by inaccurately fixing the Irish deficit permanently at £2,000,000 a-year. And he justified the policy of Great Britain bearing that deficit AFTER HOME RULE by the same plea as I have advanced for Great Britain bearing it UNDER THE UNION! He says Ireland, AFTER HOME RULE, would be "a great breakwater across our Atlantic flank . . . worth on military grounds alone many divisions of the fleet and of the army." Ireland is all that now, and the passing of a Home Rule Act would only undo that happy state of affairs. Ireland has been a protection to us on the west ever since 1800, and, as such, was and is well worth a subsidy of £2,000,000 a-year on that ground alone. But after Home Rule that state of things will no longer continue, and if Great Britain is to pay the subsidy still, she will not receive the return for it in the shape of national defence that she now receives.

He advanced it as an inducement to Union-

ists to consent to break the Union that there would be fewer Irish representatives at Westminster after Home Rule—presumably under a redistribution of seats on a basis of population. But that reduction can be fairly effected without breaking the Union! And, in any case, fifty Seceders would be as likely as eighty to hold the balance of power at some future date, and, in alliance with a Radical-Nonconformist Government, create, after Home Rule, an even more humiliating and dangerous situation than the present.

“The separation of Ireland from Great Britain,” he said, “is impossible,” because of her “economic dependence” on Great Britain for the sale of her agricultural produce. But ‘The Daily News’ tells us that Ireland is now “an economic paradox,” because she exports her produce to England, and it would apparently be the patriotic aim of the Seceders after Home Rule to abolish that “economic dependence.” The history of Roman Catholic Ireland, which it is evident that Mr Churchill has not carefully read, shows that the class of Irishman with whom he is now in alliance has always done, and is most likely to do, what is commercially to Ireland’s disadvantage. It



was against their best interests, as even Mr Churchill would admit if he were not afraid of Mr Redmond, to follow the political advice of the Popes all down the centuries. It is against their best interests to-day to follow the papal advice, or rather commands, in the *Ne Temere* decree and the *Motu Proprio*, yet they follow it, and Mr Redmond dare not open his mouth in protest, though they have so prejudiced his case in the eyes of Britishers!

The most substantial part of Mr Churchill's speech was the offer of seven guarantees to Unionists to induce them to accept his policy of disruption and secession. With an audacity so naïve as almost to disarm criticism, he said, "THE FIRST OF ALL SAFEGUARDS WILL BE THE IRISH PARLIAMENT," because in it "provision will be made for minority representation!"

What can a minority, not exceeding one-fourth at the utmost, achieve in a caucus-ruled parliament managed on the "boss" system which has always prevailed in the Nationalist parliamentary party? The people of Ulster are hard-working business men who do not go in for professional politics, and their members could never attain to that position of undue

influence which the Seceders attained at Westminster.

His second guarantee was that "the Crown will be able to refuse its assent to an unjust Irish Bill." Mr Churchill thus resurrects Mr Gladstone's argument about "the golden link of the Crown," which was exploded by the separation of Norway from Sweden. But, what is much more important, he has forgotten how his chief, Mr Asquith, assured the country, and laid it down as a constitutional axiom in the debates on the Parliament Bill, that the veto of the Crown HAS BECOME EXTINCT BY DISUSE AND CAN NEVER BE REVIVED IN THIS COUNTRY! If the veto of the Crown were to be used against popular sentiment in Ireland, and never so used in England, it would utterly destroy the influence of the Crown in Ireland and make the Sovereign an object of execration to the Separatist majority.

Mr Churchill's third guarantee was that "the Imperial Parliament will be able to repeal an unjust Bill." But surely he must know that, if such a power were exercised, it would cause a conflict between the Westminster and Dublin Parliaments, for a Bill which might be deemed "unjust" by Englishmen would be deemed

necessary and patriotic by the Separatist Parliament at Dublin which passed it in the first instance. To paraphrase his own words, such a safeguard would "condemn British Governments to maintain a perpetual quarrel with the Irish nation, FOR IT IS A NATION"; and would prove to be "the accursed machinery by which hatred is manufactured and preserved."

The Union has been, and is, the only way to peace and friendship. Peace and friendship and prosperity exist under the Union. We can afford to ignore "the shrill-toned Fulvia," she is ALMOST powerless now, and will be absolutely powerless after a Redistribution Act.

The fourth guarantee was that "the Home Rule Bill will contain provisions safeguarding religious freedom." But Mr Churchill did not define or specify any of those provisions! He must know well that no workable safeguards can be devised to prevent a Dublin Parliament, as Romanist as Rinucini's, from putting into operation the full socio-politico-religious creed of the Roman system, which in the last resort means extinction to Protestantism and mental freedom, and means life only for religiosity,

secret societies (publicly condemned and privately fostered by the ecclesiastics), and political intrigues of the worst description.

His fifth guarantee was that "if any law passed in Ireland transgresses the limits laid down in the Home Rule Act, the Privy Council will be able to declare it void." But, once again, if the Privy Council should dare to exercise that power conferred on them on paper, it would cause a tremendous agitation, compared with which all agitations under the Union would seem trivial. What! Allow a little group of English lawyers to reverse a decision of the Parliament of College Green! And there could be only one end to such an agitation, namely, the passage of a second Home Rule Act abolishing the Privy Council's right of supervision.

The sixth guarantee is that "the Imperial Parliament, overwhelmingly Protestant, would certainly resent any Irish attempt to act in a spirit of religious intolerance, and it would be its bounden duty to interfere and assert its authority." The hollowness of such a profession is obvious. Why does not the Imperial Parliament resent the intolerance displayed now under the *Ne Temere* decree and the *Motu*

*Proprio?* If it lacks courage or ability to do "its bounden duty" under the Union, how much more impotent shall it not be under Home Rule! The Imperial Parliament has done much to control the growth of the power of the Roman system under the Union in Ireland. But what has it been able to do in that respect in Home-ruled Quebec, which, but for the influx of Protestant immigrants, would now control Canada from Atlantic to Pacific?

The last guarantee is that "all the military forces will be under the Imperial Parliament." This is as useless as all the other guarantees: for the military can only act alone when matters have reached a state of war. When the military are called out in Great Britain, it is always under the authority of the civil magistrates, and they act in conjunction with the police. In Ireland, after Home Rule, if the military were called out, the civil magistrates and the police would be with the persons against whom the military would have been called out. And, if the soldiers took action, it would have to be against the civil authorities and the people combined.

A new force, the Irish Romanist Volunteers, would also have to be reckoned with. If

Volunteers be not given in the first Home Rule Act, they will be given in a second Act. Therefore, besides the people and the civil authorities, there would be a disciplined and armed force to contend with, and THAT WOULD BE WAR.

For Great Britain to wage war against the Irish at this stage of the world's history would be impossible; and the only alternative left would be to follow the precedent set by Mr Churchill and his colleagues and execute a SURRENDER to Fulvia transformed from a scold into an Amazon, from a domestic cat into a tiger, the surrender to be followed up by complete Irish independence of Great Britain!

The proposals of the Nonconformist Government are many and revolutionary. But there is this to be remembered. Other Acts of Parliament passed by them may be repealed; but HOME RULE, ONCE PASSED, CANNOT BE REPEALED. Therefore it is on the saving of the Union that all the efforts of patriotic men and women must now be concentrated.

The Irish Protestants were sacrificed when Irish manufactures were destroyed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Again

they were sacrificed at the passage of the Union. But there was always the assurance that they were safe from the Romanist enemies of their mental and religious freedom. The light of human liberty may have flickered, but it never went out.

Before 1782 they had a Protestant British Parliament to rule over their own legislature; from 1782 to 1800 they had Grattan's exclusively Protestant Parliament; since 1800 they have had the United Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland. If they are now deprived of the protection of that Parliament, in other words, if they are stripped of the citizenship of the "United" Kingdom, they will have been SOLD AND BETRAYED to Romanism—A MILLION AND A QUARTER OF THEM—a transaction unparalleled in the history of European Christianity, a complete reversal of the policy pursued by England since the defeat of the Armada!

The massacre of the Huguenots was more savage, perhaps, but in no sense was it a more retrograde or infamous transaction than the treason now contemplated by Mr Asquith and his Nonconformist Government, who are about

to sell into mental slavery, giving them the cruel option of flight, a million and a quarter of the best white men in the world. And Mr Asquith and his friends cry out as they proceed with the sale, like the chief priests and elders of Jerusalem, “THEIR BLOOD BE UPON US AND ON OUR CHILDREN!”



## INDEX.

---

- Abductions, under papal decrees, 293-5, 298-300
- Abercromby, Sir Ralph, 146
- Aberdeen, Lord, 25, 185, 186; and M'Cann case, 277
- Agitation, Irish, will only be possible henceforth if Home Rule be given, 210-15, 321-3
- Agricultural produce, Irish, compared with other countries, 216-8
- Alcohol, cheaper price advocated for Ireland, 84, 89; Irish consumption, 92-3; reduction of tax on, 198
- American Civil War, vii, 178, 223-5
- Ardill, Canon, 300
- Arundell, Abp. of Canterbury, 121
- Ascendency party in Ireland, the new, 173
- Asquith, Mr, 2, 10; offer to Redmond, 96; opportunism, 101, 113; pact with Redmond on education, 117; Home Rule, 140, 190; ill-timed surrender, 208-9; Lincoln would have hanged him, 216; and civil marriages, 274; outmanœuvred by hierarchy, 279-80; guarantees in his Bill valueless, 333-8; and veto of Crown, 334
- Attainder, Catholic Parliament's Act of, 138-9
- Augher, 130
- Australia, trade compared with Irish, 205, 218
- Austrians in Venice, 183
- Bacon, Lord, on Ireland, 124
- Baltimore, corporation, 22-3
- Bandon, Earl of, 253
- Barry, Father William, 60
- Barry, Lord Chancellor, 185, 214-5
- Beauregard, American Romanist Seceder, 224
- Belfast, libels on, by Birrell, 11, 160; working men, 61-2; exceeds all Irish county-boroughs combined, 252; water commissioners, 252
- Benburb, battle of, 134
- Benson, Father R. H., 60
- Bigamy, condoned and encouraged, 288
- Birrell, Mr A., 2, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13-15; and Irish Councils Bill, 34-5; and "Priest in Politics," 34-5; financial misstatements, 84-5, 181, 185-6; brutal levity, 194; afraid of bishops, 271, 279; M'Cann case, 278-80, 286-7
- Blaney, Mr, M.P. for Monaghan, 130
- Boers, Mr Churchill's view of, 329; Seceders' view of, 52, 171, 189, 254, 257
- Boulter, Abp., 124
- Boycott, Captain, 321
- Boyne, battle of, 139
- Bride, attempted abduction by priests, 298-300

- Bright, John, and Home Rule, 3-4 ; Protestants and Catholics, 15-16  
 'British Weekly,' 55 ; and popery, 59-60, 118, 120, 280  
 Brooks, Mr S., 182  
 Browne, Bishop of Cloyne, 282  
 Bulgaria, compared with Ireland, 244-6  
 Buller, Sir R., in Ireland, 152  
 Butt, Isaac, 201
- Cadburys, the, 55, 279  
 Canada, trade, 205 ; Home Rule, 220-2, 275, 337  
 "Carriion-crows," Birrell's nickname for Unionists, 15 ; applicable to Nonconformist wire-pullers, 101  
 Castlereagh, Lord, 147-9  
 "Catholic Army" atrocities, 130  
 Caulfield, Lord, 130  
 Chamberlain, Mr Joseph, and Home Rule, 3-4, 183  
 Charles I., 129, 132-6  
 Charles II., 168  
 Churchill, Lord Randolph, 142 ; interview with Col. Saunderson, 149-53  
 Churchill, Mr Winston—Sabbath, 43 ; Home Rule all round, 47-54 ; Belfast working men, 61 ; principles, 149 ; and Welsh strikes, 210 ; Belfast speech examined, 324-38  
 Civil War, English, 131-6  
 Clare, Lord Chancellor, 67  
 Clogy, historian, 135  
 Coercion in Ireland, 97-8  
 Colonies, parliaments in, 53  
 Constabulary, Royal Irish, how paid, 88-9 ; inefficiency explained, 110-11, 113-14 ; proposed reduction, 197-8 ; *passim*  
 Cooke, Under Secretary, 81  
 Cork, county-borough, 252 ; election, 161  
 Cotton trade, Irish, 207  
 Councils Bill, Irish, 1907, 32, 34-5, 280  
 Councils, County, expenditure, 196-7 ; disloyalty, 254-62 ; employment of Protestants, 259-62  
 Crime, Irish, explained, 109-13  
 Croker, Mr Richard, now in Dublin, 17, 20, 21-3, 33, 249, 326  
 Cromwell, Oliver, 3, 136, 168  
 Crown veto extinct, 334  
 Cullen, Cardinal, 304-8
- 'Daily News, The,' 55 ; shirks religious issue, 57 ; abusive language, 58 ; praise of Popery, 59-60 ; accusations against Pitt, 65, 86 ; favours cheap alcohol and tobacco for Ireland, 89 ; misinformation of Nonconformists, 55, 58, 118, 123, 124, 126-7, 128, 133, 140, 144, 146, 147-9, 153, 161-2, 163, 172, 179, 185, 187, 198, 220, 223, 227-8, 232-3, 251, 259, 263-4 ; advocates compulsory civil marriage in Ireland, 274, 280 ; ignorance about Colonel Saunderson, 320-1 ; *passim*  
 D'Arcy, Bishop, 45-6  
 Davis, Jefferson, 43, 51  
 Davitt, Mr Michael, relations with Rome, 159 ; land agitation, 201  
 Deficit, Irish, explained, 194  
 Denmark, compared with Ireland, 108, 246  
 Derry, siege of, 139 ; county-borough, 252  
 Detectives under orders of priests, 289-92  
 Devlin, Mr, M.P., 11, 28, 160, 192, 229-30, 276, 325  
 Dillon, Mr, M.P., 75, 159 ; would exterminate British, 192 ; afraid of priests, 302  
 Disestablishment, Irish, 5, 172, 176-7 ; Welsh, 36-9  
 Doctors, Irish, 57, 260-2  
 Donoughmore, Earl of, 287  
 Dougherty, Sir J., Under Secretary, 185, 186  
 Dublin—Castle, 17, 181-92 ; corporation, 17, 182, 196 ; police, 182 ; Patrick's Cathedral, 17, 167 ; compared with Belfast, 252  
 Dunraven, Lord, 185, 186
- Education—Nonconformist policy, 36 ; alleged difference between Irish and English problems, 57 ;

- Nonconformist inconsistency, 116;  
Irish contrasted with British,  
113-7; Roman ecclesiastics', con-  
trol of, 159; Scottish, 114; En-  
glish, 115; Welsh, 115
- Edward VII., and Home Rule, 5
- Emmet, Dr T. A., 282
- Emigration, Irish, not due to Union,  
105; from Ulster, 106; after  
Home Rule, 107
- Enniskillen, 130
- Errington, Sir G., at Rome, 147
- Evicted tenants, 18, 236
- Falconio, Cardinal, 22, 45
- Falkiner, Sir F., 176
- Famine, Irish, 101-4
- Farmers, Irish, constitute the nation,  
19
- Fenian rising, 158
- Ford, Pat, for Home Rule, 145
- Forest, Baron de, 162
- Forster, W. E., 97-8
- Financial falsehoods, refuted, 84-94,  
193-200
- Free Trade, 30
- French invasion of Ireland, 64-6,  
169-70; trade compared with  
Irish, 205
- "Fulvia," Birrell's nickname for  
Seceders, 14, 330, 335, 338
- George, Mr Lloyd, M.P., 2, 10, 57,  
279
- Germany, 50-1, 93-4, 319; invasion  
by, 168-172; trade compared with  
Irish, 205
- Gibbons, Cardinal, 22
- Gladstone, W. E., on Union, 79-  
80; Irish taxation, 87; coercion-  
ist, 98, 100; opportunist, 101;  
appeal to Pope, 147; Home Rule  
Bill, 189; Bulgaria, 245; Norway,  
247
- Grattan's Parliament, exclusively  
Protestant, 63-4; results of in-  
creased independence of, 64-6, 67;  
Roman Catholic view of, 70-1;  
misrepresented to Nonconformists,  
63, 71-2; Wolfe Tone and, 123;  
why abolished, 233; *passim*
- Greece, compared with Ireland, 246
- Green, Mrs J. R., on Ireland, 89
- "Guarantees," so-called, in Home  
Rule Bill unworkable, 333-8
- Hanscomb, Mr A. E., 12
- Harland, Sir E., 26; Harland and  
Wolff, *ibid.*
- Hart, Sir Robert, 248-9
- Healy, Mr Maurice, M.P., 161; Mr  
Timothy, 75, 159
- Hebriides, same taxation as Ireland,  
85
- Henry II., purchase of Ireland from  
Pope, 119
- Henry IV., owes his throne to Irish  
Papists, 121-2; statute for burn-  
ing Wickliffites, 121
- Henry VIII., discards Pope and  
takes title of King of Ireland, 119-  
20
- Henry, Bishop, 159-60
- Heretics, Roman view of, 40-1
- Hibernians, Ancient Order of, 159-  
60
- Hierarchy, Irish—demands through  
Redmond, 43-4; and marriage,  
45; supported Union, 73, 76, 147;  
feared by Nonconformist Gov-  
ernment, 76; Lord Randolph  
Churchill and, 149-50; control  
parliamentary representation, 159-  
60; best judge of Rome's inter-  
ests, 165; better politicians than  
Asquith, 271, 279-80; favour  
Home Rule, 282
- Home Rule—not expected in Ire-  
land, 19, 209; agitation would fol-  
low it, 20; Scottish, 29-30; All  
Round, a fraud, 31, 47-54, 322;  
should be non-party question, 37;  
Bishops in favour of, 282; is Rome  
Rule, 132, 146-66, 153, 155-65;  
would be resisted by Protestants,  
172-180; would be repeal of  
Union, 190; and Separation, 123,  
191-2; never a genuine agitation  
for, 201-2; Canada, a warning  
against, 222; colonial, examined  
and explained, 317-20; Religion  
in Ireland after, 41; Guarantees  
in Asquith's Bill valueless, 333-8;

- no disturbance would follow refusal, 321
- Horne, Mr Silvester, M.P., on the Roman Church, ix, 7, 10, 21, 33; on the "Priest in Politics," 34; Sabbath desecration, 42, 168, 280, 296; *passim*
- Horner, Mr, M.P., 56
- Horton, Dr, x, xi, 8
- Hunt, Mr Rowland, M.P., 165
- Insurance Act, and Ireland, 56-7
- "Ireland a Nation," after Home Rule, 327-8
- Ireland, defensive value to Great Britain, 168-72, 331
- James II. in Ireland, 136-40
- Jesuits in Ireland, 61, 125, 287
- Jones, Colonel, victory at Trim, 136
- Kavanagh, Arthur MacMorrough, M.P., 122
- Kells, battle of, 120
- Kelly, Malachy, 186
- Kettle, Professor, M.P., 192, 234
- Kildare, Earl of, 129
- Kilkenny, Catholic parliament, 132, 134-6
- Kruger, President, 170-1, 189
- Labour Members, payment of, 81
- Land, Irish—Treasury's loss on Stock, 194; probable taxation of, after Home Rule, 199, 234, 242-3; purchase policy of British Government, 234-43; obstruction by Seceders, 237-41; gains by Irish farmers from legislation, 237-8; Government's position after Home Rule, 241-2, 330-1; landlords, present position, 174, 234-43
- Lansbury, Mr G., M.P., 230
- Lansdowne, Marquis of, 49
- Laud, Abp., 129, 135
- Law, Mr Bonar, 12, 71
- Lecky, W. E. H., on Union, 80; Rebellion of 1641, 131, 135; Catholic Parliament of 1689, 138; Swift, 167; linen manufacture, 232
- Leinster, rateable value, 250-2
- Liberals, never proposed Home Rule except under duress, 100-1; Irish policy, 179, 211-12
- Limerick, county-borough, 252
- Lincoln, Abraham, 2, 52; would have hanged Asquith and Redmond, 216; view of Romanism in Civil War, 224-5; of Home Rule, 320
- Linen trade, Irish, value of, 207; possible taxation, 216, 217-30; prosperity solely due to Protestants, 231-2
- Lisburn, 130
- Logue, Cardinal, 32, 33, 107
- Londonderry, county-borough, 252; siege of, 139
- Lonsdale, Sir John, 12
- Lords, House of, 1, 36
- Louis XIV., and Ireland, 136
- Macaulay, Lord, on Catholic Parliament of 1689, 139
- M'Cann case, 276-80, 283-7
- MacDonnell, Lord, 61, 248-9
- MacMorrough, Art, 119-22
- MacNeill, Mr, M.P., 9, 28
- MacVeagh, Mr J., M.P., 47, 140-1
- Maguire, Rory, 130
- Mahaffy, Professor, 5
- Manning, Cardinal, 8
- Manufactures, Irish, misrepresentation about, 126-7; likely to be taxed under Home Rule, 199; present prosperity of, 207-8
- Marriage Laws, Irish—results and objects of new papal decree, 271-82; persecution of Protestants, 283-302
- Mary, Queen, in Ireland, 126, 128
- Master of the Rolls, 10
- Mill, J. S., in Ireland, 218-9
- "Molly Maguires," 28, 33
- Moore, Mr William, M.P., 142, 145
- Moriarty, Bishop, 158
- Morse, Professor, on Rome's interference in America, 225
- Motu Proprio*, examined and explained, 303-15, 333
- Mountjoy, Lord, 139
- Munro, Colonel, 134

- Munster, rateable value, 350-2  
 Murphy, Father, Enniscorthy, 270  
 Murray, Master of Elibank, 25, 29-30
- Ne Temere* decree, examined and explained, 271-82; persecution under, 283-302, 333  
 New Ross, battle of, 142  
 New York Corporation, 22  
 'New York Times,' 7, 11  
 New Zealand, trade compared with Irish, 218  
 Nicoll, Dr Robertson, 60, 280  
 Nonconformists — sympathy of author for, v; sale of Ireland by, v, vi; present Government, 2; education policy, 36; disestablishment, 36; patronage, 48-9; in Ireland, 286; and new marriage decree, 274, 315; deception of, by wire-pullers, 98, 101, 102, 106.  
 Treason, 2, 5, 6, 20, 60, 69-70, 253, 301; and Romanism, 7, 116-17, 118, 126, 133, 140, 144, 145, 264-6, 280; loss of numbers by Government policy, 49-50; and unity, 58; misinformation about Ireland, 55 *et seq.*; and education (*see* Education); "democratic ideals" dangerous, 168  
 Norfolk, Duke of, 162-5  
 North and South in Ireland, misrepresentation by 'Daily News,' 222-3  
 Norway, compared with Ireland, 247  
 Nulty, Bishop, on Parnell, 159
- O'Brien, Mr William, M.P., 75, 154, 158-9, 161; Mr Ignatius, Solicitor-General, 186  
 Obstruction now impossible, 320-22  
 O'Connell, Daniel, 147; subservience to Rome, 155-6, 164  
 O'Connor, Attorney-General, 186  
 O'Donnell, Bishop, 308-15; Earl of Tyrconnell, 122  
 O'Keefe, Father, 304-8  
 O'Mara, Mrs, murder of, 19  
 O'More, Rory, 129-31  
 O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, 122  
 O'Neill, Owen Roe, 3, 131-2, 134  
 O'Neill, Phelim, 3, 118, 129-31  
 Orangemen, view of Union in 1800 and now, 71  
 Orkney Islands, same taxation as Ireland, 86  
 Ormonde, Earl of, 129, 136  
 Outrages, how dealt with in France, 112-13.
- Parnell, Mr—monument, 20, 43; boss system, 24, 100; hounded down, 154; and Bishop Nulty, 159; the split, 159, 161; on Home Rule, 170, 188; and Mr Rhodes, 189; and Grattan's Parliament, 191-2; and protection, 199; *passim*.  
 Patronage, as exercised by present Government, 48-9, 123; after Home Rule, 107  
 Payment of Members, 49, 81; effect on Irish Seceders, 322  
 Peel, Sir Robert, 114, 147  
 Pensions, Old Age, 56, 85; Ireland cannot pay, 193-5  
 Picardy, agrarian crime compared with Irish, 111-12  
 Pirrie, Lord, 25-9, 124; Pirrie-ites, 263  
 Pitt, William, successful policy, 69; why he passed Union, 65-72, 233; and R.C. hierarchy, 76-7, 147-9; *passim*  
 Plunkett, Sir Horace, 206  
 Pole, Cardinal, 129  
 Pope of Rome, 3; supremacy in Ireland, 118 *et seq.*, 128, 133-41, 303-15; appealed to by British Premiers, 147; and Irish Seceders, 154, 276; encouraged Jeff. Davis, 225; Irish brigade, 158  
 Population, Irish, as compared with Denmark, 107-8  
 Portadown, 130  
 Poverty, Irish, misrepresentation by 'Daily News,' 59; where Seceders rule, 174  
 Poyning's Law, 188  
 Presbyterians, Irish, opposed to Home Rule, 28; number of, 263; and Rebellion, 123; and dis-

- establishment, 176; patronage for Seceders, 123
- Preston, Commander of Catholic forces, 134-5
- Pride, Irish, 200
- "Priest in Politics," address by author at Whitfield's Tabernacle, 34-5
- Priests in Parliament, 35
- Prosperity, Irish, due to Union, 204; details, 205-9
- Protection, in Ireland, 199
- Protestants, Irish, 6, 8, 9; loyalty to Union, 81-2; Jesuit view of, 125; resistance to Romanist Parliament, 172-80; good management of Ireland, 63-4, 93-4, 249; persecution of, 18, 130-1, 134-5, 137, 260-2, 283-302; threats by Redmond, 267-70; Home Rulers, 28-9, 68-9, 260; view of Union, 68, 83, 154; County Councils and, 259-62; loss by destruction of woollen trade, 127; doctor and parish priest, 260-2; opposition to Home Rule, vii, viii; sale and betrayal by Nonconformists, v-xi
- Rathmore, Lord, 176
- Rebellion, 1798, 65 *et seq.*; 142-6, 270; of 1641, 129-36
- Redistribution of seats, wanted, 332
- Redmond, Mr John, M.P., 2, 6; flouted by Cardinal Logue, 32; view of religion, 36, 41; Irish and English speeches contrasted, 39-40; on Sabbath observance, 42-3; deal with Asquith, 96; subservience to Rome, 157, 226-7, 333; beaten by bishops, 160, 186; and separation, 192; loss of power in Ireland, 202-3; frightens Asquith, 209; should take office, 214; Lincoln would have hanged him, 216; obstructs land purchase, 237-41; threats to Protestants, 267-70; fear of priests, 302-3; at Belfast, 325
- Redmond, Mr William, M.P., 19, 110
- Religion, at root of Irish question, 118-22, 140-1; the first thing after Home Rule, 36, 41
- Representation of People Act, 1884, effects in Ireland, 210-5, 332
- Rhodes, Cecil, bribe to Parnell, 189
- Richard II., Irish wars explained, 120-1
- Rinucini, Cardinal, 3, 133-6
- Robinson, Very Rev. J. J., 299
- Roche, Mr A., M.P., 161
- Roman Catholics—laity, 4, 6, 74-5; subservience to ecclesiastics, 77, 154, 162; casting lots for Protestants' property, 231; intolerance of, 265; deprived of civil rights by new papal decrees, 303-15. Ecclesiastics, in Ireland, 4, 6, 21, 39-41; in U.S.A., 21-2; adverse influence, 82-3; use physical force, 143; their agents in all parties, 145; suggested payment by State, 148; Lord Randolph Churchill and, 149-50; intolerance, 168; tyranny over laity, 173, 303-15; hatred of Protestants, 266; and education, 114. "Church," 7, 21. Grattan's Parliament and, 70-1, 76. Catholic army for Ireland, 95, 129-30. Emancipation gave hierarchy control of parliamentary representation, 76-8. Parliaments at Kilkenny and Dublin, 132-6, 137-40. English, attitude to Home Rule, 162-5
- Rome Rule (*see* Home Rule)
- Roosevelt, ex-President, 22
- Sabbath observance, 42-3
- Salisbury, Marquis of, appeal to Pope, 147
- Samuel, Mr Herbert, 30-33
- Saunderson, Colonel, interview with Lord Randolph Churchill, 149-53; misrepresented by 'Daily News,' 320-1
- Saxony, compared with Ireland, 93-4
- Scotland, education in, 114; Home Rule agitation, stillborn, 29-30, 48

- Scullabogue, massacre condoned by 'Daily News,' 142-4
- Seceders, jibed at by Birrell, 14; reject title of British, 95-6; discredited in Ireland, 202-3, and Westminster, 316, 320; indolence, 32, 211-5; double powers of, under Home Rule, 188-9; Protestant, 68-69; and Boer War, 52, 171, 189, 254, 257; American, 222-5
- Sectarianism, in Ireland, defined, 60-1; exclusively Romanist, 264
- Seely, Colonel, 42
- Separation, only alternative to Union, 123, 191-2, 244-8
- Servia, compared with Ireland, 246
- Shaw, Mr G. B., on Ireland, 148
- Shee, Major Archer, M.P., 165
- Spurgeon, C. H., on Home Rule, 3-4
- Stephen, Sir James Fitzjames, 1
- Strafford, Earl of, and woollen trade, 127, 129
- Sweden, trade compared with Irish, 205
- Swift, Dean, 166-7
- Switzerland, compared with Ireland, 246-7
- Sykes, Mr Mark, M.P., Pope's champion, 145; eulogised by Mr Asquith, 146, 165
- Taft, President, 22
- Talbot, Lord E., M.P., 165
- Talbot, R., Lord Deputy of Ireland, 136
- Tammany Hall, 20; in England, 48; in Ireland, 249
- Taxation, Irish, explained, 84-94; contribution to Exchequer since 1817, 88; income tax as compared with England, 89-90; pays less to and draws more from Exchequer than she ought, 91-2; Gladstone's proposal, 189-190; Home Rule would increase, 193-200; powers of Dublin Parliament, 326
- Temperance problems, Irish, 57
- Test Act in Ireland, 125
- Tobacco, cheaper, advocated for Ireland, 84, 198
- Tone, Wolfe, 119; position explained, 123, 124
- Transvaal, Home Rule compared with Irish, 170-1, 189
- Trade, Irish, examined and explained, 205-9
- Treason, defined, 1; Nonconformist, 1, and *passim*
- Trim, battle of, 136
- Ulster—women and Home Rule, 166, 174-5; resistance to Dublin rule, 172-80, 229; manufactures likely to be taxed, 199; rateable value compared with other provinces, 250-2; threatened by Redmond, 267-70
- Ulstermen, not professional politicians, 333-4
- Union, The—what it has achieved, 59, 82-3; necessary, 65 *et seq.*; contemporary Protestant view of, 67 *et seq.*; Lord Clare and, 67; present Protestant view of, 122; Orange view of, 71; R.C. view of, 70-1, 73; supported by R.C. hierarchy, 76; Mr Gladstone on, 79; a crime against Protestants, 79-80; Mr Lecky on, 80; alleged bribery, 80-1; result for Protestants, 81-2; Irish taxation under, 84-94; repeal of, 187-8; best policy for both countries, 201; complete success, 202-3; has brought prosperity to Ireland, 204-9
- Unionists, Irish, should not be forced to accept Dublin Parliament, 166; Unionist Alliance, Irish, 199; British, policy of, 179, 211-2; opposition to Home Rule, vii, viii
- United States, 51-2, 319-20; trade compared with Irish, 205, 218; influence here after Home Rule, 326
- Universities Bill, Irish, 33
- Venice, compared with Ireland, 183-4
- Volunteers, Irish, 97, 98-9; after Home Rule, 171, 188, 337-8

- Wales — disestablishment, 36-9 ;  
 mining strikes, 97 ; education,  
 115
- Walpole, Mr C. G., 129-30, 137
- Walsh, Archbishop, 17, 186, 303-8
- Warner, Dr, 130
- Waterford, county-borough, 252
- Wellington, Duke of, on Canadian  
 Home Rule, 220-1
- Wexford Bridge, massacre, 270
- Whitfield's Tabernacle, 10, 34-5
- White, Sir George, M.P., 2, 42
- Wickliffe, connection with Ireland,  
 120
- Wolff, Gustav, 26
- Women's suffrage, 37 ; Ulster, on  
 Home Rule, 166, 174-5 ; Catholic,  
 after Home Rule, 328-9
- Woollen trade, Irish, destruction  
 severe blow to Protestants, 127 ;  
 value of exports, 207
- Wurtemberg, compared with Ire-  
 land, 248

THE END.



A Catalogue  
of  
Messrs William Blackwood & Sons'  
Publications

General Literature	. . .	Page 3
Educational Works	. . .	„ 33

45 GEORGE STREET  
EDINBURGH

37 PATERNOSTER ROW  
LONDON, E.C.

“‘Blackwood’ remains without a rival.”—*The Daily Mail*.

# BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE.

“I wonder whether readers are appreciating as they should the extraordinary life and vigour with which ‘Blackwood’s Magazine’ is being conducted. It is like no other Magazine in the world in its range of subject and interest.”—*Sir William Robertson Nicoll in ‘The British Weekly.’*

“We are never disappointed when we open BLACKWOOD. ‘Maga’ has a distinction, character, and note of its own. Grave or gay, it is always full of good things and of good literature.”—*Army and Navy Gazette*.

“The other day the reviewer heard a man remark that he never read ‘Blackwood’; it clearly shows how blind people can be when the very best lies under their eyes, for not to read ‘Blackwood’ in these days is to miss incomparably the most literary and the most interesting of the monthly magazines.”—*The Times of India*.

*Subscribers both at home and abroad can have ‘Blackwood’s Magazine’ sent by post monthly from the Publishing Office, 45 George Street, Edinburgh, for 30s. yearly.*

# GENERAL LITERATURE.

## ACCOUNTANTS' MAGAZINE, THE.

Monthly, except September and October. 6d. net.

## ACTA SANCTORUM HIBERNIÆ;

Ex Codice Salmanticensi. Nunc primum integre edita opera CAROLI DE SMEDT et JOSEPHI DE BACKER, e Soc. Jesu, Hagiographorum Bollandianorum; Auctore et Sumptus Largiente JOANNE PATRICIO MARCHIONE BOTHÆ. In One handsome 4to Volume, bound in half roxburgh, £2, 2s.; in paper cover, 31s. 6d.

## ADAMSON, PROFESSOR.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY. With other Lectures and Essays. By ROBERT ADAMSON, LL.D., late Professor of Logic in the University of Glasgow. Edited by Professor W. R. SORLEY, University of Cambridge. In 2 vols. demy 8vo, 18s. net.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY. Edited by Professor W. R. SORLEY, University of Cambridge. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY. Edited by Professor SORLEY and R. P. HARDIE, M.A. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

A SHORT HISTORY OF LOGIC. Edited by Professor W. R. SORLEY, University of Cambridge. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

FICHTE. (Philosophical Classics for English Readers.) Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

## AIKMAN, DR C. M.

MANURES AND THE PRINCIPLES OF MANURING. By C. M. AIKMAN, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., &c., formerly Professor of Chemistry, Glasgow Veterinary College, and Examiner in Chemistry, University of Glasgow, &c. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. 6d.

FARMYARD MANURE: ITS NATURE, COMPOSITION, AND TREATMENT. Crown 8vo, 1s. 6d.

## ALISON, SIR ARCHIBALD, BART.

HISTORY OF EUROPE. By Sir ARCHIBALD ALISON, Bart., D.C.L.

1. FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

*People's Edition*, 13 vols. crown 8vo, £2, 11s.

2. CONTINUATION TO THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON.

*Library Edition*, 8 vols. 8vo, £6, 7s. 6d.

*People's Edition*, 8 vols. crown 8vo, 34s.

## ALLEN, J. W.

THE PLACE OF HISTORY IN EDUCATION. By J. W. ALLEN. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

## ALMOND, HELY HUTCHINSON.

CHRIST THE PROTESTANT, AND OTHER SERMONS. By HELY HUTCHINSON ALMOND. Crown 8vo, 5s.

## ANCIENT CLASSICS FOR ENGLISH

READERS. Edited by Rev. W. LUCAS COLLINS, M.A. Price 1s. each net. *For List of Vols. see p. 32.*

## ANDERSON, REV. GEORGE, B.D.

THE SCOTTISH PASTOR. A Manual of Pastoral Theology. By Rev. GEORGE ANDERSON, B.D., Minister of Renfrew, Lecturer on Pastoral Theology under the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

## A PLAIN WOMAN.

POOR NELLIE. By A PLAIN WOMAN. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

## ARMYTAGE, A. J. GREEN.

MAIDS OF HONOUR. By A. J. GREEN-ARMYTAGE. Crown 8vo, 5s.

## ATKINSON, MABEL.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SCOTLAND. By MABEL ATKINSON, M.A. Demy 8vo, 5s. net.

**AYTOUN, PROFESSOR.**

LAYS OF THE SCOTTISH CAVALIERS, AND OTHER POEMS. By W. EDMONDSTONE AYTOUN, D.C.L., Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres in the University of Edinburgh. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 3s. 6d. Cheap Edition. Cloth, 1s. 3d. Paper covers, 1s.

AN ILLUSTRATED EDITION OF THE LAYS OF THE SCOTTISH CAVALIERS. From designs by Sir NOEL PATON. Small 4to, 10s. 6d.

**BAIRD, J. G. A.**

THE PRIVATE LETTERS OF THE MARQUESS OF DALHOUSIE. Edited by J. G. A. BAIRD. Second Impression. With Portraits and Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 15s. net. Popular Edition. Demy 8vo, 6s. net.

**BAIRD LECTURES.**

(See under FLINT, MITCHELL, NICOL, and ROBERTSON.)

**BANKS, D. C.**

THE ETHICS OF WORK AND WEALTH. By D. C. BANKS. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**BARBOUR, G. F., D.Phil.**

A PHILOSOPHICAL STUDY OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS. By G. F. BARBOUR, D.Phil. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

**BARBOUR, R. W.**

THOUGHTS FROM THE WRITINGS OF R. W. BARBOUR. Post 8vo, limp leather, 2s. 6d. net.

**"BARFLEUR."**

NAVAL POLICY. A PLEA FOR THE STUDY OF WAR. By "BARFLEUR." Demy 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

**BARRETT, C. R. B.**

HISTORY OF THE 13th HUSSARS. By C. R. B. BARRETT. 2 vols. small 4to. Illustrated. 63s. net.

**BARRINGTON, MICHAEL.**

THE KING'S FOOL. By MICHAEL BARRINGTON. Crown 8vo, 6s.

THE REMINISCENCES OF SIR BARRINGTON BEAUMONT, BART. A Novel. Crown 8vo, 6s

**BARTLETT, E. ASHMEAD.**

THE PASSING OF THE SHEREEFIAN EMPIRE. By E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT. Illustrated. Demy 8vo, 15s. net.

**BELLESHEIM, ALPHONS, D.D.**

HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. From the Introduction of Christianity to the Present Day. By ALPHONS BELLESHEIM, D.D., Canon of Aix-la-Chapelle. Translated, with Notes and Additions, by Sir D. OSWALD HUNTER BLAIR, Bart., O.S.B., Monk of Fort Augustus. Cheap Edition. Complete in 4 vols. demy 8vo, with Maps. Price 21s. net.

**BESANT, SIR WALTER.**

RABELAIS. (Foreign Classics for English Readers.) By Sir WALTER BESANT. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**BLACK, KENNETH MACLEOD.**

THE SCOTS CHURCHES IN ENGLAND. By KENNETH MACLEOD BLACK. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**BLACKBURN, DOUGLAS.**

A BURGHER QUIXOTE. By DOUGLAS BLACKBURN, Author of 'Prinsloo of Prinsloordorp.' Second Impression. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**RICHARD HARTLEY: PROSPECTOR.**

Crown 8vo, 6s.

**BLACKIE, JOHN STUART.**

NOTES OF A LIFE. By JOHN STUART BLACKIE. Edited by his Nephew, A. STODART WALKER. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

THE LETTERS OF JOHN STUART BLACKIE TO HIS WIFE. With a few earlier ones to his Parents. Selected and edited by his Nephew, A. STODART WALKER. Second Impression. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

**BLACKWOOD.**

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE. Monthly, 2s. 6d. Post free for one year, 30s.

**ANNALS OF A PUBLISHING HOUSE.**

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND HIS SONS; THEIR MAGAZINE AND FRIENDS. By Mrs OLIPHANT. With Four Portraits. Third Edition. Demy 8vo. Vols. I. and II., £2, 2s. Large Paper Edition, £4, 4s. net.

**ANNALS OF A PUBLISHING HOUSE.**

Vol. III. JOHN BLACKWOOD. By his Daughter, Mrs BLACKWOOD PORTER. With Two Portraits and View of Strath-tyrum. Demy 8vo, 21s. Large Paper Edition, £2, 2s. net.

**BLACKWOOD.**—*contd.*

**TALES FROM BLACKWOOD.** First Series. Price 1s. each in Paper Cover.

They may also be had bound in 12 vols., cloth, 18s. Half calf, richly gilt, 30s.

Or the 12 vols. in 6, roxburgh, 21s. Half red morocco, 28s.

**TALES FROM BLACKWOOD.** Second Series. Complete in Twenty-four Shilling Parts. Handsomely bound in 12 vols., cloth, 30s. In leather back, roxburgh style, 37s. 6d. Half calf, gilt, 52s. 6d. Half morocco, 55s.

**TALES FROM BLACKWOOD.** Third Series. Complete in Twelve Shilling Parts. Handsomely bound in 6 vols., cloth, 15s.; and in 12 vols., cloth, 18s. The 6 vols. in roxburgh, 21s. Half calf, 25s. Half morocco, 28s.

**TRAVEL, ADVENTURE, AND SPORT.** From 'Blackwood's Magazine.' Uniform with 'Tales from Blackwood.' In Twelve Parts, each price 1s. Handsomely bound in 6 vols., cloth, 15s. And in half calf, 25s.

**NEW EDUCATIONAL SERIES.** See separate Educational Catalogue.

**NEW UNIFORM SERIES OF NOVELS** (Copyright).

Crown 8vo, cloth. Price 3s. 6d. each.

WENDERHOLME. By P. G. Hamerton.  
THE STORY OF MARGRÉDEL. By D. Storrar Meldrum.

A SENSITIVE PLANT. By E. D. Gerard.  
LADY LEE'S WIDOWHOOD. By General Sir E. B. Hamley.

KATIE STEWART, and other Stories. By Mrs Oliphant.

VALENTINE AND HIS BROTHER. By the Same.

SONS AND DAUGHTERS. By the Same.  
MARMORNE. By P. G. Hamerton.

REATA. By E. D. Gerard.

BEGGAR MY NEIGHBOUR. By the Same.  
THE WATERS OF HERCULES. By the Same.

FAIR TO SEE. By L. W. M. Lockhart.  
MINE IS THINE. By the Same.

DOUBLES AND QUITS. By the Same.

PICCADILLY. By Laurence Oliphant.  
With Illustrations.

LADY BABY. By D. Gerard.

POOR NELLIE. By A Plain Woman.

**STANDARD NOVELS.** Uniform in size and binding. Each complete in one Volume.

**BLACKWOOD**—*contd.*

**FLORIN SERIES.** Illustrated Boards.

Bound in Cloth, 2s. 6d.

THE CRUISE OF THE MIDGE. By the Same.

CYRIL THORNTON. By Capt. Hamilton.

THE PROVOST, &c. By John Galt.

SIR ANDREW WYLIE. By the Same.

REGINALD DALTON. By J. G. Lockhart.

PEN OWEN. By Dean Hook.

ADAM BLAIR. By J. G. Lockhart.

LADY LEE'S WIDOWHOOD. By General Sir E. B. Hamley.

THE PERPETUAL CURATE. By Mrs Oliphant.

JOHN! A Love Story. By the Same.

**SHILLING SERIES,** Illustrated Cover.

Bound in Cloth, 1s. 6d.

THE RECTOR, and THE DOCTOR'S FAMILY. By Mrs Oliphant.

THE LIFE OF MANSIE WAUCH. By D. M. Moir.

PENINSULAR SCENES AND SKETCHES. By F. Hardman.

SIR FRIZZLE PUMPKIN, NIGHTS AT MESS, &c.

VALERIUS: A Roman Story. By J. G. Lockhart.

**BON GAULTIER'S BOOK OF BALLADS.** Eighteenth Edition, with Autobiographical Introduction by Sir THEODORE MARTIN, K.C.B. With Illustrations by Doyle, Leech, and Crowquill. Small 4to, 5s. net.

**BOWHILL, MAJOR J. H.**

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS IN THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MILITARY TOPOGRAPHY. By Major J. H. BOWHILL. Crown 8vo, 4s. 6d. net. Portfolio containing 34 working plans and diagrams, 3s. 6d. net.

**BRACKENBURY, GENERAL SIR HENRY, G.C.B.**

SOME MEMORIES OF MY SPARE TIME, 1856-1885. By General the Right Hon. Sir HENRY BRACKENBURY, G.C.B. With Portrait. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**BREADALBANE, THE MARCHIONESS OF.**

THE HIGH TOPS OF BLACK MOUNT. By the MARCHIONESS OF BREADALBANE. Second Impression. With Illustrations from Photographs by Olive Mackenzie. Short demy, 6s. net.

**BREBNER, ARTHUR.**

PATCHES AND POMANDER. A Novel. By ARTHUR BREBNER. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**BRIDGES, PHILIPPA.**

THE GREEN WAVE OF DESTINY. By PHILIPPA BRIDGES. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**BRODRIBB, W. J.**

DEMOSTHENES. (Ancient Classics for English Readers.) By W. J. BRODRIBB. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**BRUCE, MAJOR CLARENCE DALRYMPLE.**

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF MARCO POLO. Being the Account of a Journey Overland from Simla to Peking. By MAJOR CLARENCE DALRYMPLE BRUCE. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 21s. net.

**BUCHAN, JOHN.**

THE WATCHER BY THE THRESHOLD, AND OTHER TALES. By JOHN BUCHAN. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

A LODGE IN THE WILDERNESS. Second Impression. Short demy 8vo, 6s.

SOME EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BYWAYS, AND OTHER ESSAYS. Demy 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

**BURBIDGE, F. W.**

DOMESTIC FLORICULTURE, WINDOW GARDENING, AND FLORAL DECORATIONS. Being Practical Directions for the Propagation, Culture, and Arrangement of Plants and Flowers as Domestic Ornaments. By F. W. BURBIDGE. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, with numerous Illustrations, 7s. 6d.

**BURTON, JOHN HILL, D.C.L.**

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. From Agricola's Invasion to the Extinction of the last Jacobite Insurrection. By JOHN HILL BURTON, D.C.L., Historiographer-Royal for Scotland. Cheaper Edition. In 8 vols. crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net each.

THE BOOK-HUNTER. A New Edition, with specially designed Title-page and Cover by Joseph Brown. Printed on antique laid paper. Post 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**BUTE, JOHN, MARQUESS OF.**

THE ROMAN BREVIARY. Reformed by Order of the Holy Œcumenical Council of Trent; Published by Order of Pope St Pius V.; and revised by Clement VIII. and Urban VIII.; together with the Offices since granted. Translated out of Latin into English by JOHN, MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T. New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. In 4 vols. crown 8vo, 42s. net. In 1 vol. crown 4to, 63s. net.

THE ALTUS OF ST COLUMBA. With a Prose Paraphrase and Notes. By JOHN, MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T. In paper cover, 2s. 6d.

**BUTE, JOHN, MARQUESS OF.**

SERMONES, FRATRIS ADE, ORDINIS PRÆMONSTRATENSIS, &c. Twenty-eight Discourses of Adam Scotus of Whithorn, hitherto unpublished; to which is added a Collection of Notes by the same, illustrative of the rule of St Augustine. Edited, at the desire of the late MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., LL.D., &c., by WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A., of the British Museum, &c. Royal 8vo, 25s. net.

CATALOGUE OF A COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL MSS. formerly belonging to the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands. Prepared under the direction of the late MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., LL.D., by WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A. 2 vols. royal 8vo, £3, 3s. net.

**BUTE, MACPHAIL, and LONSDALE.**

THE ARMS OF THE ROYAL AND PARLIAMENTARY BURGHS OF SCOTLAND. By JOHN, MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., J. R. N. MACPHAIL, and H. W. LONSDALE. With 131 Engravings on wood, and 11 other Illustrations. Crown 4to, £2, 2s. net.

**BUTE, STEVENSON, and LONSDALE.**

THE ARMS OF THE BARONIAL AND POLICE BURGHS OF SCOTLAND. By JOHN, MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., J. H. STEVENSON, and H. W. LONSDALE. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 4to, £2, 2s. net.

**CAIRD, EDWARD, LL.D.**

HEGEL. (Philosophical Classics for English Readers.) By EDWARD CAIRD, LL.D. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**CAIRD, PRINCIPAL.**

SPINOZA. (Philosophical Classics for English Readers.) By Principal CAIRD, Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**CALDWELL, PROFESSOR WILLIAM.**

SCHOPENHAUER'S SYSTEM IN ITS PHILOSOPHICAL SIGNIFICANCE (THE SHAW FELLOWSHIP LECTURES, 1893). By Professor WILLIAM CALDWELL, D.Sc., M'Gill University, Montreal. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

**CALLWELL, COL. C. E., C.B.**

THE EFFECT OF MARITIME COMMAND ON LAND CAMPAIGNS SINCE WATERLOO. By Col. C. E. CALLWELL, C.B. With Plans. Post 8vo, 6s. net.

**CALLWELL, COL. C. E., C.B.—*contd.***  
TACTICS OF TO-DAY. Second Edition.  
Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

MILITARY OPERATIONS AND MARITIME PREPONDERANCE: THEIR RELATIONS AND INTERDEPENDENCE.  
Demy 8vo, 15s. net.

THE TACTICS OF HOME DEFENCE.  
Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

**CALLWELL, J. M.**  
OLD IRISH LIFE. By J. M. CALLWELL.  
Illustrated. Demy 8vo, 10s. net.

**CANDLER, EDMUND.**  
THE MANTLE OF THE EAST. By EDMUND CANDLER. Illustrated. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

THE GENERAL PLAN. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**CAREY, WYMOND.**  
"No 101." Third Impression. By WYMOND CAREY. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**CARLYLE, R. W., C.I.E., and A. J., M.A.**

A HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL POLITICAL THEORY IN THE WEST. By R. W. CARLYLE, C.I.E., Balliol College, Oxford; and A. J. CARLYLE, M.A., Chaplain and Lecturer (late Fellow) of University College, Oxford. In 3 vols. demy 8vo. Vol. I.—A History of Political Theory from the Roman Lawyers of the Second Century to the Political Writers of the Ninth. By A. J. CARLYLE. 15s. net. Vol. II.—Demy 8vo, 15s. net.

"CHASSEUR."  
A STUDY OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR. By "CHASSEUR." Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

**CHESNEY, SIR GEORGE, K.C.B.**  
THE DILEMMA. By General Sir GEORGE CHESNEY, K.C.B. A New Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s.

**CHRISTIE, REV. GEORGE, B.D.**  
THE INFLUENCE OF LETTERS ON THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION. By Rev. GEORGE CHRISTIE, B.D. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

**CHURCH, REV. A.**  
OVID. (Ancient Classics for English Readers.) By Rev. A. CHURCH. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**CHURCH, REV. A., BRODRIBB, W. J.**  
PLINY. (Ancient Classics for English Readers.) By Rev. A. CHURCH and W. J. BRODRIBB. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**CHURCH SERVICE SOCIETY.**  
A BOOK OF COMMON ORDER: BEING FORMS OF WORSHIP ISSUED BY THE CHURCH SERVICE SOCIETY. Seventh Edition, carefully revised. In 1 vol. crown 8vo, cloth, 3s. 6d.; French morocco, 5s. Also in 2 vols. crown 8vo, cloth, 4s.; French morocco, 6s. 6d.  
DAILY OFFICES FOR MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER THROUGHOUT THE WEEK. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

ORDER OF DIVINE SERVICE FOR CHILDREN. Issued by the Church Service Society. With Scottish Hymnal. cloth, 3d.

**CLARKE, MAJOR SEYMOUR.**  
THE BOYDS OF PENKILL AND TROCHRIG: THEIR ANCESTORS AND DESCENDANTS. By Major SEYMOUR CLARKE, Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders. 4to. 5s. net.

**CLIFFORD, SIR HUGH, K.C.M.G.**  
SALEH: A SEQUEL. By SIR HUGH CLIFFORD, K.C.M.G. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**CLODD, EDWARD.**  
THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY. "Modern English Writers." By EDWARD CLODD. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

**CLOUSTON, J. STORER.**  
THE LUNATIC AT LARGE. By J. STORER CLOUSTON. Ninth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition, 1s. net.  
COUNT BUNKER: Being a Sequel to 'The Lunatic at Large.' Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

THE ADVENTURES OF M. D'HARICOT. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition, 6d.  
OUR LADY'S INN. Crown 8vo, 6s.  
GARMISCATH. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**COLEBROOKE, HELEN.**  
WINGED DREAMS. By HELEN COLEBROOKE. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**COLLINS, C. W.**  
SAINT SIMON. (Foreign Classics for English Readers.) By C. W. COLLINS. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.  
SOPHOCLES. (Ancient Classics for English Readers.) Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.  
PLATO. (Ancient Classics for English Readers.) Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**COLLINS, W. E. W.**  
LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF A COUNTRY CRICKETER. By W. E. W. COLLINS. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**COLLINS, REV. W. LUCAS.**  
BUTLER. (Philosophical Classics for English Readers.) By Rev. W. L. COLLINS. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.  
MONTAIGNE. (Foreign Classics for English Readers.) Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

- COLLINS, REV. W. LUCAS.**  
LA FONTAINE, AND OTHER  
FRENCH FABULISTS. (Foreign Clas-  
sics for English Readers.) Fcap. 8vo,  
1s. net.
- HOMER, ILIAD—HOMER, ODYSSEY—  
VIRGIL—CICERO—ARISTOPHANES  
—PLAUTUS AND TERENCE—LUC-  
IAN—LIVY—THUCYDIDES.** (An-  
cient Classics for English Readers.)  
Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.
- COMBE, MRS KENNETH.**  
CELIA KIRKHAM'S SON. By Mrs  
KENNETH COMBE. Second Impression.  
Crown 8vo, 6s.
- SEEKERS ALL. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- COMPTON-BURNETT, I.**  
DOLORES. By I. COMPTON-BURNETT.  
Crown 8vo, 6s.
- CONRAD, JOSEPH.**  
LORD JIM: A TALE. By JOSEPH  
CONRAD. Fourth Impression. Crown  
8vo, 6s.
- YOUTH: A NARRATIVE. Third Impres-  
sion. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- COOPER, REV. PROFESSOR.**  
LITURGY OF 1637, COMMONLY  
CALLED LAUD'S LITURGY. Ed-  
ited by the Rev. Professor COOPER,  
D.D., Glasgow. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.
- COPELSTON, BISHOP.**  
ÆSCHYLUS. (Ancient Classics for Eng-  
lish Readers.) By Bishop COPELSTON.  
Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.
- CORNFORD, L. COPE.**  
TROUBLED WATERS. By L. COPE  
CORNFORD. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- COUNTY HISTORIES OF SCOT-  
LAND.** In demy 8vo volumes of about  
350 pp. each. With Maps. Price 7s. 6d.  
net.
- FIFE AND KINROSS.** By ÆNEAS  
J. G. MACKAY, LL.D., Sheriff of these  
Counties.
- DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY.** By  
Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Bart., M.P.  
Second Edition.
- MORAY AND NAIRN.** By CHARLES  
RAMPINI, LL.D., Sheriff of Dumfries  
and Galloway.
- INVERNESS.** By J. CAMERON LEES,  
D.D.
- ROXBURGH, SELKIRK, AND  
PEEBLES.** By Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS,  
Bart.
- ABERDEEN AND BANFF.** By WIL-  
LIAM WATT, Editor of Aberdeen 'Daily  
Free Press.'
- COUTTS, H. B. MONEY.**  
FAMOUS DUELS OF THE FLEET.  
By H. B. MONEY COUTTS. With  
Coloured Frontispiece and Illustrations  
by N. Wilkinson. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- CRAIK, SIR HENRY, K.C.B., M.P.**  
A CENTURY OF SCOTTISH HIS-  
TORY. From the Days before the '45  
to those within living Memory. By Sir  
HENRY CRAIK, K.C.B. With Portraits.  
Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.
- CRAWFORD, ALEXANDER.**  
KAPAK. By ALEXANDER CRAWFORD.  
Crown 8vo, 6s.
- CRAWFORD, F. MARION.**  
SARACINESCA. By F. MARION CRAW-  
FORD. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. Cheap  
Edition, 1s. net. People's Edition, 6d.
- CROALL LECTURES.**  
(See under NICOL and ROBERTSON.)
- CROSS, J. W.**  
IMPRESSIONS OF DANTE AND OF  
THE NEW WORLD. By J. W. CROSS.  
Post 8vo, 6s.
- THE RAKE'S PROGRESS IN FIN-  
ANCE. Crown 8vo, 2s. net.
- CUMMING, C. F. GORDON.**  
MEMORIES. By C. F. GORDON CUM-  
MING. Demy 8vo. Illustrated, 20s. net.
- AT HOME IN FIJI. Post 8vo, 6s.
- A LADY'S CRUISE IN A FRENCH  
MAN-OF-WAR. Cheap Edition. 6s.
- FIRE-FOUNTAINS. Illustrated, 25s.
- GRANITE CRAGS. Post 8vo. Illus-  
trated. Cheap Edition. 6s.
- WANDERINGS IN CHINA. Small post  
8vo. Cheap Edition. 6s.
- CUNNINGHAM, JAMES.**  
NEW RULES FOR THE GAME OF  
MAIL. Concerning the manner of  
playing it properly, and of deciding  
the various points which may arise  
in the Game. With Introduction by  
ANDREW LANG. 18mo, 3s. 6d. net.
- CURTIS, HARPER.**  
THE LORD DOLLAR (DON DINERO).  
By HARPER CURTIS. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- CURTIS, MARGUERITE.**  
THE BIAS. By MARGUERITE CURTIS.  
Crown 8vo, 6s.
- MARCIA: A TRANSCRIPT FROM LIFE.  
Crown 8vo, 6s.
- OH! FOR AN ANGEL. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- DAVIES, J.**  
HESIOD AND THEOGNIS. (Ancient  
Classics for English Readers.) By J.  
DAVIES. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.
- CATULLUS, TIBULLUS, AND PRO-  
PERTIUS. (Ancient Classics for Eng-  
lish Readers.) Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.



**DAVIS, JESSIE AINSWORTH.**

"WIEN HALF-GODS GO." By JESSIE AINSWORTH DAVIS. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**DE HAVEN, AUDREY.**

THE SCARLET CLOAK. By AUDREY DE HAVEN. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**DESCARTES.**

THE METHOD, MEDITATIONS, AND PRINCIPLES OF PHILOSOPHY OF DESCARTES. Translated from the original French and Latin. With a new Introductory Essay, Historical and Critical, on the Cartesian Philosophy. By Professor VEITCH, LL.D. Fourteenth Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s. 6d.

"DIES IRAE." The Story of a Spirit in Prison. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 1s. 6d. net. Paper cover, 1s. net.

**DIVER, MAUD.**

CAPTAIN DESMOND, V.C. By MAUD DIVER. Ninth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition, 1s. net.

THE GREAT AMULET. Seventh Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition, 1s. net.

CANDLES IN THE WIND. Sixth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition, 1s. net.

THE ENGLISHWOMAN IN INDIA. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**DODDS and MACPHERSON.**

THE LICENSING ACTS (SCOTLAND) CONSOLIDATION AND AMENDMENT ACT, 1903. Annotated by J. M. DODDS, C.B., of the Scottish Office; Joint-Editor of the 'Parish Council Guide for Scotland,' and EWAN MACPHERSON, Advocate, Legal Secretary to the Lord Advocate. In 1 vol. crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**DONNE, W. B.**

EURIPIDES. (Ancient Classics for English Readers.) By W. B. DONNE. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

TACITUS. (Ancient Classics for English Readers.) Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**DOUGLAS, CHARLES, M.A., D.Sc.**

THE ETHICS OF JOHN STUART MILL. By CHARLES DOUGLAS, M.A., D.Sc., late Lecturer in Moral Philosophy, and Assistant to the Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Post 8vo, 6s. net.

JOHN STUART MILL: A STUDY OF HIS PHILOSOPHY. Crown 8vo, 4s. 6d. net.

**DURAND, SIR H. MORTIMER.**

A HOLIDAY IN SOUTH AFRICA. By the Right Hon. Sir H. M. DURAND, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., &c. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

**ECCOTT, W. J.**

FORTUNE'S CASTAWAY. By W. J. ECCOTT. Crown 8vo, 6s.

HIS INDOLENCE OF ARRAS. Crown 8vo, 6s.

THE HEARTH OF HUTTON. Crown 8vo, 6s.

THE RED NEIGHBOUR. Crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition, 1s. net.

THE BACKGROUND. Crown 8vo, 6s.

A DEMOISELLE OF FRANCE. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**ELIOT, GEORGE.**

THE NEW POPULAR EDITION OF GEORGE ELIOT'S WORKS, with Photogravure Frontispiece to each Volume, from Drawings by William Hatherell, R.I., Edgar Bundy, R.I., Byam Shaw, R.I., A. A. Van Anrooy, Maurice Greiffenhagen, Claude A. Shepperson, R.I., E. J. Sullivan, and Max Cowper. Each Work complete in One Volume. Handsomely bound, gilt top. 3s. 6d. net. Ten Volumes in all.

ADAM BEDE.

SCENES OF CLERICAL LIFE.

THE MILL ON THE FLOSS.

FELIX HOLT, THE RADICAL.

MIDDLEMARCH.

SILAS MARNER; BROTHER JACOB;

THE LIFTED VEIL.

ROMOLA.

DANIEL DERONDA.

THE SPANISH GYPSY; JUBAL.

ESSAYS; THEOPHRASTUS SUCH.

GEORGE ELIOT'S LIFE. With Portrait and other Illustrations. New Edition, in one volume. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d.

LIFE AND WORKS OF GEORGE ELIOT (Warwick Edition). 14 volumes, cloth, limp, gilt top, 2s. net per volume; leather, limp, gilt top, 2s. 6d. net per volume; leather, gilt top, with book-marker, 3s. net per volume.

ADAM BEDE. 826 pp.

THE MILL ON THE FLOSS. 828 pp.

FELIX HOLT, THE RADICAL. 718 pp.

ROMOLA. 900 pp.

SCENES OF CLERICAL LIFE. 624 pp.

SILAS MARNER; BROTHER JACOB;

THE LIFTED VEIL. 560 pp.

MIDDLEMARCH. 2 vols. 664 and

630 pp.

DANIEL DERONDA. 2 vols. 616 and

636 pp.

THE SPANISH GYPSY; JUBAL.

ESSAYS; THEOPHRASTUS SUCH.

LIFE. 2 vols., 626 and 580 pp.

**ELIOT, GEORGE—contd.**

**WORKS OF GEORGE ELIOT** (Standard Edition). 21 volumes, crown 8vo. In buckram cloth, gilt top, 2s. 6d. per vol.; or in roxburgh binding, 3s. 6d. per vol.

ADAM BEDE. 2 vols.

THE MILL ON THE FLOSS. 2 vols.

FELIX HOLT, THE RADICAL. 2 vols.

ROMOLA. 2 vols.

SCENES OF CLERICAL LIFE. 2 vols.

MIDDLEMARCH. 3 vols.

DANIEL DERONDA. 3 vols.

SILAS MARNER. 1 vol.

JUBAL. 1 vol.

THE SPANISH GYPSY. 1 vol.

ESSAYS. 1 vol.

THEOPHRASTUS SUCH. 1 vol.

**LIFE AND WORKS OF GEORGE ELIOT** (Cabinet Edition). 24 volumes, crown 8vo, price 25s. Also to be had handsomely bound in half and full calf. The Volumes are sold separately, bound in cloth, price 5s. each.

**NOVELS BY GEORGE ELIOT.** Popular copyright Edition. In new uniform binding, price 3s. 6d. each.

ADAM BEDE.

THE MILL ON THE FLOSS.

SCENES OF CLERICAL LIFE.

ROMOLA.

FELIX HOLT, THE RADICAL.

SILAS MARNER; THE LIFTED VEIL;

BROTHER JACOB.

MIDDLEMARCH.

DANIEL DERONDA.

ESSAYS. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.

IMPRESSIONS OF THEOPHRASTUS SUCH. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.

THE SPANISH GYPSY. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.

THE LEGEND OF JUBAL, AND OTHER POEMS, OLD AND NEW. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.

SILAS MARNER. New Edition, with Illustrations by Reginald Birch. Crown 8vo, 1s. 6d. net. Cheap Edition, 2s. 6d.

SCENES OF CLERICAL LIFE. Cheap Edition, 3s. Illustrated Edition, with 20 Illustrations by H. R. Millar, crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.; plain cloth, 2s.; paper covers, 1s.

ADAM BEDE. New Edition, crown 8vo, paper cover, 1s.; crown 8vo, with Illustrations, cloth, 2s.

THE MILL ON THE FLOSS. New Edition, paper covers, 1s.; cloth, 2s.

WISE, WITTY, AND TENDER SAYINGS, IN PROSE AND VERSE. Selected from the Works of GEORGE ELIOT. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**ELLIS, BETH.**

BLIND MOUTHS. Crown 8vo, 6s.

THE MOON OF BATH. Fourth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition, 1s. net.

THE KING'S SPY. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

A KING OF VAGABONDS. Cr'n 8vo, 6s.

**ELTON, PROFESSOR.**

THE AUGUSTAN AGES. By OLIVER ELTON, M.A., Professor of English Literature, University College, Liverpool. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**EVERARD, H. S. C.**

HISTORY OF THE ROYAL AND ANCIENT GOLF CLUB, ST ANDREWS. By H. S. C. EVERARD. With Eight Coloured Portraits. Crown 4to, 21s. net.

**F.**

STORIES OF THE ENGLISH. By F. With 50 Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

**FERRIER, PROFESSOR.**

PHILOSOPHICAL REMAINS. Crown 8vo, 14s.

**FITZGERALD, JOHN GODWIN.**

RUTH WERDRESS, FATHER O'HARALAN, AND SOME NEW CHRISTIANS. AN ANGLO-IRISH TALE. By JOHN GODWIN FITZGERALD. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**FLINT, PROFESSOR,**

PHILOSOPHY AS SCIENTIA SCIENTIARUM. A History of Classifications of the Sciences. By ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D. 10s. 6d. net.

STUDIES ON THEOLOGICAL, BIBLICAL, AND OTHER SUBJECTS. 7s. 6d. net.

HISTORICAL PHILOSOPHY IN FRANCE AND FRENCH BELGIUM AND SWITZERLAND. 8vo, 21s.

THEISM. Tenth Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d.

ANTI-THEISTIC THEORIES. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo, 10s. 6d.

VICO. (Philosophical Classics for English Readers.) Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**FOREIGN CLASSICS FOR ENGLISH READERS.** Edited by Mrs OLIPHANT. Price 1s. each net. For *List of Vols. see p. 32.*

**FORREST, G. W., C.I.E.**

HISTORY OF THE INDIAN MUTINY. By G. W. FORREST, C.I.E. Ex-Director of Records, Government of India. 2 vols. demy 8vo, 38s. net.

THE INDIAN MUTINY. Vol. III.—THE CENTRAL INDIA CAMPAIGN. With Plans and Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 20s. net.

**FORREST, G. W., C.I.E.—*contd.***

**LIFE OF FIELD-MARSHAL SIR NEVILLE B. CHAMBERLAIN, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.** With two Photogravure Portraits. Demy 8vo, 18s. net.

**FORSTER, E. M.**

**WHERE ANGELS FEAR TO TREAD.**

By E. M. FORSTER. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**THE LONGEST JOURNEY.** Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**FOULIS, HUGH.**

**THE VITAL SPARK.** By HUGH FOULIS. Illustrated. 1s. net.

**IN HIGHLAND HARBOURS WITH PARA HANDY.** Crown 8vo, 1s. net.

**FRANKLIN, MILES.**

**SOME EVERYDAY FOLK AND DAWN.**

By MILES FRANKLIN. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**FRASER, PROFESSOR A. CAMPBELL.**

**PHILOSOPHY OF THEISM.** Being the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1894-96. By ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER, D.C.L., Oxford; Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Second Edition, Revised. Post 8vo, 6s. 6d. net.

**BIOGRAPHIA PHILOSOPHICA.** In 1 vol. demy 8vo, 6s. net.

**BERKELEY.** (Philosophical Classics for English Readers.) Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**LOCKE.** (Philosophical Classics for English Readers.) Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**FRASER, DAVID.**

**THE MARCHES OF HINDUSTAN.**

The Record of a Journey in Tibet, Trans-Himalayan India, Chinese Turkestan, Russian Turkestan, and Persia. By DAVID FRASER. With Illustrations, Maps, and Sketches. Demy 8vo, £1, 1s. net.

**THE SHORT CUT TO INDIA.** The Record of a Journey along the Route of the Baghdad Railway. With 83 Illustrations. Second Impression. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

**PERSIA AND TURKEY IN REVOLT.** With numerous Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

**FRENCH COOKERY FOR ENGLISH HOMES.** Fourth Impression. Crown 8vo, cloth, 2s. 6d. French morocco, 3s.

**FULTON, T. WEMYSS.**

**THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SEA.** An Historical Account of the Claims of England to the Dominion of the British Seas, and of the Evolution of the Territorial Waters: with special reference to the Rights of Fishing and the Naval Salute. By T. WEMYSS FULTON, Lecturer on the Scientific Study of Fisheries Problems, The University, Aberdeen. With Charts and Maps. Demy 8vo, 25s. net.

**FYFE, H. HAMILTON.**

**THE NEW SPIRIT IN EGYPT.** By H. HAMILTON FYFE. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**GALT, JOHN.**

**THE PROVOST, &c.** By JOHN GALT. Illustrated boards, 2s.; cloth, 2s. 6d.

**SIR ANDREW WYLLIE.** Illustrated boards, 2s.; cloth, 2s. 6d.

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.**

**SCOTTISH HYMNAL, WITH APPENDIX INCORPORATED.** Published for use in Churches by Authority of the General Assembly. 1. Large type, cloth, red edges, 2s. 6d.; French morocco, 4s. 2. Bourgeois type, limp cloth, 1s.; French morocco, 2s. 3. Nonpareil type, cloth, red edges, 6d.; French morocco, 1s. 4d. 4. Paper covers, 3d. 5. Sunday-School Edition, paper covers, 1d.; cloth, 2d. No. 1, bound with the Psalms and Paraphrases, French morocco, 8s. No. 2, bound with the Psalms and Paraphrases, cloth, 2s.; French morocco, 3s.

**SERVICES OF PRAYER FOR SOCIAL AND FAMILY WORSHIP.** Prepared by a Special Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. 6d. net. French morocco, 3s. 6d. net.

**PRAYERS FOR FAMILY WORSHIP.** A Selection of Four Weeks' Prayers. New Edition. Authorised by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Fcap. 8vo, red edges, 1s. net.

**ONE HUNDRED PRAYERS.** Prepared by the Committee on Aids to Devotion. 16mo, cloth limp, 6d. net.

**MORNING AND EVENING PRAYERS FOR AFFIXING TO BIBLES.** Prepared by the Committee on Aids to Devotion. 1d. for 6, or 1s. per 100.

**PRAYERS FOR SOLDIERS.** Prepared by the Committee on Aids to Devotion. Seventieth Thousand. 16mo, cloth limp, 2d. net.

**PRAYERS FOR SAILORS AND FISHER-FOLK.** Prepared and Published by Instruction of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**GERARD, E. D.**

**REATA: WHAT'S IN A NAME.** By E. D. GERARD. Cheap Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**BEGGAR MY NEIGHBOUR.** Cheap Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**THE WATERS OF HERCULES.** Cheap Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**A SENSITIVE PLANT.** Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**GERARD, E.**

- HONOUR'S GLASSY BUBBLE. By E. GERARD. Crown 8vo, 6s.  
 A FOREIGNER. An Anglo-German Study. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**GERARD, DOROTHEA.**

- ONE YEAR. By DOROTHEA GERARD (Madame Longard de Longgarde). Crown 8vo, 6s.  
 THE IMPEDIMENT. Crown 8vo, 6s.  
 A SPOTLESS REPUTATION. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.  
 THE WRONG MAN. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.  
 LADY BABY. Cheap Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.  
 RECHA. Crown 8vo, 6s.  
 A FORGOTTEN SIN. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**GERARD, REV. J.**

- STONYHURST LATIN GRAMMAR. By Rev. J. GERARD. Second Edition. Feap. 8vo, 3s.

**GIBBON, PERCEVAL.**

- SOULS IN BONDAGE. By PERCEVAL GIBBON. Crown 8vo, 6s.  
 THE VROUW GROBELAAR'S LEADING CASES. Crown 8vo, 6s.  
 SALVATOR. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**GIFFORD LECTURES, EDINBURGH.**

(See under FRASER and TIELE.)

**GILL, RICHARD.**

- THE CHCL<sub>3</sub>-PROBLEM. By RICHARD GILL. 2 vols. crown 8vo, 5s. net each.

**GILLANDERS, A. T.**

- FOREST ENTOMOLOGY. By A. T. GILLANDERS, F.E.S. With 351 Illustrations. Second Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo, 15s. net.

**GILLESPIE, REV. JOHN, LL.D.**

- THE HUMOURS OF SCOTTISH LIFE. By the Rev. JOHN GILLESPIE, LL.D. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

**GLASGOW BALLAD CLUB.**

- BALLADS AND POEMS. By MEMBERS OF THE GLASGOW BALLAD CLUB. Second Series. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net. Third Series, 7s. 6d.

**GLEIG, REV. G. R.**

- THE SUBALTERN. By Rev. G. R. GLEIG. Feap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**GOUDIE, GILBERT.**

- THE CELTIC AND SCANDINAVIAN ANTIQUITIES OF SCOTLAND. By GILBERT GOUDIE, F.S.A. Scot. Demy 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

**GRAHAM, HENRY GREY.**

- ROUSSEAU. (Foreign Classics for English Readers.) By HENRY GREY GRAHAM. Feap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**GRAHAM, J. EDWARD, K.C.**

- A MANUAL OF THE ACTS RELATING TO EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND. (Founded on that of the late Mr Craig Sellar.) By J. EDWARD GRAHAM, K.C., Advocate. New Edition. Demy 8vo, 25s. net.  
 MANUAL OF THE ELECTIONS (SCOT.) (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) ACT, 1890. With Analysis, Relative Act of Sederunt, Appendix containing the Corrupt Practices Acts of 1883 and 1885, and Copious Index. 8vo, 4s. 6d.  
 THE NEW EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) ACT. With Notes. Demy 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

**GRAHAM, E. MAXTONE, and PATERSON, E.**

- TRUE ROMANCES OF SCOTLAND. By E. MAXTONE GRAHAM and E. PATERSON. Illustrations. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**GRANT, SIR ALEX.**

- XENOPHON. (Ancient Classics for English Readers.) By Sir ALEX. GRANT. Feap. 8vo, 1s. net.  
 ARISTOTLE. (Ancient Classics for English Readers.) Feap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**GRANT, CAPTAIN M. H. ("LINESMAN.")**

- THE MAKERS OF BLACK BASALTES. By CAPTAIN M. H. GRANT ("LINESMAN"). Illustrating nearly 300 pieces. Demy 4to, 42s. net.

**GRETTON, LIEUT.-COLONEL G. LE M.**

- CAMPAIGNS AND HISTORY OF THE 18th ROYAL IRISH REGIMENT. By LIEUT.-COLONEL G. LE M. GRETTON. 4to. Illustrated. 6s. net.

**GREY, DULCIBELLA ETHEL.**

- POEMS. By DULCIBELLA ETHEL GREY. With a Prefatory Note by H. Cholmondeley Pennell. Demy 8vo. Vellum, 12s. 6d. net; half vellum, 7s. 6d. net.

**GRIER, SYDNEY C.**

- HIS EXCELLENCY'S ENGLISH GOVERNMENT. By SYDNEY C. GRIER. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.  
 AN UNCROWNED KING: A ROMANCE OF HIGH POLITICS. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.  
 PEACE WITH HONOUR. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**GRIER, SYDNEY C.**—*contd.*

**A CROWNED QUEEN: THE ROMANCE OF A MINISTER OF STATE.** Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**LIKE ANOTHER HELEN** Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**THE KINGS OF THE EAST: A ROMANCE OF THE NEAR FUTURE.** Fourth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**THE PRINCE OF THE CAPTIVITY.** Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**THE GREAT PROCONSUL.** The Memoirs of Mrs Hester Ward, formerly in the family of the Hon. Warren Hastings, Esq., late Governor-General of India. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**THE HEIR.** Crown 8vo, 6s.

**THE POWER OF THE KEYS.** With Illustrations by A. Pearce. Fourth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition, 1s. net.

**THE HERITAGE.** Fourth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**THE PATH TO HONOUR.** Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**THE PRIZE.** Crown 8vo, 6s.

**THE KEEPERS OF THE GATE.** With Illustrations by A. PEARCE. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**THE LETTERS OF WARREN HASTINGS TO HIS WIFE.** Demy 8vo, 6s. net.

**GRIERSON, PROFESSOR H. J. C.**  
**THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.** (Periods of European Literature.) By Professor H. J. C. GRIERSON. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**GRIERSON, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR J. M., K.C.B., K.C.M.G.**  
**RECORDS OF THE SCOTTISH VOLUNTEER FORCE, 1859-1908.** By Major-General Sir J. M. GRIERSON, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. With 47 Coloured Plates. Crown 4to, 25s. net.

**GROOT, J. MORGAN DE.**  
**THE AFFAIR ON THE BRIDGE.** By J. MORGAN DE GROOT. Crown 8vo, 6s.  
**A LOTUS FLOWER.** Crown 8vo, 6s.  
**EVEN IF.** Crown 8vo, 6s.  
**JAN VAN DYCK.** Crown 8vo, 6s.  
**THE BAR SINISTER.** Crown 8vo, 6s.

**HAMERTON, P. G.**  
**WENDERHOLME.** By P. G. HAMERTON. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.  
**HARMORNE.** Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**HAMILTON, CAPTAIN.**  
**CYRIL THORNTON.** By Captain HAMILTON. Illustrated boards, 2s.; cloth, 2s. 6d.

**HAMILTON, MARY, D.Litt.**  
**GREEK SAINTS AND THEIR FESTIVALS.** By MARY HAMILTON, D.Litt. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**HAMLEY, GENERAL SIR EDWARD BRUCE, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.**  
**THE OPERATIONS OF WAR EXPLAINED AND ILLUSTRATED.** By General Sir EDWARD BRUCE HAMLEY, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.

A NEW EDITION, brought up to the latest requirements. By Brigadier-General L. E. KIGGELL, C.B. 4to, with Maps and Plans, 30s.

**THOMAS CARLYLE: AN ESSAY.** Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

**ON OUTPOSTS.** Second Edition. 8vo, 2s.

**LADY LEE'S WIDOWHOOD.** Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.; New Edition, crown 8vo, 2s.; cloth, 2s. 6d.

**VOLTAIRE.** (Foreign Classics for English Readers.) Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**HANNAY, DAVID.**  
**THE LATER RENAISSANCE.** "Periods of European Literature." By DAVID HANNAY. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**SHIPS AND MEN.** With Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

**HARDEN, MAXIMILIAN.**  
**WORD PORTRAITS: CHARACTER SKETCHES OF FAMOUS MEN AND WOMEN.** By MAXIMILIAN HARDEN. In a Translation from the German by JULIUS GABE. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

**HARDMAN, F.**  
**PENINSULAR SCENES AND SKETCHES.** By F. HARDMAN. Illustrated cover, 1s.; cloth, 1s. 6d.

**HARRADEN, BEATRICE.**  
**SHIPS THAT PASS IN THE NIGHT.** By BEATRICE HARRADEN. Illustrated Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. Velvet Calf Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**THE FOWLER.** Illustrated Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**UNTOLD TALES OF THE PAST.** With 40 Illustrations by H. R. Millar. Square crown 8vo, gilt top, 5s. net.

**KATHARINE FRENESHAM.** Crown 8vo, 6s.

**HARTLEY, GILFRID W.**  
**WILD SPORT WITH GUN, RIFLE, AND SALMON-ROD.** By GILFRID W. HARTLEY. With numerous Illustrations in photogravure and half-tone from drawings by G. E. Lodge and others. Demy 8vo, 6s. net.

**HASELL, E. J.**

CALDERON. (Foreign Classics for English Readers.) By E. J. HASELL. Fcap. 8vo, 1s net.

TASSO. (Foreign Classics for English Readers.) Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**HAY, BISHOP.**

THE WORKS OF THE RIGHT REV. DR GEORGE HAY, Bishop of Edinburgh. Edited under the supervision of the Right Rev. Bishop STRAIN. With Memoir and Portrait of the Author. 5 vols. crown 8vo, 21s.

**HAY, IAN.**

"PIP." By IAN HAY. Fourth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition, 1s. net.

"THE RIGHT STUFF." Some Episodes in the Career of a North Briton. Fifth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition, 1s net.

A MAN'S MAN. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

A SAFETY MATCH. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**HAYWARD, A., Q.C.**

GOETHE. (Foreign Classics for English Readers.) By A. HAYWARD, Q.C. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**HEATH, CHRISTOPHER.**

PETER'S PROGRESS. By CHRISTOPHER HEATH. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**HEMANS, MRS.**

SELECT POEMS OF MRS HEMANS. Fcap., cloth, gilt edges, 3s.

**HENDERSON, P. A. WRIGHT.**

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN WILKINS, Warden of Wadham College, Oxford; Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; and Bishop of Chester. By P. A. WRIGHT HENDERSON. With Illustrations. Pott 4to, 5s. net.

**HENDERSON, RICHARD.**

THE YOUNG ESTATE MANAGER'S GUIDE. By RICHARD HENDERSON, Member (by Examination) of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, and the Surveyors' Institution. With an Introduction by Professor WRIGHT, Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College. With Plans and Diagrams. Crown 8vo, 5s.

**HENSON, H. HENSLEY, D.D.**

THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TO THE OTHER REFORMED CHURCHES (ROBERT LEE LECTURE, 1911). By Canon H. HENSLEY HENSON, D.D. Demy 8vo, 1s. net.

**HERFORD, PROFESSOR.**

BROWNING. "Modern English Writers." By C. H. HERFORD, Litt.D., Professor of English Literature, University of Manchester. 2s. 6d.

**HERKLESS, PROFESSOR, and HANNAY, ROBERT KERR.**

THE COLLEGE OF ST LEONARD'S. By JOHN HERKLESS, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of St Andrews; and ROBERT KERR HANNAY, Lecturer in Ancient History in the University of St Andrews. Post 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

THE ARCHBISHOPS OF ST ANDREWS. 3 vols. demy 8vo, each 7s. 6d. net.

HINTS ON HOCKEY. With Plans and Rules. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 1s.

**HOBART-HAMPDEN, E.**

THE PRICE OF EMPIRE. By E. HOBART-HAMPDEN. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**HOOK, DEAN.**

PEN OWEN. By Dean Hook. Illustrated boards, 2s.; cloth, 2s. 6d.

**HOPE, JAMES F.**

A HISTORY OF THE 1900 PARLIAMENT. By JAMES F. HOPE. In two volumes. Vol. I. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

**HUME, DAVID.**

DIALOGUES CONCERNING NATURAL RELIGION. By DAVID HUME. Reprinted, with an Introduction by BRUCE M'EWEN, D.Phil. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

**HUME, E. DOUGLAS.**

THE MULTIPLICITIES OF UNA. By E. DOUGLAS HUME. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**HUNT, C. M. G.**

A HANDY VOCABULARY: ENGLISH-AFRIKANDER, AFRIKANDER-ENGLISH. By C. M. G. HUNT. Small 8vo, 1s.

**HUTCHINSON, HORACE G.**

HINTS ON THE GAME OF GOLF. By HORACE G. HUTCHINSON. Twelfth Edition, Revised. Fcap. 8vo, cloth, 1s.

**HUTTON, EDWARD.**

ITALY AND THE ITALIANS. By EDWARD HUTTON. With Illustrations. Second Edition. Large crown 8vo, 6s.

**INNES, A. TAYLOR, LL.D.**

FREE CHURCH UNION CASE. Judgment of the House of Lords. With Introduction by A. TAYLOR INNES, LL.D. Demy 8vo, 1s. net.

THE LAW OF CREEDS IN SCOTLAND. A Treatise on the Relations of Churches in Scotland, Established and not Established, to the Civil Law. Demy 8vo, 10s. net.

**INTELLIGENCE OFFICER.**

ON THE HEELS OF DE WET. By THE INTELLIGENCE OFFICER. Sixth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**INTELLIGENCE OFFICER**—*contd.*

**THE YELLOW WAR.** Crown 8vo, 6s.

**A SUBALTERN OF HORSE.** Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**JAMES, ANDREW.**

**NINETY-EIGHT AND SIXTY YEARS AFTER.** By ANDREW JAMES. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**JAMES, LIONEL.**

**SIDE-TRACKS AND BRIDLE-PATHS.**

By LIONEL JAMES (Intelligence Officer). Crown 8vo, 6s.

**JAMES, LIEUT.-COL. WALTER H. MODERN STRATEGY.**

By Lieut.-Col. WALTER H. JAMES, P.S.C., late R.E. With 6 Maps. Third Edition, thoroughly revised and brought up to date. Royal 8vo, 16s. net.

**THE CAMPAIGN OF 1815, CHIEFLY IN FLANDERS.** With Maps and Plans. Demy 8vo, 16s. net.

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF TACTICS FROM 1740 TO THE PRESENT DAY.** Demy 8vo. [*In the press.*]

**JOHNSTON.**

**ELEMENTS OF AGRICULTURAL CHEMISTRY.** An entirely New Edition from the Edition by Sir CHARLES A. CAMERON, M.D. Revised and in great part rewritten by C. M. AIKMAN, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.I.C., Professor of Chemistry, Glasgow Veterinary College. 20th Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s. 6d.

**CATECHISM OF AGRICULTURAL CHEMISTRY.** An entirely New Edition from the Edition by Sir CHARLES A. CAMERON. Revised and enlarged by C. M. AIKMAN, D.Sc., &c. 95th Thousand. With numerous illustrations. Crown 8vo, 1s.

**JOHNSTON, CHRISTOPHER N., K.C., LL.D.**

**AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) ACTS, 1883 to 1900; and the GROUND GAME ACT, 1880.** With Notes, and Summary of Procedure, &c. By CHRISTOPHER N. JOHNSTON, K.C., LL.D. Sixth Edition. Demy 8vo, 6s. net.

**MAJOR OWEN, AND OTHER TALES.** Crown 8vo, 6s.

**JOKAI, MAURUS.**

**TIMAR'S TWO WORLDS.** By MAURUS JOKAI. Authorised Translation by Mrs HEGAN KENNARD. Cheap Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**JORDAN, HUMFREY.**

**MY LADY OF INTRIGUE.** By HUMFREY JORDAN. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**THE JOYOUS WAYFARER.** Crown 8vo, 6s.

**KENDIM, BEN.**

**EASTERN SONGS.** By BEN KENDIM. With Frontispiece in Colours by Lady AILEEN WELLESLEY. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**KENNION, MAJOR R. L.**

**SPORT AND LIFE IN THE FURTHER HIMALAYA.** By MAJOR R. L. KENNION. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

**BY MOUNTAIN, LAKE, AND PLAIN.** Being Sketches of Sport in Eastern Persia. With Coloured Frontispiece and 75 Illustrations from Photographs by the AUTHOR. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

**KER, PROFESSOR W. P.**

**THE DARK AGES.** "Periods of European Literature." By Professor W. P. KER. In 1 vol. crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**KERR, JOHN, LL.D.**

**MEMORIES: GRAVE AND GAY.** By JOHN KERR, LL.D. With Portrait and other Illustrations. Cheaper Edition, Enlarged. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

**OTHER MEMORIES: OLD AND NEW.** Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

**KINGLAKE, A. W.**

**HISTORY OF THE INVASION OF THE CRIMEA.** By A. W. KINGLAKE. Complete in 9 vols. crown 8vo. Cheap reissue at 3s. 6d. each.

— Abridged Edition for Military Students. Revised by Lieut.-Col. Sir GEORGE SYDENHAM CLARKE, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E. Demy 8vo, 15s. net.

— Atlas to accompany above. Folio, 9s. net.

**EOTHEN.** Cheap Edition. With Portrait and Biographical Sketch of the Author. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

**KINGSBURGH, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, K.C.B.**

**FIFTY YEARS OF IT: THE EXPERIENCES AND STRUGGLES OF A VOLUNTEER OF 1859.** By The Right Hon. LORD KINGSBURGH, K.C.B. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

**KNEIPP, SEBASTIAN.**

**MY WATER-CURE.** As Tested through more than Thirty Years, and Described for the Healing of Diseases and the Preservation of Health. By SEBASTIAN KNEIPP. With a Portrait and other Illustrations. Authorised English Translation from the Thirtieth German Edition, by A. de F. With an Appendix, containing the Latest Developments of Pfarrer Kneipp's System, and a Preface by E. Gerard. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**KNIGHT, PROFESSOR.**

HUME. (Philosophical Classics for English Readers.) By Professor KNIGHT. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**LANG, ANDREW.**

A HISTORY OF SCOTLAND FROM THE ROMAN OCCUPATION. By ANDREW LANG. Complete in Four Volumes. Demy 8vo, £3, 3s. net.

Vol. I. With a Photogravure Frontispiece. 15s. net.

Vol. II. With a Photogravure Frontispiece. 15s. net.

Vol. III. With a Photogravure Frontispiece. 15s. net.

Vol. IV. With a Photogravure Frontispiece. 20s. net.

TENNYSON. "Modern English Writers." Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

A SHORT HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**LAPWORTH, PROFESSOR.**

INTERMEDIATE TEXT-BOOK OF GEOLOGY. By CHARLES LAPWORTH, LL.D., Professor of Geology, University, Birmingham. 5s.

**LAWSON, W. R.**

BRITISH ECONOMICS. By W. R. LAWSON. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

AMERICAN FINANCE. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

JOHN BULL AND HIS SCHOOLS. Crown 8vo, 5s. net. New Edition, Paper Cover, 2s. net.

CANADA AND THE EMPIRE. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

**LEHMANN, R. C.**

CRUMBS OF PITY, AND OTHER VERSES; TO WHICH ARE ADDED SIX LIVES OF GREAT MEN. By R. C. LEHMANN, author of 'Anni Fugaces,' &c. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

LIGHT AND SHADE: AND OTHER POEMS. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**LEIGHTON, GERALD R., M.D.**

THE LIFE-HISTORY OF BRITISH SERPENTS, AND THEIR LOCAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE BRITISH ISLES. By GERALD R. LEIGHTON, M.D. With 50 Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**LEISHMAN, VERY REV. T., D.D.**

THE WESTMINSTER DIRECTORY. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by the Very Rev. T. LEISHMAN, D.D. Crown 8vo, 4s. net.

**LEWIS, ARTHUR.**

THE PILGRIM. By ARTHUR LEWIS. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**LINDSAY, REV. JAMES, D.D.**

RECENT ADVANCES IN THEISTIC PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION. By Rev. JAMES LINDSAY, M.A., D.D., B.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.G.S. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

THE PROGRESSIVENESS OF MODERN CHRISTIAN THOUGHT. Crown 8vo, 6s.

ESSAYS, LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT FOR MODERN THEOLOGY. Crown 8vo, 1s. net.

THE TEACHING FUNCTION OF THE MODERN PULPIT. Crown 8vo, 1s. net.

STUDIES IN EUROPEAN PHILOSOPHY. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF METAPHYSICS. Crown 8vo, 4s. net.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF BELIEF. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

**"LINESMAN."**

THE MAKERS OF BLACK BASALTES. By "LINESMAN." With nearly 300 Illustrations. Demy 4to, 42s. net.

**LITURGIES AND ORDERS OF DIVINE SERVICE (CHURCH SERVICE SOCIETY).**

THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH (1552). With Historical Introduction and Notes by the Rev. H. J. WOTHERSPOON, M.A., of St Oswald's, Edinburgh; and THE LITURGY OF COMPROMISE. Used in the English Congregation at Frankfort. From an Unpublished MS. Edited by the Rev. G. W. SPROTT, D.D. 4s. net.

BOOK OF COMMON ORDER. Commonly called KNOX'S LITURGY. Edited by Rev. G. W. SPROTT, D.D. 4s. 6d. net.

SCOTTISH LITURGIES OF THE REIGN OF JAMES VI. Edited by Rev. G. W. SPROTT, D.D. 4s. net.

LITURGY OF 1637. Commonly called LAUD'S LITURGY. Edited by the Rev. Professor COOPER, D.D. 7s. 6d. net.

THE WESTMINSTER DIRECTORY. Edited by Very Rev. T. LEISHMAN, D.D. 4s. net.

EUCHOLOGION. A Book of Common Order: Being Forms of Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Ordinances of the Church. Edited by the Rev. G. W. SPROTT, D.D. 4s. 6d. net.



- LOBBAN, J. H., M.A.**  
AN ANTHOLOGY OF ENGLISH VERSE FROM CHAUCER TO THE PRESENT DAY. By J. H. LOBBAN, M.A. Crown 8vo, gilt top, 5s.
- THE SCHOOL ANTHOLOGY OF ENGLISH VERSE. Part I, Chaucer to Burns, cloth, 1s. net. Part II, Wordsworth to Newbolt, cloth, 1s. net. In One Volume complete, cloth, 2s. net.
- LOCKHART, J. G.**  
REGINALD DALTON. By J. G. LOCKHART. Illustrated boards, 2s.; cloth, 2s. 6d.
- ADAM BLAIR. Illustrated boards, 2s.; cloth, 2s. 6d.
- VALERIUS: A ROMAN STORY. Illustrated cover, 1s.; cloth, 1s. 6d.
- LOCKHART, LAURENCE W. M.**  
DOUBLES AND QUILTS. By LAURENCE W. M. LOCKHART. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
- FAIR TO SEE. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
- MINE IS THINE. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
- LUCAS, ST JOHN.**  
SAINTS, SINNERS, AND THE USUAL PEOPLE. By St JOHN LUCAS. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- LYNDEN-BELL, LIEUT.-COLONEL.**  
A PRIMER OF TACTICS, FORTIFICATION, TOPOGRAPHY, AND MILITARY LAW. By Lieut.-Colonel C. P. LYNDEN-BELL. With Diagrams. Crown 8vo, 3s. net.
- MABIE, HAMILTON WRIGHT.**  
ESSAYS ON NATURE AND CULTURE. By HAMILTON WRIGHT MABIE. With Portrait. Fcap. 8vo, 3s. 6d.
- BOOKS AND CULTURE. Fcap. 8vo, 3s. 6d.
- M'CONACHIE, WILLIAM, B.D.**  
CLOSE TO NATURE'S HEART. By WILLIAM M'CONACHIE, B.D. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.
- MACCUNN, FLORENCE.**  
SIR WALTER SCOTT'S FRIENDS. By FLORENCE MACCUNN. With Portraits. Third Impression. Demy 8vo, 10s. net.
- MACDONALD, NORMAN DORAN.**  
A MANUAL OF THE CRIMINAL LAW (SCOTLAND) PROCEDURE ACT, 1887. By NORMAN DORAN MACDONALD. Revised by the LORD JUSTICE-CLERK. 8vo, 10s. 6d.
- MACDOUGALL, J. PATTEN, C.B., and J. M. DODD, C.B.**  
A MANUAL OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1894.
- THE PARISH COUNCIL GUIDE FOR SCOTLAND. By J. PATTEN MACDOUGALL, C.B., and J. M. DODD, C.B. New and Revised Edition. [*In preparation.*]
- M'IVER, IVER.**  
AN IMPERIAL ADVENTURE. By IVER M'IVER. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- CAUGHT ON THE WING. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.
- MACKAY, LYDIA MILLER.**  
THE RETURN OF THE EMIGRANT. By LYDIA MILLER MACKAY. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- MACKENZIE, LORD.**  
STUDIES IN ROMAN LAW. With Comparative Views of the Laws of France, England, and Scotland. By LORD MACKENZIE, one of the Judges of the Court of Session in Scotland. Edited by JOHN KIRKPATRICK, M.A., LL.D., Advocate, Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo, 21s.
- MACKENZIE, W. A.**  
ROWTON HOUSE RHYMES. By W. A. MACKENZIE. Crown 8vo, 3s. net.
- MACKINLAY, J. M.**  
INFLUENCE OF THE PRE-REFORMATION CHURCH ON SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES. By J. M. MACKINLAY, F.S.A. (Scot.) Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.
- MACKINLAY, M. STERLING, M.A.**  
GARCIA THE CENTENARIAN: AND HIS TIMES. Being a Memoir of Don Manuel Garcia's Life and Labours for the advancement of Music and Science. By M. STERLING MACKINLAY, M.A. Oxon. With twenty Portraits. Demy 8vo, 15s. net.
- MACNAMARA, RACHEL SWETE.**  
THE TRANCE. By RACHEL SWETE MACNAMARA. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- THE SIBYL OF VENICE. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- SEED OF FIRE. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- SPINNERS IN SILENCE. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- MACPHERSON, HECTOR.**  
BOOKS TO READ AND HOW TO READ THEM. By HECTOR MACPHERSON. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.
- A CENTURY OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. 3s. 6d. net.

- MACPHERSON, HECTOR, Jun.**  
A CENTURY'S PROGRESS IN ASTRONOMY. By HECTOR MACPHERSON, Jun. Short demy 8vo, 6s. net.
- THROUGH THE DEPTHS OF SPACE: A PRIMER OF ASTRONOMY. Crown 8vo, 2s. net.
- MACRAE, J. A.**  
FOR KIRK AND KING. By J. A. MACRAE. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
- MAHAFFY, PROFESSOR.**  
DESCARTES. (Philosophical Classics for English Readers.) By Professor MAHAFFY. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.
- MAIR, REV. WILLIAM, D.D.**  
A DIGEST OF LAWS AND DECISIONS, Ecclesiastical and Civil, relating to the Constitution, Practice, and Affairs of the Church of Scotland. With Notes and Forms of Procedure. By the Rev. WILLIAM MAIR, D.D. New Edition, Revised to date. In 1 vol. crown 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.
- SPEAKING; OR, FROM VOICE PRODUCTION TO THE PLATFORM AND PULPIT. Fourth Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo, 1s. 6d. net.
- MALLOCK, W. H.**  
LUCRETIUS. (Ancient Classics for English Readers.) By W. H. MALLOCK. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.
- MARSHMAN, JOHN CLARK, C.S.I.**  
HISTORY OF INDIA. From the Earliest Period to the Present Time. By JOHN CLARK MARSHMAN, C.S.I. Third and Cheaper Edition. Post 8vo, 6s.
- MARTIN, SIR THEODORE, K.C.B.**  
HORACE. (Ancient Classics for English Readers.) By SIR THEODORE MARTIN, K.C.B. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.
- POEMS OF GIACOMO LEOPARDI. Translated. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.
- THE ÆNEID OF VIRGIL. Books I.-VI. Translated. Post 8vo, 7s. 6d.
- GOETHE'S FAUST. Part I. Translated into English Verse. Second Edition, crown 8vo, 6s. Ninth Edition, fcap. 8vo, 3s. 6d.
- GOETHE'S FAUST. Part II. Translated into English Verse. Second Edition, Revised. Fcap. 8vo, 6s.
- POEMS AND BALLADS OF HEINRICH HEINE. Done into English Verse. Third Edition. Small crown 8vo, 5s.
- THE SONG OF THE BELL, AND OTHER TRANSLATIONS FROM SCHILLER, GOETHE, UHLAND, AND OTHERS. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d.
- MARTIN, SIR THEODORE—contd.**  
MADONNA PIA: A TRAGEDY; AND THREE OTHER DRAMAS. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d.
- THE 'VITA NUOVA' OF DANTE. Translated with an Introduction and Notes. Fourth Edition. Small crown 8vo, 5s.
- ALADDIN: A DRAMATIC POEM. By ADAM OEHELSCHLAEGER. Fcap. 8vo, 5s.
- CORREGGIO: A TRAGEDY. By OEHELSCHLAEGER. With Notes. Fcap. 8vo, 3s.
- HELENA FAUCIT (LADY MARTIN). By SIR THEODORE MARTIN, K.C.B., K.C.V.O. With Five Photogravure Plates. Second Edition. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.
- POEMS AND BALLADS OF GOETHE. By SIR THEODORE MARTIN and Professor AVTOUN. Third Edition. With Introduction by SIR THEODORE MARTIN. Small crown 8vo, 6s. net.
- QUEEN VICTORIA AS I KNEW HER. Square crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.
- MARTIN, HELENA FAUCIT, LADY.**  
ON SOME OF SHAKESPEARE'S FEMALE CHARACTERS. By HELENA FAUCIT, LADY MARTIN. *Dedicated by permission to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen.* With a Portrait by Lehmann. Seventh Edition, with a new Preface. Demy 8vo, 7s. 6d.
- MASSON, DAVID.**  
MEMORIES OF LONDON IN THE FORTIES. By DAVID MASSON. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.
- MATHESON, REV. GEORGE, D.D.**  
CAN THE OLD FAITH LIVE WITH THE NEW? OR, THE PROBLEM OF EVOLUTION AND REVELATION. By the Rev. GEORGE MATHESON, D.D. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d.
- THE PSALMIST AND THE SCIENTIST; OR, MODERN VALUE OF THE RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.
- SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT OF ST PAUL. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.
- THE DISTINCTIVE MESSAGES OF THE OLD RELIGIONS. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.
- SACRED SONGS. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.
- MAXWELL, GEORGE.**  
IN MALAY FORESTS. By GEORGE MAXWELL. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

- MAXWELL, RIGHT HON. SIR HERBERT, BART.**  
DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY. By Right Hon. Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Bart. Being one of the Volumes of the County Histories of Scotland. With Four Maps. Second Edition. Demy 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.
- HOLYROOD, ABBEY CHURCH, PALACE, AND ENVIRONS.** Crown 8vo. Paper cover, 6d. net; cloth, 2s. 6d. net.
- MEAKIN, ANNETTE M. B.**  
WHAT AMERICA IS DOING. Letters from the New World. By ANNETTE M. B. MEAKIN. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.
- MELDRUM, DAVID S.**  
THE CONQUEST OF CHARLOTTE. By DAVID S. MELDRUM. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- THE STORY OF MARGRÉDEL: Being a Fireside History of a Fifehire Family. Cheap Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
- GREY MANTLE AND GOLD FRINGE.** Crown 8vo, 6s.
- MELLONE, SYDNEY HERBERT, M.A., D.Sc.**  
STUDIES IN PHILOSOPHICAL CRITICISM AND CONSTRUCTION. By SYDNEY HERBERT MELLONE, M.A. Lond., D.Sc. Edin. Post 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.
- LEADERS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.
- AN INTRODUCTORY TEXT-BOOK OF LOGIC. Fifth Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo, 5s.
- ELEMENTS OF PSYCHOLOGY. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 5s.
- THE IMMORTAL HOPE. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.
- FREDERICK NIETZSCHE AND HIS ATTACK ON CHRISTIANITY. Demy 8vo, paper cover, 3d.
- MERZ, JOHN THEODORE.**  
A HISTORY OF EUROPEAN THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By JOHN THEODORE MERZ. Vol. I. Third Impression. Post 8vo, 10s. 6d. net. Vol. II., 15s. net.
- LEIBNIZ. (Philosophical Classics for English Readers.) Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.
- MEYNELL, MRS.**  
JOHN RUSKIN. "Modern English Writers." By Mrs MEYNELL. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.
- MICKLETHWAIT, ST J. G., M.A., B.C.L.**  
THE LICENSING ACT, 1904. By ST J. G. MICKLETHWAIT, M.A., B.C.L., Barrister-at-Law. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.
- MILL, GARRETT.**  
CAPTAIN GRANT'S DESPATCH. By GARRETT MILL. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- MILLAR, PROFESSOR J. H.**  
THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. "Periods of European Literature." By J. H. MILLAR. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.
- MILLER, WILLIAM, C.I.E., LL.D., D.D.**  
UNREST AND EDUCATION IN INDIA. By WILLIAM MILLER, C.I.E., LL.D., D.D., Principal of Madras Christian College. Demy 8vo, 1s. net.
- MITCHELL, ALEXANDER F., D.D., LL.D.**  
THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION. Being the Baird Lecture for 1899. By the late ALEXANDER F. MITCHELL, D.D., LL.D. Edited by D. HAY FLEMING, LL.D. With a Biographical Sketch of the Author, by JAMES CHRISTIE, D.D. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- MODERN ENGLISH WRITERS.** In handy crown 8vo volumes, tastefully bound, price 2s. 6d. each.
- MATTHEW ARNOLD.** By Professor SAINTSBURY. Second Impression.
- JOHN RUSKIN.** By Mrs MEYNELL. Third Impression.
- TENNYSON.** By ANDREW LANG. Second Impression.
- HUXLEY.** By EDWARD CLODD.
- THACKERAY.** By CHARLES WHIBLEY.
- BROWNING.** By Professor C. H. HERFORD.
- MOIR, D. M.**  
LIFE OF MANSIE WAUCH, TAILOR IN DALKEITH. By D. M. MOIR. With Cruikshank's Illustrations. Cheap Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. — Another Edition. Illustrated cover, 1s.; cloth, 1s. 6d.
- MOMERIE, REV. ALFRED WILLIAMS, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D.**  
THE ORIGIN OF EVIL; AND OTHER SERMONS. By Rev. ALFRED WILLIAMS MOMERIE, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D., late Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. Eighth Edition, Enlarged. Crown 8vo, 5s.
- PERSONALITY.** The Beginning and End of Metaphysics, and a Necessary Assumption in all Positive Philosophy. Fifth Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo, 3s.

**MOMERIE, REV. A. W.—contd.**

PREACHING AND HEARING; AND OTHER SERMONS. Fourth Edition, Enlarged. Crown 8vo, 5s.

BELIEF IN GOD. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s.

THE FUTURE OF RELIGION; AND OTHER ESSAYS. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND THE ROMISH SCHISM. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

ESSAYS ON THE BIBLE. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

CHARACTER. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

MODERN SCEPTICISM AND MODERN FAITH. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

**MOMERIE, MRS.**

DR ALFRED MOMERIE. His Life and Work. By Mrs MOMERIE. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

**MORICE, REV. F. D.**

PINDAR. (Ancient Classics for English Readers.) By Rev. F. D. MORICE. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**MORISON, SIR THEODORE, K.C.I.E., and HUTCHINSON, GEORGE P.**

LIFE OF SIR EDWARD FITZGERALD LAW, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G. By Sir THEODORE MORISON, K.C.I.E., and GEORGE P. HUTCHINSON. With portraits. Demy 8vo, 15s. net.

**MUNRO, NEIL.**

THE DAFT DAYS. By NEIL MUNRO. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. Uniform Edition, 3s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 1s. net.

FANCY FARM. Crown 8vo, 6s.

*Uniform Edition Novels.*

JOHN SPLENDID. The Tale of a Poor Gentleman and the Little Wars of Lorn. Sixth Impression. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

CHILDREN OF TEMPEST: A TALE OF THE OUTER ISLES. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

SHOES OF FORTUNE. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

THE LOST PIBROCH, AND OTHER SHEILING STORIES. Fourth Impression. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

DOOM CASTLE: A ROMANCE. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

GILIAN THE DREAMER. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

THE DAFT DAYS. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**MUNRO, ROBERT, M.A., M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E.**

RAMBLES AND STUDIES IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AND DALMATIA. By ROBERT MUNRO, M.A., M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. With numerous Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

PREHISTORIC PROBLEMS. With numerous Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 10s. net.

**MUNRO, WILLIAM, M.A.**

ON VALUATION OF PROPERTY. By WILLIAM MUNRO, M.A., Her Majesty's Assessor of Railways and Canals for Scotland. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**MYRES, PROFESSOR JOHN L.**

A MANUAL OF CLASSICAL GEOGRAPHY. By JOHN L. MYRES, M.A., Professor of Ancient History, Oxford. Crown 8vo. [*In the press.*]

**NEAVES, LORD.**

GREEK ANTHOLOGY. (Ancient Classics for English Readers.) By Lord NEAVES. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**NEWBOLT, HENRY.**

THE NEW JUNE. By HENRY NEWBOLT. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

THE TWYMANNS. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**NICHOL, PROFESSOR.**

BACON. (Philosophical Classics for English Readers.) By Professor NICHOL. Fcap. 8vo, Part I., 1s. net; Part II., 1s. net.

**NICHOLSON, PROFESSOR H. ALLEYNE, and LYDEKKER, RICHARD, B.A.**

A MANUAL OF PALEONTOLOGY, for the use of Students. With a General Introduction on the Principles of Palaeontology. By Professor H. ALLEYNE NICHOLSON and RICHARD LYDEKKER, B.A. Third Edition, entirely Rewritten and greatly Enlarged. 2 vols. 8vo, £3. 3s.

**NICOL, REV. THOMAS, D.D.**

RECENT ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE BIBLE. Being the Croall Lecture for 1898. By the Rev. THOMAS NICOL, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen; Author of 'Recent Explorations in Bible Lands.' Demy 8vo, 9s. net.

THE FOUR GOSPELS IN THE EARLIEST CHURCH HISTORY. Being the Baird Lecture for 1907. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

**NISBET, JOHN D. Ec.**

**THE FORESTER: A PRACTICAL TREATISE ON BRITISH FORESTRY AND ARBORICULTURE, FOR LANDOWNERS, LAND AGENTS, AND FORESTERS.** By JOHN NISBET, D. Ec. In 2 volumes, royal 8vo, with 285 illustrations, 42s. net.

**THE ELEMENTS OF BRITISH FORESTRY.** A Handbook for Forest Apprentices and Students of Forestry. Crown 8vo, 5s. 6d. net.

**NOBILI, RICCARDO.**

**A MODERN ANTIQUE: A FLORENTINE STORY.** By RICCARDO NOBILI. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**NOBLE, EDWARD.**

**WAVES OF FATE.** By EDWARD NOBLE. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**FISHERMAN'S GAT: A STORY OF THE THAMES ESTUARY.** Crown 8vo, 6s.

**NOYES, ALFRED.**

**DRAKE: AN ENGLISH EPIC.** By ALFRED NOYES. Books I.-III. Crown 8vo, 5s. net. Books IV.-XII. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

— The Complete Work in 1 vol. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

**FORTY SINGING SEAMEN.** Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**THE ENCHANTED ISLAND, AND OTHER POEMS.** Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**THE FOREST OF WILD THYME.** Illustrated by Claude A. Shepperson. Small 4to, 6s. net. Velvet Calf Edition, 10s. 6d. net.

**COLLECTED POEMS.** 2 vols. Crown 8vo, 10s. net. Vols. sold separately, 5s. net. each.

**O'BRIEN, AUBREY, and BOLSTER, REGINALD.**

**CUPID AND CARTRIDGES.** By AUBREY O'BRIEN and REGINALD BOLSTER. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 10s. net. Edition for India and the Colonies, 5s. net.

**"OLE LUK-OIE."**

**THE GREEN CURVE.** By "OLE LUK-OIE." Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition, 1s. net.

**OLIPHANT, C. F.**

**ALFRED DE MUSSET.** (Foreign Classics for English Readers.) By C. F. OLIPHANT. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**OLIPHANT, LAURENCE.**

**PICCADILLY.** By LAURENCE OLIPHANT. With Illustrations by Richard Doyle. 4s. 6d. New Edition, 3s. 6d. Cheap Edition, boards, 2s. 6d.

**OLIPHANT, MRS.**

**ANNALS OF A PUBLISHING HOUSE.** William Blackwood and his Sons; Their Magazine and Friends. By MRS OLIPHANT. With Four Portraits. Third Edition. Demy 8vo. Vols. I. and II. £2, 2s.

**A WIDOW'S TALE, AND OTHER STORIES.** With an Introductory Note by J. M. BARRIE. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**KATIE STEWART, AND OTHER STORIES.** New Edition. Crown 8vo, cloth, 3s. 6d. Illustrated Boards, 2s. 6d.

**VALENTINE AND HIS BROTHER.** New Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**SONS AND DAUGHTERS.** Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**DANTE.** (Foreign Classics for English Readers.) Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**CERVANTES.** (Foreign Classics for English Readers.) Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**THE PERPETUAL CURATE.** Illustrated boards, 2s.; cloth, 2s. 6d.

**JOHN: A LOVE STORY.** Illustrated boards, 2s.; cloth, 2s. 6d.

**THE RECTOR AND THE DOCTOR'S FAMILY.** Illustrated cover, 1s.; cloth, 1s. 6d.

**OLIPHANT, MRS, and TARVER, F. MOLIÈRE.** (Foreign Classics for English Readers.) By MRS OLIPHANT and F. TARVER. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**OMOND, T. S.**

**THE ROMANTIC TRIUMPH.** "Periods of European Literature." By T. S. OMOND. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**O'NEILL, MOIRA.**

**SONGS OF THE GLENS OF ANTRIM.** By MOIRA O'NEILL. Fourteenth Impression. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**OXENDEN, MAUD.**

**THE STORY OF ESTHER.** By MAUD OXENDEN. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**PAGE AND LAPWORTH.**

**INTERMEDIATE TEXT-BOOK OF GEOLOGY.** By Professor LAPWORTH. Founded on Dr Page's 'Introductory Text-Book of Geology.' Crown 8vo, 5s.

**ADVANCED TEXT-BOOK OF GEOLOGY.** New Edition. Revised and Enlarged by Professor LAPWORTH. Crown 8vo. [In the press.]

**INTRODUCTORY TEXT-BOOK OF PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.** Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

**PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY EXAMINATOR.** Crown 8vo, sewed. 9d.

**PATERSON, JOHN W., Ph.D.**

A MANUAL OF AGRICULTURAL BOTANY. From the German of Dr A. B. Frank, Professor in the Royal Agricultural College, Berlin. With over 100 Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**PATTISON, R. P. DUNN.**

HISTORY OF THE 91st ARGYLL-SHIRE HIGHLANDERS. By R. P. DUNN PATTISON. With Maps and Illustrations. Demy 4to, 42s. net.

**PAUL, SIR JAMES BALFOUR.**

HISTORY OF THE ROYAL COMPANY OF ARCHERS, THE QUEEN'S BODY-GUARD FOR SCOTLAND. By Sir JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, Advocate of the Scottish Bar. Crown 4to, with Portraits and other Illustrations. £2, 2s.

**PEARSE, COLONEL.**

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE AND MILITARY SERVICES OF VISCOUNT LAKE, BARON LAKE OF DELHI AND LASWARIE, 1744-1808. By Colonel HUGH PEARSE. With Portraits, &c. Demy 8vo, 15s. net.

**PERIODS OF EUROPEAN LITERATURE.** Edited by Professor SAINTSBURY. For *List of Vols.*, see p. 32.

**PHILOSOPHICAL CLASSICS FOR**

ENGLISH READERS. Edited by WILLIAM KNIGHT, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, University of St Andrews. Cheap Re-issue in Shilling Volumes net. For *List of Vols.*, see p. 32.

**PIELE, LIEUT.-COLONEL S. C. F.**

LAWN TENNIS AS A GAME OF SKILL. By Lieut.-Col. S. C. F. PIELE. Seventh Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 1s.

**POLLOK, ROBERT, A.M.**

THE COURSE OF TIME: A POEM. By ROBERT POLLOK, A.M. New Edition. With Portrait. Fcap. 8vo, gilt top, 2s. 6d.

**PORTER, MARY BLACKWOOD.**

JOHN BLACKWOOD, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER. By MARY BLACKWOOD PORTER. With Two Portraits and view of Strathclyrum. Demy 8vo, 21s.

**POTTS, A. W., M.A., LL.D., and DARNELL, REV. C., M.A.**

AUDITUS FACILIORES. An Easy Latin Construing Book, with Vocabulary. By A. W. POTTS, M.A., LL.D., Late Headmaster of the Pettes College, Edinburgh, and sometime Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge; and the Rev. C. DARNELL, M.A., Late Headmaster of Cargilfield Preparatory School, Edinburgh, and Scholar of Pembroke and Downing Colleges, Cambridge. 1s. 6d. net.

**POTTS and DARNELL.—contd.**

AUDITUS FACILIORES GRÆCI. An easy grade construing book. With complete vocabulary. Fcap 8vo, 3s.

**POTTS, A. W., M.A., LL.D., and HEARD, W. A., M.A., LL.D.**

CAMENARUM FLOSCULOS in Usum Fettesianorum decerptos notis quibusdam illustraverunt A. GUL. POTTS, M.A., LL.D.; GUL. A. HEARD, M.A., LL.D. New Impression. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**PRESTON-THOMAS, H., C.B.**

THE WORK AND PLAY OF A GOVERNMENT INSPECTOR. By HERBERT PRESTON-THOMAS, C.B. With a Preface by the Right Hon. JOHN BURNS, M.P. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

**PRINGLE-PATTISON, A. SETH, LL.D., D.C.L.**

SCOTTISH PHILOSOPHY. A Comparison of the Scottish and German Answers to Hume. Balfour Philosophical Lectures, University of Edinburgh. By A. SETH PRINGLE-PATTISON, LL.D., D.C.L., Fellow of the British Academy, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Edinburgh University. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo 5s.

MAN'S PLACE IN THE COSMOS, AND OTHER ESSAYS. Second Edition, Enlarged. Post 8vo, 6s. net.

TWO LECTURES ON THEISM. Delivered on the occasion of the Sesquicentennial Celebration of Princeton University. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL RADICALS, AND OTHER ESSAYS, including Chapters reprinted on the Philosophy of Religion in Kant and Hegel. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

**PUBLIC GENERAL STATUTES AFFECTING SCOTLAND from 1707 to 1847, with Chronological Table and Index.** 3 vols. large 8vo, £3, 3s. Also Published Annually, with General Index.

**RANJITSINHJI, PRINCE.**

THE JUBILEE BOOK OF CRICKET. By PRINCE RANJITSINHJI.

Popular Edition. With 107 full-page Illustrations. Sixth Edition. Large crown 8vo, 6s.

**REEVE, HENRY, C.B.**

PETRARCH. (Foreign Classics for English Readers.) By HENRY REEVE, C.B. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**REYNARD, CAPTAIN F.**

THE HISTORY OF THE NINTH LANCERS FROM 1715 to 1903. By Capt. F. REYNARD. Royal 8vo, 42s. net.

**RICHARDS, H. GRAHAME.**

RICHARD SOMERS. By H. GRAHAME RICHARDS. Crown 8vo 6s.

**RICHARDSON, MAJOR E. H.**  
WAR, POLICE, AND WATCH DOGS.  
By MAJOR E. H. RICHARDSON. With  
Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**RIVETT-CARNAC, J. H., C.I.E.**  
MANY MEMORIES OF LIFE IN  
INDIA, AT HOME, AND ABROAD.  
By J. H. RIVETT-CARNAC, C.I.E. With  
Portraits. Second Impression. Demy  
8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

**ROBERTSON, PROFESSOR CROOM.**  
HOBBES. (Philosophical Classics for  
English Readers.) By PROFESSOR CROOM  
ROBERTSON. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

**ROBERTSON, JAMES, D.D.**  
EARLY RELIGIONS OF ISRAEL. New  
and Revised Edition. Crown 8vo.  
*[In the press.]*

THE POETRY AND THE RELIGION  
OF THE PSALMS. The Croall Lec-  
tures, 1893-94. By JAMES ROBERTSON,  
D.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in  
the University of Glasgow. Demy 8vo,  
12s.

**ROBERTSON, JOHN G., Ph.D.**  
A HISTORY OF GERMAN LITERA-  
TURE. By JOHN G. ROBERTSON,  
Ph.D., Professor of German, University  
of London. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF  
GERMAN LITERATURE. Crown 8vo,  
3s. 6d.

SCHILLER AFTER A CENTURY.  
Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

**RONALDSHAY, EARL OF, M.P.**  
ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF EMPIRE IN  
ASIA. By the EARL OF RONALDSHAY,  
M.P. With numerous Illustrations and  
Maps. Royal 8vo, 21s. net.

SPORT AND POLITICS UNDER AN  
EASTERN SKY. With numerous il-  
lustrations and Maps. Royal 8vo, 21s.  
net.

A WANDERING STUDENT IN THE  
FAR EAST. With Maps and 60 Il-  
lustrations. 2 vols. short demy 8vo, 21s.  
net.

AN EASTERN MISCELLANY. Demy  
8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

**RUTHERFURD, J. H.**  
THE HISTORY OF THE LINLITH-  
GOW AND STIRLINGSHIRE HUNT.  
From 1775 to the present. By J. H.  
RUTHERFURD. With Illustrations.  
Demy 8vo, 25s. net.

**RUTLAND, DUKE OF, G.C.B.**  
NOTES OF AN IRISH TOUR IN 1846.  
By the DUKE OF RUTLAND, G.C.B.  
(LORD JOHN MANNERS). New Edition.  
Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

**RUTLAND, DUCHESS OF.**  
THE COLLECTED WRITINGS OF  
JANETTA, DUCHESS OF RUTLAND.  
By the DUCHESS OF RUTLAND (LADY  
JOHN MANNERS). With Portrait and  
Illustrations. 2 vols. post 8vo, 15s. net.

IMPRESSIONS OF BAD-HOMBURG.  
Comprising a Short Account of the  
Women's Associations of Germany under  
the Red Cross. Crown 8vo, 1s. 6d.

SOME PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS  
of the Later Years of the Earl of Beacons-  
field, K.G. Sixth Edition. 6d.

SOME OF THE ADVANTAGES OF  
Easily Accessible Reading and Recrea-  
tion Rooms and Free Libraries. With  
Remarks on Starting and Maintaining  
them. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 1s.

ENCOURAGING EXPERIENCES OF  
Reading and Recreation Rooms, Aims  
of Guilds, Nottingham Social Guide,  
Existing Institutions, &c., &c. Crown  
8vo, 1s.

**ST QUINTIN, COLONEL T. A.**  
SPORT AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
By COLONEL T. A. ST QUINTIN. Illus-  
trated. Small 4to, 20s.

**SAINTSBURY, PROFESSOR.**  
A HISTORY OF CRITICISM AND  
LITERARY TASTE IN EUROPE.  
From the Earliest Texts to the Present  
Day. By GEORGE SAINTSBURY, M.A.  
(Oxon.), Hon. LL.D. (Aberd.), Professor  
of Rhetoric and English Literature in  
the University of Edinburgh. In 3  
vols. demy 8vo. Vol. I.—Classical and  
Medieval Criticism. 16s. net. Vol. II.  
—From the Renaissance to the Decline  
of Eighteenth Century Orthodoxy. 20s.  
net. Vol. III.—Nineteenth Century.  
20s. net.

MATTHEW ARNOLD. "Modern Eng-  
lish Writers." Second Edition. Crown  
8vo, 2s. 6d.

THE FLOURISHING OF ROMANCE  
AND THE RISE OF ALLEGORY  
(12TH AND 13TH CENTURIES). "Periods  
of European Literature." Crown 8vo,  
5s. net.

THE EARLIER RENAISSANCE.  
"Periods of European Literature."  
Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

THE LATER NINETEENTH CEN-  
TURY. "Periods of European Litera-  
ture." Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH CRITIC-  
ISM. Demy 8vo, 7s. 1d. net.

**SALMON, ARTHUR L.**  
SONGS OF A HEART'S SURRENDER.  
By ARTHUR L. SALMON. Crown 8vo, 2s.  
LIFE OF LIFE, AND OTHER POEMS.  
Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

- SALMON, ARTHUR L.**—*contd.*  
**LYRICS AND VERSES.** Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.  
**A BOOK OF VERSES.** Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.  
**WEST COUNTRY VERSES.** Crown 8vo, 3s. net.  
**A LITTLE BOOK OF SONGS.** Fcap. 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.  
**A NEW BOOK OF VERSE.** Fcap. 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.
- SCHOOL CATECHISM.**  
 Issued by a CONFERENCE OF MEMBERS OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES IN SCOTLAND. 18mo, ½d.
- "SCOLOPAX."**  
**A BOOK OF THE SNIPE.** By "SCOLOPAX." Illustrated. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.
- SCOTT, SIR J. GEORGE, K.C.I.E.**  
**CURSED LUCK.** By Sir J. GEORGE SCOTT, K.C.I.E. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
- SCOTT, MICHAEL.**  
**TOM CRINGLE'S LOG.** By MICHAEL SCOTT. New Edition. With 19 Full-page Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.  
**THE CRUISE OF THE MIDGE.** Illustrated boards, 2s.; cloth, 2s. 6d.
- SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS.** *For List of Vols., see p. 29.*
- SCOTTISH BANKERS MAGAZINE.**  
 The Journal of the Institute of Bankers in Scotland. Quarterly, 1s. net.
- SCUDAMORE, CYRIL.**  
**BELGIUM AND THE BELGIANS.** By CYRIL SCUDAMORE. With Illustrations. Square crown 8vo, 6s.
- SELLAR, E. M.**  
**RECOLLECTIONS AND IMPRESSIONS.** By E. M. SELLAR. With Eight Portraits. Fourth Impression. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.
- SELLAR, EDMUND.**  
**MUGGINS OF THE MODERN SIDE.** By EDMUND SELLAR. Crown 8vo, 6s.  
**GLENTYRE.** Crown 8vo, 6s.  
**WHERE EVERY PROSPECT PLEASES.** Crown 8vo, 6s.
- SETH, JAMES, M.A.**  
**A STUDY OF ETHICAL PRINCIPLES.** By JAMES SETH, M.A., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Tenth Edition, Revised. Post 8vo, 7s. 6d.
- SHARPLEY, H.**  
**ARISTOPHANES—PAX.** Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by H. SHARPLEY. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.
- SHAW, WILLIAM.**  
**SECURITIES OVER MOVEABLES.**  
 Four Lectures delivered at the Request of the Society of Accountants in Edinburgh, the Institute of Accountants and Actuaries in Glasgow, and the Institute of Bankers in Scotland in 1902-3. Demy 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.
- SHEEPHANKS, RICHARD.**  
**HECTOR AND ACHILLES: A TALE OF TROY.** Illustrated by J. FINNEMORE. Rendered into English after the Chronicle of Homer by RICHARD SHEEPHANKS. Square crown 8vo, 5s. net.
- SIME, JAMES, M.A.**  
**SCHILLER.** (Foreign Classics for English Readers.) By JAMES SIME, M.A. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.
- SIMPSON, PROFESSOR J. Y., D.Sc.**  
**SIDE-LIGHTS ON SIBERIA.** Some Account of the Great Siberian Iron Road: The Prisons and Exile System. By Professor J. Y. SIMPSON, D.Sc. With numerous Illustrations and a Map. Demy 8vo, 16s.
- SIMPSON, VIOLET A.**  
**IN FANCY'S MIRROR.** By VIOLET A. SIMPSON. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- SINCLAIR, EDITH.**  
**HIS HONOUR AND HIS LOVE.** By EDITH SINCLAIR. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- SINCLAIR, ISABEL G.**  
**THE THISTLE AND FLEUR DE LYS.** By ISABEL G. SINCLAIR. Crown 8vo, 3s. net.
- SKELTON, SIR JOHN, K.C.B.**  
**THE HANDBOOK OF PUBLIC HEALTH.** A New Edition. Revised by JAMES PATTEN MACDOUGALL, C.B., Advocate, Secretary to the Local Government Board for Scotland, Joint-Author of 'The Parish Council Guide for Scotland,' and ABLJAH MURRAY, Chief Clerk of the Local Government Board for Scotland. 3s. 6d. net.
- SKRINE, F. H.**  
**FONTENOY, AND GREAT BRITAIN'S SHARE IN THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION.** By F. H. SKRINE. With Map, Plans, and Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 21s. net.
- SLATER, FRANCIS CAREY.**  
**FROM MIMOSA LAND.** By FRANCIS CAREY SLATER. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.
- SMITH, PROFESSOR G. GREGORY.**  
**THE TRANSITION PERIOD.** "Periods of European Literature." By G. GREGORY SMITH, M.A. (Oxon.), Professor of English Literature, Belfast University. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.  
**SPECIMENS OF MIDDLE SCOTS.** Post 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.



**SNELL, F. J.**  
**THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.**  
 "Periods of European Literature." By  
 F. J. SNELL. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**"SON OF THE MARSHES, A."**  
**WITHIN AN HOUR OF LONDON**  
**TOWN: AMONG WILD BIRDS AND THEIR**  
**HAUNTS.** Edited by J. A. OWEN.  
 Cheap Uniform Edition. Crown 8vo,  
 3s. 6d.

**WITH THE WOODLANDERS AND**  
**BY THE TIDE.** Cheap Uniform Edi-  
 tion. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**ON SURREY HILLS.** Cheap Uniform  
 Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

**ANNALS OF A FISHING VILLAGE.**  
 Cheap Uniform Edition. Crown 8vo,  
 3s. 6d.

**SORLEY, PROF., Litt.D., LL.D.**  
**THE ETHICS OF NATURALISM.** By  
 W. R. SORLEY, Litt.D., LL.D., Fellow  
 of the British Academy, Fellow of  
 Trinity College, Cambridge, Professor  
 of Moral Philosophy, University of  
 Cambridge. Second Edition. Crown  
 8vo, 6s.

**RECENT TENDENCIES IN ETHICS.**  
 Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

**SPROTT, GEORGE W., D.D.**  
**THE WORSHIP AND OFFICES OF**  
**THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.**  
 By GEORGE W. SPROTT, D.D. Crown  
 8vo, 6s.

**THE BOOK OF COMMON ORDER**  
**OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,**  
 Commonly known as JOHN KNOX'S  
 LITURGY. With Historical Introduction  
 and Illustrative Notes. Crown 8vo,  
 4s. 6d. net.

**SCOTTISH LITURGIES OF THE**  
**REIGN OF JAMES VI.** Edited with  
 an Introduction and Notes. Crown  
 8vo, 4s. net.

**EUCHOLOGION.** A Book of Common  
 Order. Crown 8vo, 4s. 6d. net.

**ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY CAL-**  
**ENDAR.** Printed and Published for  
 the Senatus Academicus. Crown 8vo,  
 2s. 6d. net.

**ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY L.L.A.**  
**CALENDAR.** Printed and Published  
 for the Senatus Academicus. Crown  
 8vo, 1s.

**STEEVENS, G. W.**  
**THINGS SEEN: IMPRESSIONS OF MEN,**  
**CITIES, AND BOOKS.** By the late G. W.  
 STEEVENS. Edited by G. S. STREET.  
 With a Memoir by W. E. HENLEY, and  
 a Photogravure reproduction of Collier's  
 Portrait. Memorial Edition. Crown  
 8vo, 6s.

**FROM CAPETOWN TO LADYSMITH,**  
**and EGYPT IN 1898.** Memorial Edi-  
 tion. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**IN INDIA.** With Map. Memorial Edi-  
 tion. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**THE LAND OF THE DOLLAR.** Mem-  
 orial Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**GLIMPSES OF THREE NATIONS.**  
 Memorial Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**MONOLOGUES OF THE DEAD.** Mem-  
 orial Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

#### **STEPHENS.**

**THE BOOK OF THE FARM;** dealing  
 exhaustively with every Branch of  
 Agriculture. Edited by JAMES MAC-  
 DONALD, F.R.S.E., Secretary of the  
 Highland and Agricultural Society of  
 Scotland. With over 700 Illustrations  
 and Animal Portraits. In Six Divisional  
 Volumes at 10s. 6d. net each; or Three  
 Volumes of over 500 pages each, price  
 21s. net per Volume. Each Volume sold  
 separately.

**LAND AND ITS EQUIPMENT.** With  
 346 Illustrations and 8 Plans of Farm  
 Buildings. Royal 8vo, 21s. net.

**FARM CROPS.** With 354 Illustrations.  
 Royal 8vo, 21s. net.

**FARM LIVE STOCK.** With 77 Illustrations  
 and 84 Animal Portraits. Royal  
 8vo, 21s. net.

#### **STEVENSON, G. H.**

**THE SILVER SPOON.** By G. H.  
 STEVENSON. Crown 8vo, 6s.

#### **STEWART, CHARLES.**

**HAUD IMMÉMOR.** Reminiscences of  
 Legal and Social Life in Edinburgh  
 and London, 1850-1900. By CHARLES  
 STEWART. With 10 Photogravure Plates.  
 Royal 8vo, 7s. 6d.

#### **STEWART and CUFF.**

**PRACTICAL NURSING.** By ISLA  
 STEWART, Matron of St Bartholomew's  
 Hospital, London; and HERBERT E.  
 CUFF, M.D., F.R.C.S., Medical Officer  
 for General Purposes to the Metro-  
 politan Asylums' Board, London; late  
 Medical Superintendent, North-Eastern  
 Fever Hospital, Tottenham, London.  
 Revised by H. E. CUFF; assisted by  
 B. CUTLER, Assistant Matron of St  
 Bartholomew's Hospital. Third Edi-  
 tion. Crown 8vo, 5s. net. Also in 2  
 volumes, each 3s. 6d. net.

- STODDART, ANNA M.**  
LIFE AND LETTEBS OF HANNAH  
E. PIPE. By ANNA M. STODDART.  
With Portraits and Illustrations. Demy  
8vo, 15s. net.
- STORMONTH, REV. JAMES.**  
DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH  
LANGUAGE, PRONOUNCING, ETYMO-  
LOGICAL, AND EXPLANATORY. By the  
REV. JAMES STORMONTH. Revised by  
the Rev. P. H. PHELP. Library Edition.  
New and Cheaper Edition, with Supplement.  
Imperial 8vo, handsomely bound  
in half morocco, 18s. net.
- ETYMOLOGICAL AND PRONOUNC-  
ING DICTIONARY OF THE ENG-  
LISH LANGUAGE.** Including a very  
Copious Selection of Scientific Terms.  
For use in Schools and Colleges, and as  
a Book of General Reference. The Pronun-  
ciation carefully revised by the Rev.  
P. H. PHELP, M.A. Cantab. A New  
Edition. Edited by WILLIAM BAYNE.  
Crown 8vo, pp. 1082. 5s. net.
- HANDY SCHOOL DICTIONARY, PRONOUNCING AND EXPLANATORY.** Thoroughly Revised and Enlarged by WILLIAM BAYNE. 16mo, 7d. net.
- STRAIN, E. H.**  
A PROPHE'T'S REWARD. By E. H.  
STRAIN. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- SWAYNE, G. C.**  
HERODOTUS. (Ancient Classics for  
English Readers.) By G. C. SWAYNE.  
Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.
- SYLLABUS OF RELIGIOUS IN-  
STRUCTION FOR PUBLIC  
SCHOOLS.**  
Issued by a CONFERENCE OF MEMBERS  
OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES IN SCOT-  
LAND. 18mo, 1d.
- SYNGE, M. B.**  
THE STORY OF THE WORLD. By  
M. B. SYNGE. With Coloured Frontis-  
pieces and numerous Illustrations by  
E. M. SYNGE, A.R.E., and Maps. 2  
vols., 3s. 6d. each net.
- TABLE OF FEES FOR CONVEY-  
ANCING, &c.** 4to. Roxburgh, 3s. 6d.;  
sewed, 2s. 6d.
- THACKERAY, MISS.**  
MADAME DE SEVIGNÉ. (Foreign  
Classics for English Readers.) By Miss  
THACKERAY. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.
- THEOBALD, FRED. V., M.A. (Cantab.)**  
A TEXT-BOOK OF AGRICULTURAL  
ZOOLOGY. By FRED. V. THEOBALD.  
With numerous Illustrations. Crown  
8vo, 8s. 6d.
- THOMSON, COLONEL AN-  
STRUTHER.**  
HISTORY OF THE FIFE LIGHT  
HORSE. By Colonel ANSTRUTHER  
THOMSON. With numerous Portraits.  
Small 4to, 21s. net.
- THOMSON, DAVID.**  
HANDY BOOK OF THE FLOWER-  
GARDEN. By DAVID THOMSON.  
Crown 8vo, 5s.
- THOMSON, WILLIAM.**  
A PRACTICAL TREATISE ON THE  
CULTIVATION OF THE GRAPE  
VINE. By WILLIAM THOMSON, Tweed  
Vineyards. Tenth Edition. 8vo, 5s.
- THORBURN, S. S.**  
ASIATIC NEIGHBOURS. By S. S.  
THORBURN. With Two Maps. Demy  
8vo, 10s. 6d. net.
- THE PUNJAB IN PEACE AND WAR.**  
Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.
- INDIA'S SAINT AND THE VICEROY.**  
A Novel. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- THURSTON, KATHERINE CECIL.**  
THE CIRCLE. By KATHERINE CECIL  
THURSTON. Ninth Impression. Crown  
8vo, 6s.
- JOHN CHILCOTE, M.P.** Fifteenth Im-  
pression, crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition,  
1s. net. People's Edition, 6d.
- THE MYSTICS.** With Illustrations.  
Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
- THE FLY ON THE WHEEL.** Crown  
8vo, 6s.
- TIELE, PROFESSOR, Litt.D., &c.**  
ELEMENTS OF THE SCIENCE OF  
RELIGION. Part I.—Morphological.  
Part II.—Ontological. Being the Gifford  
Lectures delivered before the Univer-  
sity of Edinburgh in 1896-98. By C.  
P. TIELE, Theol.D., Litt.D. (Bonon.),  
Hon. M.R.A.S., &c., Professor of the  
Science of Religion in the University  
of Leiden. In 2 vols. post 8vo, 7s. 6d.  
net each.
- TRANSACTIONS OF THE HIGH-  
LAND AND AGRICULTURAL  
SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND.** Pub-  
lished Annually, price 5s.
- TRAVERS, GRAHAM (Margaret Todd,  
M.D.)**  
THE WAY OF ESCAPE. A Novel.  
By GRAHAM TRAVERS (Margaret Todd,  
M.D.) Second Impression. Crown  
8vo, 6s.
- WINDYHAUGH.** Fourth Edition. Crown  
8vo, 6s.
- FELLOW TRAVELLERS.** Fourth Edi-  
tion. Crown 8vo, 6s.

- TROLLOPE, ANTHONY.**  
CÆSAR. (Ancient Classics for English Readers.) By ANTHONY TROLLOPE. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.
- TROLLOPE, HENRY M.**  
CORNEILLE AND RACINE (Foreign Classics for English Readers.) By HENRY M. TROLLOPE. Fcap. 8vo, 1s net.
- TRUSCOTT, L. PARRY.**  
THE MARRIAGE OF AMINTA. By L. PARRY TRUSCOTT. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- TULLOCH, PRINCIPAL.**  
PASCAL (Foreign Classics for English Readers.) By Principal TULLOCH. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.
- TURNER, STANLEY HORSFALL, M.A.**  
THE HISTORY OF LOCAL TAXATION IN SCOTLAND. By STANLEY HORSFALL TURNER, M.A. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.
- TWEEDIE, MAJOR-GENERAL W., C.S.I.**  
THE ARABIAN HORSE: HIS COUNTRY AND PEOPLE. By Major-General W. TWEEDIE, C.S.I., Bengal Staff Corps, for many years H.B.M.'s Consul-General, Baghdad, and Political Resident for the Government of India in Turkish Arabia. In one vol. royal 4to, with Seven Coloured Plates and other Illustrations, and a Map of the Country. Large Paper Edition. Price £6, 6s. net.
- VAUGHAN, PROFESSOR C. E.**  
THE ROMANTIC REVOLT. By Professor C. E. VAUGHAN. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.
- VEITCH, PROFESSOR.**  
HAMILTON. (Philosophical Classics for English Readers.) By Professor VEITCH. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.
- VERNÈDE, R. E.**  
AN IGNORANT IN INDIA. By R. E. VERNÈDE. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.
- VOYAGE OF THE "SCOTIA," THE.**  
Being the Record of a Voyage of Exploration in Antarctic Seas. By THREE OF THE STAFF. Demy 8vo, 21s. net.
- WADDELL, REV. P. HATELY, D.D.**  
ESSAYS ON FAITH. By Rev. P. HATELY WADDELL, D.D. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
- THOUGHTS ON MODERN MYSTICISM. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
- WAKE, LUCY.**  
LADY WAKE'S REMINISCENCES. By LUCY WAKE. With Portraits and Illustrations. Second Impression. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.
- WALFORD, E.**  
JUVENAL. (Ancient Classics for English Readers.) By E. WALFORD. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.
- WALLACE, PROFESSOR.**  
KANT. (Philosophical Classics for English Readers.) By Professor WALLACE. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.
- WARREN, SAMUEL.**  
DIARY OF A LATE PHYSICIAN. By SAMUEL WARREN. Cloth, 2s. 6d.; boards, 2s.; paper cover, 1s.
- NOW AND THEN. The Lily and the Bee. Intellectual and Moral Development of the Present Age. 4s. 6d.
- WATSON, GILBERT.**  
THE SKIPPER. By GILBERT WATSON. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- WATT, MACLEAN.**  
BY STILL WATERS. By MACLEAN WATT. 1s. 6d.; leather, 2s.
- WEIGALL, ARTHUR E. P.**  
TRAVELS IN THE UPPER EGYPTIAN DESERTS. By ARTHUR E. P. WEIGALL. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net
- THE LIFE AND TIMES OF AKH-NATON, PHARAOH OF EGYPT. Illustrated. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 16s. 6d. net.
- THE TREASURY OF ANCIENT EGYPT. Chapters on Ancient Egyptian History and Archæology. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.
- WENLEY, PROFESSOR, D.Sc., D.Phil.**  
ASPECTS OF PESSIMISM. By R. M. WENLEY, M.A., D.Sc., D.Phil., Professor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan, U.S.A. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- WHIBLEY, CHARLES.**  
THACKERAY. "Modern English Writers." By CHARLES WHIBLEY. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.
- WILLIAM PITT. With Portraits and Caricatures. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.
- AMERICAN SKETCHES. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- WHISPER, A.**  
KING AND CAPTIVE. By A. WHISPER. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- THE SINISTR NOTE. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- WHITE, REV. JAMES.**  
SIR FRIZZLE PUMPKIN, NIGHTS AT MESS, &c. By Rev. JAMES WHITE. Illustrated cover, 1s.; cloth, 1s. 6d.

**WHYTE, ADAM GOWANS.**  
THE TEMPLETON TRADITION. By  
ADAM COWANS WHYTE. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**WILSON, CHRISTOPHER.**  
THE MISSING MILLIONAIRE. By  
CHRISTOPHER WILSON. Crown 8vo, 6s.

**WILSON, LADY.**  
LETTERS FROM INDIA. By LADY  
WILSON. Demy 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

**WILSON, PROFESSOR.**  
WORKS OF PROFESSOR WILSON.  
Edited by his Son-in-Law, Professor  
FERRIER. 12 vols. crown 8vo, £2, 8s.  
THE NOCTES AMBROSIANÆ. 4 vols.,  
16s.

ESSAYS, CRITICAL AND IMAGINATIVE.  
4 vols., 16s.

CHRISTOPHER IN HIS SPORTING-  
JACKET. 2 vols., 8s.

LIGHTS AND SHADOWS OF SCOT-  
TISH LIFE, AND OTHER TALES. 4s.

ISLE OF PALMS, CITY OF THE  
PLAGUE, AND OTHER POEMS. 4s

**WINRAM, JAMES.**  
VIOLIN PLAYING and VIOLIN  
ADJUSTMENT. By JAMES WINRAM.  
Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

**WORSLEY, PHILIP STANHOPE,**  
M.A.

HOMER'S ODYSSEY. Translated into  
English Verse in the Spenserian Stanza.  
By PHILIP STANHOPE WORSLEY, M.A.  
New and Cheaper Edition. Post 8vo,  
7s. 6d. net.

**WOTHERSPOON, H. J., M.A.**

KYRIE ELEISON ("LORD, HAVE  
MERCY"). A Manual of Private Prayers.  
With Notes and Additional Matter. By  
H. J. WOTHERSPOON, M.A., of St Os-  
wald's, Edinburgh. Cloth, red edges,  
1s. net; limp leather, 1s. 6d. net.

BEFORE AND AFTER. Being Part I.  
of 'Kyrie Eleison.' Cloth, limp, 6d.  
net.

THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF  
KING EDWARD THE SIXTH (1552),  
ALONG WITH THE LITURGY OF COM-  
PROMISE. Edited by Rev. G. W.  
SPROTT, D.D. Crown 8vo, 4s. net.

**YATE, LIEUT.-COLONEL, M.P.**  
KHURASAN AND SISTAN. By Lieut.-  
Colonel C. E. YATE, C.S.I., C.M.G.  
With numerous Illustrations and Map.  
Demy 8vo, 21s.

NORTHERN AFGHANISTAN; OR, LET-  
TERS FROM THE AFGHAN BOUNDARY  
COMMISSION. With Route Maps. Demy  
8vo, 18s.

## BLACKWOODS' Shilling Editions of Popular Novels.

Bound in Cloth. With Coloured Illustration on Wrapper.

**THE DAFT DAYS.**

By NEIL MUNRO.

**THE LUNATIC AT LARGE.**

By J. STORER CLOUSTON.

**CAPTAIN DESMOND, V.C.**

By MAUD DIVER.

**THE GREAT AMULET.**

By MAUD DIVER.

**CANDLES IN THE WIND.**

By MAUD DIVER.

**SARACINESCA.**

By F. MARION CRAWFORD.

**THE MOON OF BATH.**

By BETH ELLIS.

**JOHN CHILCOTE, M.P.**

By KATHERINE CECIL THURSTON.

**THE POWER OF THE KEYS.**

By SYDNEY C. GRIER.

**"PIP": A Romance of Youth.**

By IAN HAY.

**THE RED NEIGHBOUR.**

By W. J. ECCOTT.

**THE GREEN CURVE.**

By OLE LUK-OIE.

**THE RIGHT STUFF.**

By IAN HAY.

**IN HIGHLAND HARBOURS  
WITH PARA HANDY.**

By HUGH FOULIS.

# The Scottish Text Society.

THIS SOCIETY was founded in 1882 for the purpose of printing and editing texts in Early and Middle Scots. Two parts or volumes, extending to not less than 400 pages, are published annually; but additional parts or volumes are issued when the funds permit. They are printed in uniform style, octavo, and are issued (a) in paper covers, or (b) bound in half-leather (maroon), with cloth sides, gilt top, and gilt lettering. The Annual Subscription is £1, 1s. (One Guinea), payable in advance. Specimen Volumes may be seen at the Society's Printers, Messrs William Blackwood & Sons, 45 George Street, Edinburgh, and 37 Paternoster Row, London, or in any of the libraries in Great Britain and abroad.

*Note.*—The volumes have been issued in half-leather since 1897. Earlier volumes are in paper covers only; but they may be bound to the Society's pattern at the cost of 1s. 6d. per volume. Most of the back volumes are in print, and may be purchased by subscribers. Particulars of price, &c., may be had on application to the Treasurer.

## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

- The Kingis Quair**, together with A Ballad of Good Counsel. By King James I. Edited by the Rev. Professor W. W. Skeat, M.A., LL.D. pp. 113 and iv.
- The Poems of William Dunbar.** Part I. Edited by John Small, M.A. pp. 160 and iv.
- The Court of Venus**, By Iohne Rolland, 1575. Edited by the Rev. Walter Gregor, M.A., LL.D. pp. 231 and xxxii.
- The Poems of William Dunbar.** Part II. Edited by John Small, M.A. pp. 169 and vi.
- Leslie's Historie of Scotland.** Part I. Translated into Scottish from the original Latin by Father James Dalrymple. Edited by the Rev. E. G. Cody, O.S.B. pp. 130 and iv.
- Schir William Wallace, Knight of Ellerslie.** Part I. By Henry the Minstrel, commonly known as Blind Harry. Edited by James Moir, M.A. pp. 181.
- The Wallace.** Part II. Edited by James Moir, M.A. pp. 198.
- Sir Tristrem.** With Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. Edited by G. P. McNeill, M.A. pp. 148 and xlviij.
- The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie.** Part I. Edited by James Cranstoun, M.A., LL.D. pp. 176 and vii.
- The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie.** Part II. Edited by James Cranstoun, M.A., LL.D. pp. 160 and iv.
- The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie.** Part III. Edited by James Cranstoun, M.A., LL.D. pp. 96 and lvij.
- Gau's Richt Vay to the Kingdome of Heulne.** Edited by the Rev. Professor Mitchell, D.D. pp. 130 and lvij.
- Legends of the Saints** (Fourteenth Century). Part I. Edited by the Rev. W. M. Metcalfe, M.A. pp. 224 and v.
- Leslie's Historie of Scotland.** Part II. Edited by the Rev. E. G. Cody, O.S.B. pp. 270 and xxvi.
- Niniane Winjet's Works.** Vol. I. Edited by the Rev. J. King Hewison. pp. 140 and cxx.

- The Poems of William Dunbar.** Part III. Introduction. By Æ. J. G. Mackay, LL.D. pp. cclxxxiii.
- The Wallace.** Part III. Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. By James Moir, M.A. pp. 189 and liv.
- Legends of the Saints.** Part II. Edited by the Rev. W. M. Metcalfe, M.A. pp. 336 and iii.
- Leslie's Historie of Scotland.** Part III. Edited by the Rev. E. G. Cody, O.S.B. pp. 262 and iii.
- Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation.** Part I. Edited by James Cranstoun, M.A., LL.D. pp. 229 and vi.
- The Poems of William Dunbar.** Part IV. Containing the first portion of the Notes. By the Rev. W. Gregor, LL.D. pp. 244.
- Ninian Winzet's Works.** Vol. II. Notes and Glossary. By the Rev. J. King Hewison. pp. 293 and xxxiii.
- Legends of the Saints.** Part III. Edited by the Rev. W. M. Metcalfe, M.A. pp. 192 and iii.
- Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation.** Part II. Edited by James Cranstoun, M.A., LL.D. pp. 181 and lix.
- Legends of the Saints.** Part IV. Completing the Text. Edited by the Rev. W. M. Metcalfe, M.A. pp. 285 and iii.
- The Vernacular Writings of George Buchanan.** Edited by P. Hume Brown, M.A., LL.D. pp. 75 and xxxviii.
- Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas.** Part I. Edited by F. J. Amours. pp. 187 and vi.
- Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation.** Part III. Containing first portion of Notes. By James Cranstoun, M.A., LL.D. pp. 188 and iii.
- The Poems of William Dunbar.** Part V. Completion of Notes and Glossary. By the Rev. W. Gregor, LL.D. And Appendix, by Æ. J. G. Mackay, LL.D. pp. 291.
- Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation.** Part IV. Completion of Notes, Appendix, Glossary, and Index of Proper Names. By James Cranstoun, M.A., LL.D. pp. 186 and xii.
- Barbour's Bruce.** Part I. Edited by the Rev. Professor Walter W. Skeat, M.A., LL.D. pp. 351 and iii.
- Barbour's Bruce.** Part II. Edited by the Rev. Professor Walter W. Skeat, M.A., LL.D. pp. 430 and viii.
- Barbour's Bruce.** Part III. Introduction. By the Rev. Professor Walter W. Skeat, M.A., LL.D. pp. cxi.
- Leslie's Historie of Scotland.** Edited by the Rev. E. G. Cody, O.S.B. Part IV. Completion of Text, with Notes, Glossary, &c. By William Murison, M.A. pp. 328 and vii.
- Legends of the Saints.** Part V. Notes (first portion). By the Rev. W. M. Metcalfe, D.D. pp. 256 and iv.
- The Poems of Alexander Scott.** Edited by James Cranstoun, M.A., LL.D. pp. 218 and xxii.
- Legends of the Saints.** Part VI. Completion of Notes and Glossary. By the Rev. W. M. Metcalfe, D.D. pp. 240 and l.
- Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas.** Part II. Edited by F. J. Amours. pp. 294 and xc.
- The Gude and Godlie Ballatis.** Edited by the Rev. Professor Mitchell, D.D. pp. 338 and cliv.
- The Works of Mure of Rowallan.** Vol. I. Edited by William Tough, M.A. pp. 306 and xxvii.
- Works of Mure of Rowallan.** Vol. II. Edited by William Tough, M.A. pp. 345 and iii.
- Lindsay of Pitscottie's Historie and Cronicles.** Vol. I. Edited by Æneas J. G. Mackay, LL.D. pp. 414 and clx.
- Lindsay of Pitscottie's Historie and Cronicles.** Vol. II. Edited by Æneas J. G. Mackay, LL.D. pp. 478 and xii.
- Gilbert of the Haye's Prose MS. (1456).** Vol. I. *The Buke of the Law of Armys, or Buke of Bataillis.* Edited by J. H. Stevenson. pp. 303 and cvii.
- Catholic Tractates of the Sixteenth Century (1573-1600).** Edited by Thomas Graves Law, LL.D. pp. 308 and lxiii.
- The New Testament in Scots,** being Purvey's Revision of Wycliffe's Version, turned into Scots by Murdoch Nisbet (c. 1520). Edited by Thomas Graves Law, LL.D. Vol. I. pp. 300 and xxxvii.
- Livy's History of Rome: The First Five Books.** Translated into Scots by John Bellenden (1533). Vol. I. Edited by W. A. Craigie, M.A. pp. 305 and xvii.

**The Poems of Alexander Hume (? 1557-1609).** Edited by the Rev. Alexander Lawson, B.D. pp. 279 and lxxiii.

**The New Testament in Scots.** Edited by Thomas Graves Law, LL.D. Vol. II. pp. 367 and ix.

**The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun (c. 1420).** Printed on Parallel Pages from the Cottonian and Wemyss MSS., with the Variants of the other Texts. Edited by F. J. Amours. Vol. II. (Text, Vol. I.) pp. 351 and xix.

**Livy's History of Rome: The First Five Books.** Completion of Text, with Notes and Glossary. Edited by W. A. Craigie, M.A. Vol. II pp. 408.

**The New Testament in Scots.** Edited by Thomas Graves Law, LL.D. Vol. III. pp. 397 and xiii.

**The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun.** Edited by F. J. Amours. Vol. III. (Text, Vol. II.) pp. 497 and xiv.

**The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun.** Edited by F. J. Amours. Vol. IV. (Text, Vol. III.) pp. 435 and xi.

**The Poems of Robert Henryson.** Edited by Professor G. Gregory Smith. Vol. II. (Text, Vol. I.) pp. 327 and xxi.

**The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun.** Edited by F. J. Amours. Vol. V. (Text, Vol. IV.) pp. 433 and xi.

**The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun.** Edited by F. J. Amours. Vol. VI. (Text, Vol. V.) pp. 436 and xv.

**The Poems of Robert Henryson.** Edited by Professor G. Gregory Smith. Vol. III. (Text, Vol. II.) pp. 198 and xix.

**Poems of Alexander Montgomerie, and other Pieces from Laing MS. No. 447. Supplementary Volume.** Edited, with Introduction, Appendices, Notes, and Glossary, by George Stevenson, M.A. pp. 392 and lxxv.

**The Kingis Quair by James I. of Scotland.** Edited by Rev. Walter W. Skeat, Litt.D., LL.D., D.C.L., Ph.D., F.B.A. *New Series.*

## FORTHCOMING WORKS.

**Lindesay of Pitscottie's Historie and Cronicles.** Vol. III. Glossary.

**Gilbert of the Haye's Prose MS. (1459).** Vol. II. *The Buik of the Order of Chivalry, &c.* Edited by J. H. Stevenson, M.A.

**The Vernacular Works of James VI., King of Scots.** Edited by Oliphant Smeaton.

**Specimens of Early Legal Documents in Scots.** Edited by David Murray, LL.D.

**The Maitland Folio MS.** Edited by J. T. T. Brown. (*See SERIES OF MS. COLLECTIONS*)

**John of Ireland's Works (1490),** from the MS. in the Advocates' Library.

**Montgomerie's Poems,** from the Laing MS. Edited by George Stevenson, M.A. [*In the press.*]

**The Makculloch and Gray MSS.,** with Excerpts from the Chepman and Myllar Prints. Edited by George Stevenson, M.A.

**Catechisms of the Reformation.** Edited by William Carruthers.

The Editorial Committee has other works under consideration, including—

**The Buik of the Most Noble and Valiant Conqueror Alexander the Great.** From the unique copy of Arbuthnot's print of 1580, in the possession of the Earl of Dalhousie.

**J. Stewart's Abbregeement of Roland Furivus, translat out of Ariost, together with svm rapsodies of the Author, &c.** From the dedication MS. copy presented to James VI., now preserved in the Advocates' Library.

**Abrauk Bysset's 'Rolmentis of Courts' (1622),** from the MS. in the Library of the University of Edinburgh (Laing Collection) and the MS. in the Advocates' Library.

**The Poems of Gavin Douglas.**

**The Poems of Sir David Lyndsay.**

&c. &c.

And occasional Volumes of a MISCELLANY of Shorter Pieces. (Information regarding possible contributions will be gladly received by the Committee.)

**PERIODS OF EUROPEAN LITERATURE: A Complete and CONTINUOUS HISTORY OF THE SUBJECT.** Edited by PROFESSOR SAINTSBURY. In 12 crown 8vo vols., each 5s. net.

THE DARK AGES. By Prof. W. P. Ker.	THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By Prof. H. J. C. Grierson.
THE FLOURISHING OF ROMANCE AND THE RISE OF ALLEGORY. (12th and 13th Centuries.) By Prof. Saintsbury.	THE AUGUSTAN AGES. By Prof. Oliver Elton.
THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. By F. J. Snell.	THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Prof. J. H. Millar.
THE TRANSITION PERIOD. By Prof. G. Gregory Smith.	THE ROMANTIC REVOLT. By Prof. C. E. Vaughan.
THE EARLIER RENAISSANCE. By Prof. Saintsbury.	THE ROMANTIC TRIUMPH. By T. S. Omond.
THE LATER RENAISSANCE. By David Hannay.	THE LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Prof. Saintsbury.

**PHILOSOPHICAL CLASSICS FOR ENGLISH READERS.**

Edited by WILLIAM KNIGHT, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St Andrews. *Re-issue in Shilling Volumes net.*

DESCARTES . . . . . Prof. Mahaffy.	VICO . . . . . Prof. Flint.
BUTLER . . . . . Rev. W. L. Collins.	HOBBES . . . . . Prof. Croom Robertson.
BERKELEY . . . . . Prof. Campbell Fraser.	HUME . . . . . Prof. Knight.
FICHTE . . . . . Prof. Adamson.	SPINOZA . . . . . Principal Caird.
KANT . . . . . Prof. Wallace.	BACON—Part I. . . . . Prof. Nichol.
HAMILTON . . . . . Prof. Veitch.	BACON—Part II. . . . . Prof. Nichol.
HEGEL . . . . . Prof. Edward Caird.	LOCKE . . . . . Prof. Campbell Fraser.
LEIBNIZ . . . . . John Theodore Merz.	

**FOREIGN CLASSICS FOR ENGLISH READERS.** Edited by

MRS OLIPHANT. CHEAP RE-ISSUE. In limp cloth, fcap. 8vo, price 1s. each net.

DANTE . . . . . Mrs Oliphant.	CERVANTES . . . . . Mrs Oliphant.
VOLTAIRE General Sir E. B. Hamley, K.C.B.	CORNEILLE and RACINE Henry M. Trollope.
PASCAL . . . . . Principal Tulloch.	MADAME DE SÉVIGNÉ Miss Thackeray.
PETRARCH . . . . . Henry Reeve, C.B.	LA FONTAINE AND OTHER } Rev. W. Lucas
GOETHE . . . . . A. Hayward, Q.C.	FRENCH FABULISTS } Collins, M.A.
MOLIÈRE Editor and F. Traver, M.A.	SCHILLER . . . . . James Sime, M.A.
MONTAIGNE . . . . . Rev. W. L. Collins.	TASSO . . . . . E. J. Hasell.
RABELAIS . . . . . Sir Walter Besant.	ROUSSEAU . . . . . Henry Grey Graham.
CALDERON . . . . . E. J. Hasell.	ALFRED DE MUSSET . . . . . C. F. Oliphant.
SAINT SIMON . . . . . C. W. Collins.	

**ANCIENT CLASSICS FOR ENGLISH READERS.** Edited by

the REV. W. LUCAS COLLINS, M.A. CHEAP RE-ISSUE. In limp cloth, fcap. 8vo, price 1s. each net. *Contents of the Series—*

HOMER: ILIAD . . . . . Rev. W. Lucas Collins.	HESIOD AND THEOGNIS . . . . . J. Davies.
HOMER: ODYSSEY . . . . . Rev. W. Lucas Collins.	PLAUTUS AND TERENCE Rev. W. L. Collins.
HERODOTUS . . . . . G. C. Swayne.	TACITUS . . . . . W. B. Donne.
CÆSAR . . . . . Anthony Trollope.	LUCIAN . . . . . Rev. W. Lucas Collins.
VIRGIL . . . . . Rev. W. Lucas Collins.	PLATO . . . . . C. W. Collins.
HORACE . . . . . Sir Theodore Martin.	GREEK ANTHOLOGY . . . . . Lord Neaves.
ÆSCHYLUS . . . . . Bishop Copleston.	LIVY . . . . . Rev. W. Lucas Collins.
XENOPHON . . . . . Sir Alex. Grant.	OVID . . . . . Rev. A. Church.
CICERO . . . . . Rev. W. Lucas Collins.	CATULLUS, TIBULLUS, AND } J. Davies.
SOPHOCLES . . . . . C. W. Collins.	PEOPERTIUS . . . . . } W. J. Brodribb.
PLINY . . . . . } Rev. A. Church and	DEMOSTHENES . . . . . } W. J. Brodribb.
	ARISTOTLE . . . . . } Sir Alex. Grant.
EURIPIDES . . . . . W. B. Donne.	THUCYDIDES . . . . . Rev. W. Lucas Collins.
JUVENAL . . . . . E. Walford.	LUCRETIVS . . . . . W. H. Mallock.
ARISTOPHANES . . . . . Rev. W. Lucas Collins.	PINDAR . . . . . Rev. F. D. Morice.



# WM. BLACKWOOD & SONS'

## EDUCATIONAL WORKS

---

### CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
ENGLISH . . . . .	35	PALÆONTOLOGY . . . . .	54
HISTORY . . . . .	42	PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY . . . . .	55
LATIN AND GREEK . . . . .	42	PSYCHOLOGY AND LOGIC . . . . .	55
MODERN LANGUAGES . . . . .	49	FORESTRY . . . . .	55
MATHEMATICS . . . . .	52	ELEMENTARY SERIES . . . . .	56
GEOGRAPHY . . . . .	53	WRITING AND COPY BOOKS . . . . .	64
CHEMISTRY AND POPULAR SCIENCE	54	UNIVERSITY CALENDARS . . . . .	64
GEOLOGY . . . . .	54		



# EDUCATIONAL WORKS.

---

\* \* *The Publishers will be glad to consider applications  
\* from Teachers for Specimen Copies.*

## ENGLISH.

### A History of English Criticism.

By GEORGE SAINTSBURY, M.A. (Oxon.), Hon. LL.D. (Aberd.), Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh. Demy 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

---

### WORKS BY J. LOGIE ROBERTSON, M.A.

#### A History of English Literature.

For Secondary Schools. By J. LOGIE ROBERTSON, M.A., First English Master, Edinburgh Ladies' College. With an Introduction by Professor MASSON, Edinburgh University. Fifth Edition, revised. 3s.

**Daily Chronicle.**—"The exposition is fresh and independent, and high above the level of the ordinary work of this class.....The book should prove a great boon not only to secondary schools and colleges but also to private students."

#### Outlines of English Literature.

For Young Scholars, with Illustrative Specimens. By the SAME AUTHOR. Third Edition, revised. 1s. 6d.

**Spectator.**—"To sketch English literature from Beowulf down to Lord Macaulay in a hundred and fifty pages without falling into the style of a catalogue, is an achievement of which Mr Robertson may well be proud."

#### English Verse for Junior Classes.

By the SAME AUTHOR. In Two Parts. 1s. 6d. net each.

PART I.—Chaucer to Coleridge.

PART II.—Nineteenth-Century Poets.

**School Guardian.**—"Of the high literary quality of this selection there can be no question. There is nothing here that is not classical in the strictest sense of the word."

## English Prose for Junior and Senior Classes.

By the SAME AUTHOR. In Two Parts. 2s. 6d. each.

PART I.—Malory to Johnson. | PART II.—Nineteenth Century.

**Educational Times.**—"We do not remember to have seen a better prose collection on the same scale, and the book should be very useful to teachers who like to work on the lines of genuine literature."

**Mr R. Blair, Education Officer.**—"I have to inform you that the Committee of the London County Council concerned have decided to add the book entitled 'English Exercises for Junior and Senior Classes' (J. L. Robertson, 1s.) to the Council's supplementary list of books for evening schools."

## English Exercises for Junior and Senior Classes.

By the SAME AUTHOR. 1s.

**Schoolmaster.**—"These exercises have the high recommendation of being the gradual growth of a course of practical work in an English class-room..... The manual cannot fail to be of service even to experienced teachers."

**Headmaster, Council Central Secondary School.**—"As an English teacher and lecturer of long experience, I may say unreservedly that I am delighted with the book. I shall certainly use it in my classes. The suggestions under each extract are extremely good, and will be valuable to teachers and students alike."

**High School Headmaster.**—"The exercises are admirably drawn up, and are most suitable for classes preparing for Leaving Certificate or University examinations. I have great pleasure in adopting the book as a class-book, and intend to use it systematically throughout the session."

## English Drama.

By the SAME AUTHOR. 2s. 6d.

**Spectator.**—"This capital selection.....Not only is it a text-book with excellent notes, but a neat and handy collection of English dramatic masterpieces."

## The Select Chaucer.

Edited and Elucidated by the SAME AUTHOR. Crown 8vo, 3s. ; and in Two Parts—Part I., 2s. ; Part II., 1s. 6d.

**Athenæum.**—"A very successful attempt to enlarge the range of Chaucer reading in schools. We wish we could believe that the book will have the circulation it deserves."

## Paraphrasing, Analysis, and Correction of Sentences.

By D. M. J. JAMES, M.A., Gordon Schools, Huntly. 1s.

*Also in Two Parts:—*

**Passages for Paraphrasing.** Verse and Prose. 6d.

**Exercises in Analysis, Parsing, and Correction of Sentences.** 6d.

**Athenæum.**—"The pieces are well calculated to improve the grammar and style of the rising generation in an age which is not distinguished for lucidity or logic."

*Part I., Chaucer to Burns, cloth, 1s. net.*

*Part II., Wordsworth to Newbolt, cloth, 1s. net.*

*In One Volume complete, cloth, 2s. net.*

*Prize Edition, 5s.*

## The School Anthology of English Verse.

A Selection of English Verse  
from Chaucer to the Present Day.

EDITED BY

**J. H. LOBBAN, M.A.,**

Lecturer in English Literature, Birkbeck College, London;  
Editor of 'The Granta Shakespeare,' &c.

**Athenæum.**—"We have here such poetry as rings morally sound and exalts the soundest instincts and feelings of human nature."

**Guardian.**—"The work is worthy of nothing less than absolutely unqualified approval, and we cordially wish it the hearty welcome it deserves."

**Journal of Education.**—"One of the best small anthologies we have seen for some time. The selection is made with great good taste and care."

### Elementary Grammar and Composition.

Based on the ANALYSIS OF SENTENCES. With a Chapter on WORD-BUILDING and DERIVATION, and containing numerous Exercises. 1s.

**Schoolmaster.**—"A very valuable book. It is constructive as well as analytic, and well-planned exercises have been framed to teach the young student how to use the elements of his mother-tongue."

### A Working Handbook of the Analysis of Sentences.

With NOTES ON PARSING, PARAPHRASING, FIGURES OF SPEECH, AND PROSODY. New Edition, Revised. 1s. 6d.

**Schoolmaster.**—"The book deserves unstinted praise for the care with which the matter has been arranged, the depth of thought brought to bear upon the discussion of the subject.....One of the best and soundest productions on analysis of sentences we have met with yet."

## STORMONTH'S ENGLISH DICTIONARIES,

PRONOUNCING, ETYMOLOGICAL, AND EXPLANATORY.

## I. Library Edition.

Imp. 8vo, half morocco 18s. net.

## II. School and College Edition.

New Edition. Crown 8vo, 1080 pp. 5s. net.

**BLACKWOOD'S**  
**SEVENPENNY**  
**DICTIONARY**

“At such a price nothing better could be asked: good clear print, concise yet ample explanations, and accurate etymology. Just such a handy volume as schools need. Has evidently been prepared with great care. It justifies its record for reliability.”—*The School Guardian*.

STORMONTH'S  
HANDY SCHOOL DICTIONARY

PRONOUNCING AND EXPLANATORY

*Thoroughly Revised and Enlarged by*

WILLIAM BAYNE

**7d. net**

**The George Eliot Reader.**

By ELIZABETH LEE, Author of 'A School History of English Literature,' &c. With an Introduction and Portrait. 2s.

Academy.—"A fascinating little volume."

**English Words and Sentences.**

BOOK I. FOR THE JUNIOR DIVISION. 6d.

BOOK II. FOR THE INTERMEDIATE DIVISION. 8d.

Practical Teacher.—"These books contain numerous well-graduated exercises in English, and should be popular with teachers of the subject."

**Story of the World Readers.** See p. 58.**Blackwood's Literature Readers.** See p. 57.**Specimens of Middle Scots.**

WITH HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND GLOSSARIAL NOTES. By G. GREGORY SMITH, M.A., Professor of English Literature, University of Belfast. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

**English Prose Composition.**

By JAMES CURRIE, LL.D. Fifty-seventh Thousand. 1s. 6d.

**Short Stories for Composition.**

FIRST SERIES. WITH SPECIMENS OF LETTERS, AND SUBJECTS FOR LETTERS AND ESSAYS. Seventh Impression. 112 pages. 1s.

**Short Stories for Composition.**

SECOND SERIES. WITH LESSONS ON VOCABULARY. Third Edition. 112 pages. 1s.

Educational News.—"These stories are fresh, short, and pithy. They possess a novelty that will arrest attention, and a kernel that will tax to some measure the thinking faculty."

**Short Stories, Fables, and Pupil-Teacher Exercises for Composition.**

WITH INSTRUCTIONS IN THE ART OF LETTER AND ESSAY WRITING, PARAPHRASING, FIGURES OF SPEECH, &c. 1s. 3d.

**BLACKWOODS' SCHOOL SHAKESPEARE.**

Edited by R. BRIMLEY JOHNSON. Each Play complete, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. In crown 8vo volumes. Cloth, 1s. 6d.; paper covers, 1s. each.

The Merchant of Venice.  
Richard II.  
Julius Cæsar.  
The Tempest.

As You Like It.  
Henry V.  
Macbeth.  
Twelfth Night.

*Other Volumes in preparation.*

## BLACKWOODS' ENGLISH CLASSICS. .

With Portraits. In Fcap. 8vo volumes, cloth.

General Editor—J. H. LOBBAN, M.A.,

Editor of 'The School Anthology'; Lecturer in English Literature, Birkbeck College, London; Editor of 'The Granta Shakespeare,' &c.

**Journal of Education.**—"This Series has, we believe, already won the favourable notice of teachers. It certainly deserves to do so. Its volumes are edited with scholarly care and sound literary judgment. They are strongly and neatly bound, and extremely well printed."

**Saturday Review.**—"The print is good, and the introductions both short and to the point, while the notes strike a happy medium between misplaced erudition and trivial scrappiness."

**School Board Chronicle.**—"There are no more thorough and helpful annotated editions than those of the series of Blackwoods' English Classics."

**Cowper—The Task, and Minor Poems.**

By ELIZABETH LEE, Author of 'A School History of English Literature.' 2s. 6d.

**Guardian.**—"Miss Elizabeth Lee scores a distinct success. Her introduction is to the point and none too long; her notes are apt and adequate."

**Scott—Lady of the Lake.**

By W. E. W. COLLINS, M.A. 1s. 6d.

**Saturday Review.**—"Like some other members of this series of 'English Classics' we have noticed recently, this volume is a good piece of work."

**Johnson—Lives of Milton and Addison.**

By Professor J. WIGHT DUFF, D.Litt., Durham College of Science, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 2s. 6d.

**Educational News.**—"A scholarly edition. The introduction contains things as good as are to be found in Macaulay's essay or Leslie Stephen's monograph."

**Milton—Paradise Lost, Books I.-IV.**

By J. LOGIE ROBERTSON, M.A., First English Master, Edinburgh Ladies' College. 2s. 6d.

**Saturday Review.**—"An excellent edition."

**Macaulay—Life of Johnson.**

By D. NICHOL SMITH, M.A., Goldsmith's Reader in English, University of Oxford. 1s. 6d.

**Journal of Education.**—"Mr Smith's criticism is sound, simple, and clear. Annotated with care and good sense, the edition is decidedly satisfactory."

**Carlyle—Essay on Burns.**

By J. DOWNIE, M.A., U.F.C. Training College, Aberdeen. 2s. 6d.

**Guardian.**—"A highly acceptable addition to our stock of school classics. We congratulate Mr Downie on having found a field worthy of his labours and on having accomplished his task with faithfulness and skill."



BLACKWOODS' ENGLISH CLASSICS—*continued.***Goldsmith—Traveller, Deserted Village, & other Poems.**

By J. H. LOBBAN, M.A., Lecturer in English Literature, Birkbeck College, London. 1s. 6d.

*Literature.*—"If Goldsmith touched nothing that he did not adorn, Mr Lobban and his publishers have adorned Goldsmith."

**Pope—Essay on Criticism, Rape of the Lock, and other Poems.**

By GEORGE SOUTAR, M.A., Litt.D., Lecturer in English Language and Literature, University College, Dundee. 2s. 6d.

*Guardian.*—"The selection is made with taste, and the commentary is sound, adequate, and not overburdened with superfluous information."

**Hazlitt—Essays on Poetry.**

By D. NICHOL SMITH, M.A., Goldsmith's Reader in English, University of Oxford. 2s. 6d.

*Athenæum.*—"The introduction is a capital piece of work."

**Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Keats.**

By A. D. INNES, M.A., Editor of 'Julius Cæsar,' &c., &c. 2s. 6d.

*Academy.*—"For Mr Innes's volume we have nothing but praise."

**Scott—Marmion.**

By ALEXANDER MACKIE, M.A., Examiner in English, University of Aberdeen; Editor of 'Warren Hastings,' &c. 1s. 6d.

*Guardian.*—"The volume is worthy to take its place with the best of its kind."

**Lamb—Select Essays.**

By AGNES WILSON, Editor of Browning's 'Strafford,' &c.; late Senior English Mistress, East Putney High School. 2s. 6d.

*Athenæum.*—"Miss Wilson's edition is well equipped."

**Milton—Samson Agonistes.**

By E. H. BLAKENEY, M.A., Headmaster, King's School, Ely. 2s. 6d.

*School World.*—"Everything testifies to excellent scholarship and editorial care.....The notes are a joy to the critic."

**Byron—Selections.**

By Professor J. WIGHT DUFF, D.Litt., Armstrong College, in the University of Durham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 3s. 6d.

*Academy and Literature.*—"Nothing has been done perfunctorily; Professor Duff is himself interested in Byron, and passes on to his reader, in consequence, some of the emotion he himself has felt."

*Mr G. K. Chesterton in 'The Daily News.'*—"Mr Wight Duff has made an exceedingly good selection from the poems of Byron, and added to them a clear and capable introductory study."

*Professor R. Wülker in 'Englische Studien.'*—"Wight Duff's Byron wird sicherlich dazu beitragen des Dichters Werke in England mehr zu verbreiten, als dies bisher geschehen ist. Aber auch in Deutschland ist das Buch allen Freunden Byron's warm zu empfehlen."

## HISTORY.

### A Short History of Scotland.

By ANDREW LANG. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

## LATIN AND GREEK.

### Higher Latin Prose.

With an Introduction by H. W. AUDEN, M.A., Principal, Upper Canada College, Toronto; formerly Assistant-Master, Fettes College, Edinburgh; late Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Bell University Scholar. 2s. 6d.

*\*\* A Key (for Teachers only), 5s. net.*

**Educational Times.**—"Those who are in need of a short practical guide on the subject will find Mr Auden's little work well worth a trial.....The passages chosen are well suited for translation."

**School Guardian.**—"This is an excellent Latin prose manual. The hints on composition are first-rate, and should be of considerable use to the student of style who has mastered the ordinary rules of prose writing.....Altogether, this is a very valuable little book."

### Lower Latin Prose.

By K. P. WILSON, M.A., Assistant-Master, Fettes College, Edinburgh. 2s. 6d.

*\*\* A Key (for Teachers only), 5s. net.*

**Journal of Education.**—"A well-arranged and helpful manual. The whole book is well printed and clear. We can unreservedly recommend the work."

### Higher Latin Unseens.

For the Use of Higher Forms and University Students. Selected, with Introductory Hints on Translation, by H. W. AUDEN, M.A., Principal, Upper Canada College, Toronto; formerly Assistant-Master, Fettes College, Edinburgh; late Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Bell University Scholar. 2s. 6d.

**Educational News.**—"The hints on translation given by Mr Auden are the most useful and judicious we have seen in such small bulk, and they are illustrated with skilful point and aptness."

### Lower Latin Unseens.

Selected, with Introduction, by W. LOBBAN, M.A., Classical Master, High School, Glasgow. 2s.

**Athenæum.**—"More interesting in substance than such things usually are."

**Journal of Education.**—"Will be welcomed by all teachers of Latin."

**School Guardian.**—"The introductory hints on translation should be well studied; they are most valuable, and well put."

Now issued at 1s. 6d. net to meet the requirements of the Education Department for a Latin Translation Book suited to pupils in the early stage of the subject. In its more expensive form the volume has been extensively used by the greater Public Schools, and is in its Twelfth Edition. A specimen copy will be sent gratis to any teacher wishing to examine the book with a view to introduction.

TWELFTH EDITION.

## ADITUS FACILIORES.

AN EASY LATIN CONSTRUING BOOK,  
WITH VOCABULARY.

BY

A. W. POTTS, M.A., LL.D.,

Late Head-Master of the Fettes College, Edinburgh, and sometime  
Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge;

AND THE

REV. C. DARNELL, M.A.,

Late Head-Master of Cargilfield Preparatory School, Edinburgh,  
and Scholar of Pembroke and Downing  
Colleges, Cambridge.

### Contents.

- PART I.—Stories and Fables**—The Wolf on his Death-Bed—Alexander and the Pirate—Zeno's Teaching—Ten Helpers—The Swallow and the Ants—Discontent—Pleasures of Country Life—The Wolf and the Lamb—Simplicity of Farm Life in Ancient Italy—The Conceited Jackdaw—The Ant and the Grasshopper—The Hares contemplate Suicide—The Clever Parrot—Simple Living—The Human Hand—The Bear—Value of Rivers—Love of the Country—Juno and the Peacock—The Camel—The Swallow and the Birds—The Boy and the Echo—The Stag and the Fountain—The Cat's Device—The Human Figure—The Silly Crow—Abraham's Death-Bed—The Frogs ask for a King—The Gods select severally a Favourite Tree—Hear the Other Side.
- PART II.—Historical Extracts**—THE STORY OF THE FABII: Historical Introduction—The Story of the Fabii. THE CONQUEST OF VEII: Historical Introduction—The Conquest of Veii. THE SACRIFICE OF DECIUS: Historical Introduction—The Sacrifice of Decius.
- PART III.—The First Roman Invasion of Britain**—Introduction to Extracts from Cesar's Commentaries—The First Roman Invasion of Britain.
- PART IV.—The Life of Alexander the Great**—Historical Introduction—Life and Campaigns of Alexander the Great.

APPENDIX. VOCABULARY. ADDENDA.

*Two Maps to Illustrate the First Roman Invasion of Britain and the Campaigns of Alexander the Great.*

### First Latin Sentences and Prose.

By K. P. WILSON, M.A., late Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge; Assistant-Master at Fettes College. With Vocabulary. 2s. 6d. Also issued in Two Parts, 1s. 6d. each.

**Saturday Review.**—"This is just the right sort of help the beginner wants. ....It is certainly a book to be recommended for preparatory schools or the lower classes of a public school."

**Educational Review.**—"Form masters in search of a new composition book will welcome this publication."

### A First Latin Reader.

With Notes, Exercises, and Vocabulary. By K. P. WILSON, M.A., Fettes College. Crown 8vo, 1s. 6d.

### Tales of Ancient Thessaly.

An Elementary Latin Reading-Book, with Notes and Vocabulary. By J. W. E. PEARCE, M.A., Headmaster of Merton Court Preparatory School, Sidcup; late Assistant-Master, University College School, London. With a Preface by J. L. PATON, M.A., late Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge; Headmaster of the Grammar School, Manchester. 1s.

**Guardian.**—"A striking and attractive volume. Altogether, we have here quite a noteworthy little venture, to which we wish all success."

### Latin Verse Unseens.

By G. MIDDLETON, M.A., Classical Master, Aberdeen Grammar School, late Scholar of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Joint-Author of 'Student's Companion to Latin Authors.' 1s. 6d.

**Schoolmaster.**—"They form excellent practice in 'unseen' work, in a great variety of style and subject. For purposes of general study and as practice for examinations the book is a thoroughly useful one."

### Latin Historical Unseens.

For Army Classes. By L. C. VAUGHAN WILKES, M.A. 2s.

**Army and Navy Gazette.**—"Will be found very useful by candidates for entrance to Sandhurst, Woolwich, and the Militia."

### Stonyhurst Latin Grammar.

By Rev. JOHN GERARD. Second Edition. Pp. 199. 3s.

### Aditus Faciliores Græci.

An Easy Greek Construing Book, with Complete Vocabulary. By the late A. W. POTTS, M.A., LL.D., and the Rev. C. DARNELL, M.A. Fifth Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 3s.

### Camenarum Flosculos in Usum Fettesianorum decerptos

**Notis quibusdam illustraverunt** A. GUL. POTTS, M.A., LL.D.; GUL. A. HEARD, M.A., LL.D. New Impression. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

## Greek Accidence.

For Use in Preparatory and Public Schools. By T. C. WEATHERHEAD, M.A., Headmaster, Choir School, King's College, Cambridge; formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Bell University Scholar. 1s. 6d.

**Literature.**—"Not the least of its merits is the clearness of the type, both Greek and English."

**Pilot.**—"The most useful book for beginners we have seen."

## The Messenian Wars.

An Elementary Greek Reader. With Exercises and Full Vocabulary. By H. W. AUDEN, M.A., Principal, Upper Canada College, Toronto; formerly Assistant-Master, Fettes College, Edinburgh; late Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Bell University Scholar. 1s. 6d.

**Saturday Review.**—"A far more spirited narrative than the Anabasis. We warmly commend the book."

## Higher Greek Prose.

With an Introduction by H. W. AUDEN, M.A., Principal, Upper Canada College, Toronto. 2s. 6d. \* \* \* *Key (for Teachers only)*, 5s. net.

**Guardian.**—"The selection of passages for translation into Greek is certainly well made."

**Journal of Education.**—"A manual of well-graduated exercises in Greek Prose Composition, ranging from short sentences to continuous pieces."

## Lower Greek Prose.

By K. P. WILSON, M.A., Assistant-Master in Fettes College, Edinburgh. 2s. 6d. \* \* \* *A Key (for Teachers only)*, 5s. net.

**School Guardian.**—"A well-arranged book, designed to meet the needs of middle forms in schools."

## Higher Greek Unseens.

For the Use of Higher Forms and University Students. Selected, with Introductory Hints on Translation, by H. W. AUDEN, M.A., Principal, Upper Canada College, Toronto; formerly Assistant-Master, Fettes College, Edinburgh. 2s. 6d.

**Educational Times.**—"It contains a good selection quite difficult enough for the highest forms of public schools."

**Schoolmaster.**—"The introductory remarks on style and translation form eminently profitable preliminary reading for the earnest and diligent worker in the golden mine of classical scholarship."

## Greek Unseens.

BEING ONE HUNDRED PASSAGES FOR TRANSLATION AT SIGHT IN JUNIOR CLASSES. Selected and arranged. With Introduction by W. LOBBAN, M.A., Classical Master, The High School, Glasgow. 2s.

This little book is designed for the use of those preparing for the Leaving Certificate, Scotch Preliminary, London Matriculation, and similar examinations in Greek. The extracts are drawn from over a score of different authors, and regard has been had in the selection to literary or historical interest, and in the arrangement to progressive difficulty.

### Greek Verse Unseens.

By T. R. MILLS, M.A., Lecturer in Classics, University College, Dundee, formerly Scholar of Wadham College, Oxford; Joint-Author of 'Student's Companion to Latin Authors.' 1s. 6d.

**School Guardian.**—"A capital selection made with much discretion.....It is a great merit that the selections are intelligible apart from their context."

**University Correspondent.**—"This careful and judicious selection should be found very useful in the higher forms of schools and in preparing for less advanced University examinations for Honours."

### Greek Test Papers.

By JAMES MOIR, Litt. D., LL. D., late co-Rector of Aberdeen Grammar School. 2s. 6d.

\* \* *A Key (for Teachers only), 5s. net.*

**University Correspondent.**—"This useful book.....The papers are based on the long experience of a practical teacher, and should prove extremely helpful and suggestive to all teachers of Greek."

### Greek Prose Phrase Book.

Based on Thucydides, Xenophon, Demosthenes, and Plato. Arranged according to subjects, with Indexes. By H. W. AUDEN, M.A., Editor of 'Meissner's Latin Phrase Book.' Interleaved, 3s. 6d.

**Spectator.**—"A good piece of work, and likely to be useful."

**Athenæum.**—"A useful little volume, helpful to boys who are learning to write Greek prose."

**Journal of Education.**—"Of great service to schoolboys and schoolmasters alike. The idea of interleaving is especially commendable."

### Aristophanes—Pax.

Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by H. SHARPLEY, M.A., late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In 1 vol. 12s. 6d. *net.*

### A Short History of the Ancient Greeks from the Earliest Times to the Roman Conquest.

By P. GILES, Litt. D., LL. D., University Reader in Comparative Philology, Cambridge. With Maps and Illustrations. *[In preparation.]*

### Outlines of Greek History.

By the SAME AUTHOR. In 1 vol.

*[In preparation.]*

### A Manual of Classical Geography.

By JOHN L. MYRES, M.A. Fellow of Magdalene College; Professor of Ancient History, Oxford. *[In preparation.]*

**BLACKWOODS'**  
*ILLUSTRATED*  
**CLASSICAL TEXTS.**

GENERAL EDITOR—H. W. AUDEN, M.A.,

Principal of Upper Canada College, Toronto; formerly Assistant-Master at Fettes College; late Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Bell University Scholar.

*Literature.*—"The best we have seen of the new type of school-book."

*Academy.*—"If the price of this series is considered, we know not where to look for its equal."

*Public School Magazine.*—"The plates and maps seem to have been prepared regardless of cost. We wonder how it can all be done at the price."

**BLACKWOODS' CLASSICAL TEXTS.**

**Cæsar—Gallic War, Books I.-III.**

By J. M. HARDWICH, M.A., Assistant-Master at Rugby; late Scholar of St John's College, Cambridge. With or without Vocabulary. 1s. 6d.

**Cæsar—Gallic War, Books IV., V.**

By Rev. ST J. B. WYNNE-WILLSON, M.A., Headmaster, Haileybury College; late Scholar of St John's College, Cambridge. With or without Vocabulary, 1s. 6d. Vocabulary separately, 3d.

**Cæsar—Gallic War, Books VI., VII.**

By C. A. A. DU PONTET, M.A., Assistant-Master at Harrow. With or without Vocabulary. 1s. 6d.

**Virgil—Georgic I.**

By J. SARGEAUNT, M.A., Assistant-Master at Westminster; late Scholar of University College, Oxford. 1s. 6d.

**Virgil—Georgic IV.**

By J. SARGEAUNT, M.A., Assistant-Master at Westminster; late Scholar of University College, Oxford. 1s. 6d.

BLACKWOODS' CLASSICAL TEXTS—*continued.***Virgil—Æneid, Books V., VI.**

By Rev. ST J. B. WYNNE WILLSON, M.A., Headmaster, Haileybury College. 1s. 6d.

**Ovid—Metamorphoses (Selections).**

By J. H. VINCE, M.A., late Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge, Assistant-Master at Bradfield. 1s. 6d.

**Ovid—Elegiac Extracts.**

By R. B. BURNABY, M.A. Oxon.; Classical Master, Trinity College, Glenalmond. 1s. 6d.

**Arrian—Anabasis, Books I., II.**

By H. W. AUDEN, M.A., late Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge; Principal of Upper Canada College, Toronto; formerly Assistant-Master at Fettes College. 2s. 6d.

**Homer—Odyssey, Book VI.**

By E. E. SIKES, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of St John's College, Cambridge. 1s. 6d.

**Homer—Odyssey, Book VII.**

By E. E. SIKES, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of St John's College, Cambridge. [*In preparation.*]

**Demosthenes—Olynthiacs, 1-3.**

By H. SHARPLEY, M.A., late Scholar of Corpus College, Oxford; Assistant-Master at Hereford School. 1s. 6d.

**Horace—Odes, Books I., II.**

By J. SARGEANT, M.A., late Scholar of University College, Oxford; Assistant-Master at Westminster. 1s. 6d.

**Horace—Odes, Books III., IV.**

By J. SARGEANT, M.A., Assistant-Master at Westminster. 1s. 6d.

**Cicero—In Catilinam, I.-IV.**

By H. W. AUDEN, M.A., late Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge; Principal of Upper Canada College, Toronto; formerly Assistant-Master at Fettes College. 1s. 6d.

**Cicero—De Senectute and De Amicitia.**

By J. H. VINCE, M.A., Assistant-Master at Bradfield.

[*In preparation.*]

**Cicero—Pro Lege Manilia and Pro Archia.**

By K. P. WILSON, M.A., late Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge; Assistant-Master at Fettes College. 2s. 6d.



BLACKWOODS' CLASSICAL TEXTS—*continued.***Cicero—Select Letters.**

By Rev. T. NICKLIN, M.A., Assistant-Master at Rossall. 2s. 6d.

**Cicero—Pro Caecina.**

By Rev. J. M. LUPTON, M.A. Cantab., Assistant-Master at Marlborough College. [*In preparation.*]

**Tacitus—Agricola.**

By H. F. MORLAND SIMPSON, M.A., late Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge; Rector of Aberdeen Grammar School. [*In preparation.*]

**Xenophon—Anabasis, Books I., II.**

By A. JAGGER, M.A., late Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge; Headmaster, Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Mansfield. 1s. 6d.

**Sallust—Jugurtha.**

By I. F. SMEDLEY, M.A., Assistant-Master at Westminster; late Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. 1s. 6d.

**Euripides—Hercules Furens.**

By E. H. BLAKENEY, M.A., Headmaster, King's School, Ely. 2s. 6d.

**Livy—Book XXVIII.**

By G. MIDDLETON, M.A., Classical Master in Aberdeen Grammar School; and Professor A. SOUTER, D.Litt., Yates Professor of New Testament Greek, Mansfield College, Oxford. 1s. 6d.

**Livy—Book IX.**

By J. A. NICKLIN, B.A., late Scholar of St John's College, Cambridge; Assistant-Master at Liverpool College. [*In preparation.*]

**Nepos—Select Lives.**

By Rev. E. J. W. HOUGHTON, D.D., Headmaster of Rossall School. [*In the press.*]

## MODERN LANGUAGES.

### FRENCH.

**Historical Reader of Early French.**

Containing Passages Illustrative of the Growth of the French Language from the Earliest Times to the end of the 15th Century. By HERBERT A. STRONG, LL.D., Officier de l'Instruction Publique, Professor of Latin, University College, Liverpool; and L. D. BARNETT, M.A., Litt.D. 3s.

**Guardian.**—"A most valuable companion to the modern handbooks on historical French grammar."

### The Tutorial Handbook of French Composition.

By ALFRED MERCIER, L.-ès-L., Lecturer on French Language and Literature in the University of St Andrews. 3s. 6d.

**Educational Times.**—"A very useful book, which admirably accomplishes its object of helping students preparing for examinations.....It is on rather novel lines, which commend themselves at once to any one who has had to teach the subject."

### French Historical Unseens.

For Army Classes. By N. E. TOKE, B.A. 2s. 6d.

**Journal of Education.**—"A distinctly good book.....May be unreservedly commended."

### A First Book of "Free Composition" in French.

By J. EDMOND MANSION, B.-ès-L., Headmaster of Modern Languages in the Royal Academical Institution, Belfast. 1s.

**School World.**—"We recommend it warmly to all teachers of French, and trust that it will have a wide circulation."

### French Test Papers for Civil Service and University Students.

Edited by EMILE B. LE FRANÇOIS, French Tutor, Redcliff House, Winchester House, St Ives, &c., Clifton, Bristol. 2s.

**Weekly Register.**—"Deserves as much praise as can be heaped on it.....Thoroughly good work throughout."

### All French Verbs in Twelve Hours (except Defective Verbs).

By ALFRED J. WYATT, M.A. 1s.

**Weekly Register.**—"Altogether unique among French grammatical helps, with a system, with a *coup d'œil*, with avoidance of repetition, with a premium on intellectual study, which constitute a new departure."

### The Children's Guide to the French Language.

By ANNIE G. FERRIER, Teacher of French in the Ladies' College, Queen Street, Edinburgh. 1s.

**Schoolmaster.**—"The method is good, and the book will be found helpful by those who have to teach French to small children."

## GERMAN.

### A History of German Literature.

By JOHN G ROBERTSON, Ph.D., Professor of German in the University of London. 10s. 6d. net.

**Times.**—"In such an enterprise even a tolerable approach to success is something of an achievement, and in regard to German literature Mr Robertson appears to have made a nearer approach than any other English writer."

### Outlines of the History of German Literature.

For the Use of Schools. By the SAME AUTHOR. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

## DR LUBOVIVUS' GERMAN SERIES.

**A Practical German Grammar, Reader and Writer.**

By LOUIS LUBOVIVUS, Ph.D., German Master, Hillhead High School, Glasgow; Lecturer on German, U.F.C. Training College; Examiner for Degrees in Arts, University of Glasgow.

Part I.—Elementary. 2s.

Part II. 3s.

**Lower German.**

Reading, Supplementary Grammar with Exercises, and Material for Composition. With Notes and Vocabulary, and Ten Songs in Sol-Fa Notation. By LOUIS LUBOVIVUS, Ph.D. 2s. 6d.

*Athenæum*.—"The volume is well designed."

*Preparatory Schools Review*.—"A capital reading-book for middle forms."

**Progressive German Composition.**

With copious Notes and Idioms, and FIRST INTRODUCTION TO GERMAN PHILOLOGY. By LOUIS LUBOVIVUS, Ph.D. 3s. 6d.

*Also in Two Parts :—*

**Progressive German Composition.** 2s. 6d.

*\*\* A Key (for Teachers only), 5s. net.*

**First Introduction to German Philology.** 1s. 6d.

*Journal of Education*.—"The passages for translation are well selected, and the notes to the passages, as well as the grammatical introduction, give real assistance. .... The part of the book dealing with German philology deserves great praise."

**A Compendious German Reader.**

Consisting of Historical Extracts, Specimens of German Literature, Lives of German Authors, an Outline of German History (1640-1890), Biographical and Historical Notes. Especially adapted for the use of Army Classes. By G. B. BEAK, M.A. 2s. 6d.

*Guardian*.—"This method of compilation is certainly an improvement on the hotch-potch of miscellaneous passages to be found in many of the older books."

**Spartanerjünglinge. A Story of Life in a Cadet College.**

By PAUL VON SZCZEPAŃSKI. Edited, with Vocabulary and Notes, by J. M. MORRISON, M.A., Master in Modern Languages, Aberdeen Grammar School. 2s.

*Scotsman*.—"An admirable reader for teaching German on the new method, and is sure to prove popular both with students and with teachers."

**A German Reader for Technical Schools.**

By EWALD F. SECKLER, Senior Language Master at the Birmingham Municipal Day School; German Lecturer, Birmingham Evening School; French Lecturer, Stourbridge Technical School. 2s.

## SPANISH.

### A Spanish Grammar.

With Copious Exercises in Translation and Composition; Easy reading Lessons and Extracts from Spanish Authors; a List of Idioms; a Glossary of Commercial Terms (English-Spanish); and a copious General Vocabulary (Spanish-English). By WILLIAM A. KESSEN, Teacher of Spanish, Hillhead High School, Glasgow. 3s. 6d.

**Investors' Review.**—"To the student who wishes to master the Spanish language for commercial or literary purposes this admirable little book will prove invaluable."

**Commerce.**—"Contains practically all that is necessary for the acquirement of a working knowledge of the language."

## MATHEMATICS.

### Arithmetic.

With numerous Examples, Revision Tests, and Examination Papers. By A. VEITCH LOTHIAN, M.A., B.Sc., F.R.S.E., Mathematical and Science Lecturer, E.C. Training College, Glasgow. *With Answers.* 3s. 6d.

**Guardian.**—"A work of first-rate importance.....We should find it hard to suggest any improvement.....We venture to predict that when the book becomes known, it will command a very wide circulation in our public schools and elsewhere."

### Practical Arithmetical Exercises.

FOR SENIOR PUPILS IN SCHOOLS. Containing upwards of 8000 Examples, consisting in great part of Problems, and 750 Extracts from Examination Papers. Second Edition, Revised. 364 pages, 3s. *With Answers,* 3s. 6d.

JAMES WELTON, Esq., *Lecturer on Education, and Master of Method, Yorkshire College.*—"Your 'Practical Arithmetic' seems to me the most complete collection of exercises in existence. Both idea and execution are excellent."

### Elementary Algebra.

The Complete Book, 288 pp., cloth, 2s. *With Answers,* 2s. 6d. *Answers* sold separately, price 9d. Pt. I., 64 pp., 6d. Pt. II., 64 pp., 6d. Pt. III., 70 pp., 6d. Pt. IV., 96 pp., 9d. *Answers* to Pts. I., II., III., each 2d. *Answers* to Pt. IV., 3d.

**Educational News.**—"A short and compact introduction to algebra.....The exercises are remarkably good, and the arrangement of the subject-matter is on the soundest principles. The work is, on the whole, to be commended as being at once inexpensive and scholarly."

### Handbook of Mental Arithmetic.

With 7200 Examples and Answers. 264 pp. 2s. 6d. Also in Six Parts, limp cloth, price 6d. each.

**Teachers' Monthly.**—"The examples are mainly concrete, as they should be, are of all varieties, and, what is most important, of the right amount of difficulty."

**Educational News.**—"This is, as a matter of fact, at once a handbook and a handy book. It is an absolute storehouse of exercises in mental computations. ....There are most valuable practical hints to teachers."

## Modern Geometry of the Point, Straight Line, and Circle.

An Elementary Treatise. By J. A. THIRD, D.Sc., Headmaster of Spier's School, Beith. 3s.

**Schoolmaster.**—“Each branch of this wide subject is treated with brevity, it is true, and yet with amazing completeness considering the size of the volume. So earnest and reliable an effort deserves success.”

**Journal of Education.**—“An exceedingly useful text-book, full enough for nearly every educational purpose, and yet not repellent by overloading.”

**Educational News.**—“A book which will easily take rank among the best of its kind. The subject is treated with complete thoroughness and honesty.”

## Mensuration.

128 pp., cloth, 1s. Also in Two Parts. Pt. I., Parallelograms and Triangles. 64 pp. Paper, 4d.; cloth, 6d. Pt. II., Circles and Solids. 64 pp. Paper, 4d.; cloth, 6d. *Answers* may be had separately, price 2d. each Part.

**Educational Times.**—“The explanations are always clear and to the point, while the exercises are so exceptionally numerous that a wide selection is offered to the students who make use of the book.”

## Higher Arithmetic.

For Ex-Standard and Continuation Classes. 128 pp. Paper, 6d.; cloth, 8d. With *Answers*, cloth, 11d. *Answers* may be had separately, price 3d.

# GEOGRAPHY.

*Fifty-Fifth Thousand.*

## Elements of Modern Geography.

By the Rev. ALEXANDER MACKAY, LL.D., F.R.G.S. Revised to the present time. Pp. 300. 3s.

**Schoolmaster.**—“For senior pupils or pupil-teachers the book contains all that is desirable.....It is well got up, and bears the mark of much care in the authorship and editing.”

*One Hundred and Ninety-Sixth Thousand.*

## Outlines of Modern Geography.

By the SAME AUTHOR. Revised to the present time. Pp. 128. 1s.

These ‘Outlines’—in many respects an epitome of the ‘Elements’—are carefully prepared to meet the wants of beginners. The arrangement is the same as in the Author's larger works.

*One Hundred and Fifth Thousand.*

## First Steps in Geography.

By the SAME AUTHOR. 18mo, pp. 56. Sewed, 4d.; in cloth, 6d.

**A Manual of Classical Geography.**

By JOHN L. MYRES, M.A., Professor of Ancient History, Oxford.

*[In preparation.]***CHEMISTRY AND POPULAR  
SCIENCE.****Forty Elementary Lessons in Chemistry.**

By W. L. SARGANT, M.A., Headmaster, Oakham School. Illustrated. 1s. 6d.

*Glasgow Herald.*—"Remarkably well arranged for teaching purposes, and shows the compiler to have a real grip of sound educational principles. The book is clearly written and aptly illustrated."**Inorganic Tables, with Notes and Equations.**

By H. M. TIMPANY, B.Sc., Science Master, Borough Technical School, Shrewsbury. Crown 8vo, 1s.

**Things of Everyday.**

A Popular Science Reader on Some Common Things. With Illustrations. 2s.

*Guardian.*—"Will be found useful by teachers in elementary and continuation schools who have to conduct classes in the 'science of common things.'.....Well and strongly bound, and illustrated by beautifully clear diagrams."**GEOLOGY.****An Intermediate Text-Book of Geology.**

By Professor CHARLES LAPWORTH, LL.D., University, Birmingham. Founded on Dr PAGE'S 'Introductory Text-Book of Geology.' With Illustrations. 5s.

*Educational News.*—"The work is lucid and attractive, and will take high rank among the best text-books on the subject."*Publishers' Circular.*—"The arrangement of the new book is in every way excellent, and it need hardly be said that it is thoroughly up to date in all details.....Simplicity and clearness in the book are as pronounced as its accuracy, and students and teachers alike will find it of lasting benefit to them."*Education.*—"The name of the Author is a guarantee that the subject is effectively treated, and the information and views up to date."**PALÆONTOLOGY.****A Manual of Palæontology.**

For the Use of Students. With a General Introduction on the Principles of Palæontology. By Professor H. ALLEYNE NICHOLSON, Aberdeen, and RICHARD LYDEKKER, B.A., F.G.S. &amp;c. Third Edition. Entirely rewritten and greatly enlarged. 2 vols. 8vo, with 1419 Engravings. 63s.

## PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

*Fifteenth Edition, Revised.*

### Introductory Text-Book of Physical Geography.

With Sketch-Maps and Illustrations. By DAVID PAGE, LL.D., &c., Professor of Geology in the Durham College of Science, Newcastle. Revised by Professor CHARLES LAPWORTH. 2s. 6d.

**Athenæum.**—"The divisions of the subject are so clearly defined, the explanations are so lucid, the relations of one portion of the subject to another are so satisfactorily shown, and, above all, the bearings of the allied sciences to Physical Geography are brought out with so much precision, that every reader will feel that difficulties have been removed, and the path of study smoothed before him."

## PSYCHOLOGY AND LOGIC.

### An Introductory Text-Book of Logic.

With Numerous Examples and Exercises. By SYDNEY HERBERT MELLONE, M.A. (Lond.), D.Sc. (Edin.); Examiner in Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Fifth Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo, 5s.

**Scotsman.**—"This is a well-studied academic text-book, in which the traditional doctrine that has been handed down from Aristotle to the university professors of to-day is expounded with clearness, and upon an instructive system which leads up naturally to the deeper and different speculations involved in modern logic.....The book, in fine, is an excellent working text-book of its subject, likely to prove useful both to students and to teachers."

### Elements of Psychology.

By SYDNEY HERBERT MELLONE, M.A. (Lond.), D.Sc. (Edin.), and MARGARET DRUMMOND, M.A. (Edin.) Second Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo, 5s.

**Scotsman.**—"Thoroughness is a feature of the work, and, treating psychology as a living science, it will be found fresh, suggestive, and up-to-date."

**Education.**—"The authors of this volume have made satisfactory use of accredited authorities; in addition, they have pursued original investigations and conducted experiments, with the result that great freshness of treatment marks their contribution to the teaching of psychology"

### A Short History of Logic.

By ROBERT ADAMSON, LL.D., Late Professor of Logic in the University of Glasgow. Edited by W. R. SORLEY, Litt.D., LL.D., Fellow of the British Academy, Professor of Moral Philosophy, University of Cambridge. Crown 8vo, 5s net.

"There is no other History of Logic—short or long—in English, and no similar short work in any other language."

## FORESTRY.

### The Elements of British Forestry.

A Handbook for Forest Apprentices and Students of Forestry. By JOHN NISBET, D.C.E., Professor of Forestry at the West of Scotland Agricultural College, Author of 'The Forester.' Crown 8vo, 5s. 6d. net.

### Forest Entomology.

By A. T. GILLANDERS, Wood Manager to His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, K.G. Second Edition, Revised. With 351 Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 15s. net.

# ELEMENTARY SERIES. BLACKWOODS' LITERATURE READERS.

Edited by JOHN ADAMS, M.A., LL.D.,  
Professor of Education in the University of London.

BOOK I. . . . .	Pp. 228.	Price 1s.
BOOK II. . . . .	Pp. 275.	Price 1s. 4d.
BOOK III. . . . .	Pp. 303.	Price 1s. 6d.
BOOK IV. . . . .	Pp. 381.	Price 1s. 6d.

## NOTE.

This new Series would seek to do for Literature what has already been done by many series of School Readers for History, Geography, and Science. Many teachers feel that their pupils should be introduced as soon as possible to the works of the great writers, and that reading may be learnt from these works at least as well as from compilations specially written for the young. Because of recent changes in Inspection, the present is a specially suitable time for the Introduction of such a series into Elementary Schools. In the Preparatory Departments of Secondary Schools the need for such a series is clamant.

It is to be noted that the books are not manuals of English literature, but merely Readers, the matter of which is drawn entirely from authors of recognised standing. All the usual aids given in Readers are supplied; but illustrations, as affording no help in dealing with Literature, are excluded from the series.

"The volumes, which are capitably printed, consist of selected readings of increasing difficulty, to which notes and exercises are added at the end. The selected pieces are admirably chosen, especially in the later books, which will form a beginning for a really sound and wide appreciation of the stores of good English verse and prose."—*Athenæum*.

"The selected readings.....are interesting, and possessed of real literary value. The books are well bound, the paper is excellent, and the unusual boldness and clear spacing of the type go far to compensate for the entire absence of pictorial illustrations."—*Guardian*.

"A very excellent gradus to the more accessible heights of the English Parnassus.....The appendices on spelling, word-building, and grammar are the work of a skilful, practical teacher."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

"If we had the making of the English Educational Code for Elementary Schools, we should insert a regulation that all boys and girls should spend two whole years on these four books, and on nothing else."—*Bradford Observer*.

"The books are graded with remarkable skill."—*Glasgow Herald*.



" Absolutely the best set of all the history readers that have hitherto been published."—*The Guardian*.

# THE STORY OF THE WORLD.

FOR THE CHILDREN OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. (In Five Books.)

By M. B. SYNGE.

*With Coloured Frontispieces and numerous illustrations by E. M. Syngé, A.R.E., and Maps.*

## BOOK I. ON THE SHORES OF THE GREAT SEA. 1s. 4d.

Colonial Edition, 1s. 6d.

THE Home of Abraham—Into Africa—Joseph in Egypt—The Children of Israel—The First Merchant Fleet—Hiram, King of Tyre—King Solomon's Fleet—The Story of Carthage—The Story of the Argonauts—The Siege of Troy—The Adventures of Ulysses—The Dawn of History—The Fall of Tyre—The Rise of Carthage—Hanno's Adventures—The Battle of Marathon—King Ahasuerus—How Leonidas kept the Pass—Some

Greek Colonies—Athens—The Death of Socrates—The Story of Romulus and Remus—How Horatius kept the Bridge—Coriolanus—Alexander the Great—King of Macedonia—The Conquest of India—Alexander's City—The Roman Fleet—The Adventures of Hannibal—The End of Carthage—The Triumph of Rome—Julius Caesar—The Flight of Pompey—The Death of Caesar.

## BOOK II. THE DISCOVERY OF NEW WORLDS. 1s. 6d.

THE Roman World—The Tragedy of Nero—The Great Fire in Rome—The Destruction of Pompeii—Marcus Aurelius—Christians to the Lions—A New Rome—The Armies of the North—King Arthur and his Knights—How the Northmen conquered England—The First Crusade—Frederick Barbarossa—The Third Crusade—The Days of Chivalry—Queen of the Adriatic—The Story of Marco Polo—Dante's Great Poem—The

Maid of Orleans—Prince Henry, the Sailor—The Invention of Printing—Vasco da Gama's Great Voyage—Golden Goa—Christopher Columbus—The Last of the Moors—Discovery of the New World—Columbus in Chains—Discovery of the Pacific—Magellan's Straits—Montezuma—Siege and Fall of Mexico—Conquest of Peru—A Great Awakening.

## BOOK III. THE AWAKENING OF EUROPE. 1s. 6d.

Colonial Edition, 1s. 9d.

STORY of the Netherlands—The Story of Martin Luther—The Massacre of St Bartholomew—The Siege of Leyden—William the Silent—Drake's Voyage round the World—The Great Armada—Virginia—Story of the Revenge—Sir Walter Raleigh—The 'Fairy Queen'—First Voyage of the East India Company—Henry Hudson—Captain John Smith—The Founding of Quebec—The Pilgrim Fathers—Thirty Years of War—The Dutch at Sea—Van Riebeeck's Colony

—Oliver Cromwell—Two Famous Admirals—De Ruyter—The Founder of Pennsylvania—The 'Pilgrim Progress'—William's Invitation—The Struggle in Ireland—The Siege of Vienna by the Turks—The Story of the Huguenots—The Battle of Blenheim—How Peter the Great learned Shipbuilding—Charles XII. of Sweden—The Boyhood of Frederick the Great—Anson's Voyage round the World—Maria Theresa—The Story of Scotland.

## THE STORY OF THE WORLD—*continued.*

### BOOK IV. THE STRUGGLE FOR SEA POWER. 1s. 9d.

THE Story of the Great Mogul—Robert Clive—The Black Hole of Calcutta—The Struggle for North America—George Washington—How Pitt saved England—The Fall of Quebec—"The Great Lord Hawke"—The Declaration of Independence—Captain Cook's Story—James Bruce and the Nile—The Trial of Warren Hastings—Maria Antoinette—The Fall of the Bastille—Napoleon Bonaparte—Horatio Nelson—The Adventures of Mungo Park—The Travels of Baron Humboldt—The Battle of the Nile—

Copenhagen—Napoleon—Trafalgar—The Death of Nelson—The Rise of Wellington—The First Australian Colony—Story of the Slave Trade—The Defence of Saragoza—Sir John Moore at Corunna—The Victory of Talavera—The Peasant Hero of the Tyrol—The "Shannon" and the "Chesapeake"—Napoleon's Retreat from Moscow—Wellington's Victories in Spain—The Fall of the Empire—Story of the Steam Engine—Waterloo—The Exile of St Helena.

### BOOK V. GROWTH OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. 2s.

How Spain lost South America—The Greek War—Victoria, Queen of England—The Great Boer Trek—The Story of Natal—The Story of Canada—The Winning of the West—A Great Arctic Expedition—Discoveries in Australia—The Last King of France—Louis Kossuth and Hungary—The Crimean War—The Indian Mutiny—King of United Italy—Civil War in America—The Mexican Revolution—Founding the German Empire—The Franco-German War—The Dream of Cecil Rhodes—The Dutch Republics in

South Africa—Livingstone's discoveries in Central Africa—China's Long Sleep—Japan, Britain's Ally—Russia—The Annexation of Burma—The Story of Afghanistan—The Empire of India—Gordon, the Hero of Khartum—The Redemption of Egypt—The Story of British West Africa—The Story of Uganda—The Founding of Rhodesia—British South Africa—The Dominion of Canada—Australia—The New Nation—Freedom for Cuba—Reign of Queen Victoria—Welding the Empire—Citizenship.

Also in 2 volumes, at 3s. 6d. each net, suitable as prize books.

Uniform with this Series.

## THE WORLD'S CHILDHOOD.

*With numerous Illustrations by Brinsley Le Fanu.*

### I. STORIES OF THE FAIRIES. 10d.

#### CONTENTS

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Lit-tle Red Ri-ding Hood.</li> <li>2. The Three Bears.</li> <li>3. The Snow-Child.</li> <li>4. Tom Thumb.</li> <li>5. The Ug-ly Duck-ling.</li> <li>6. Puss in Boots.</li> <li>7. The Lit-tle Girl and the Cats.</li> <li>8. Jack and the Bean-Stalk.</li> <li>9. Gol-dy.</li> <li>10. Cin-der-el-la—Part I.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>11. Cin-der-el-la—Part II.</li> <li>12. The Lost Bell.</li> <li>13. Jack the Gi-ant Kill-er.</li> <li>14. Star-bright and Bird-ie.</li> <li>15. Beau-ty and the Beast.</li> <li>16. Peach-Dar-ling.</li> <li>17. In Search of a Night's Rest.</li> <li>18. Dick Whit-ting-ton and his Cat.</li> <li>19. The Sleep-ing Beau-ty.</li> </ol> |
|---|--|

### II. STORIES OF THE GREEK GODS AND HEROES. 10d.

#### CONTENTS.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A-bout the Gods.</li> <li>2. The Names of the Gods.</li> <li>3. Turn-ed in-to Stone.</li> <li>4. The Shin-ing Char-i-ot.</li> <li>5. The Laur-el Tree.</li> <li>6. A Horse with Wings.</li> <li>7. The Cy-press Tree.</li> <li>8. The Fruits of the Earth.</li> <li>9. Cu-pid's Gold-en Ar-rows.</li> <li>10. Pan's Pipe.</li> <li>11. A Long Sleep.</li> <li>12. The Re-ward of Kind-ness.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>13. At-a-lan-ta's Race.</li> <li>14. The Stor-y of Al-ces-tis.</li> <li>15. The Snow-White Bull.</li> <li>16. The Spi-der and his Web.</li> <li>17. I-o—the White Cow.</li> <li>18. The Three Gold-en App-les.</li> <li>19. The Ol-ive Tree.</li> <li>20. A Boy Her-o of Old.</li> <li>21. The Thread of Ar-i-ad-ne.</li> <li>22. The Boy who tried to Fly.</li> <li>23. The Gold-en Harp.</li> </ol> |
|--|--|
- Teacher's Appendix.

"If history can be given a form likely to make it palatable to young folks, "F" has succeeded in doing so in these 'Stories of the English.' It is no exaggeration to say that the book represents not only a *masterpiece in literature for children*, but a work of no slight value for the national good."—*Scotsman*

## STORIES OF THE ENGLISH FOR SCHOOLS.

By F.

FOR JUNIOR SCHOLARS.

VOL. I.—FROM THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH TO THE ARMADA.—1s. 6d.

*CONTENTS.*—The coming of the White Horse—The coming of the Cross—The Fight with the Raven—Alfred the Great—Edward the Confessor—William the Conqueror—The Kings of the Golden Broom—Richard Lion-Heart—King John and Magna Charta—Earl Simon the Righteous—Edward the Englishman—Bannockburn and Berkeley—The Lions and the Lilies—A King dethroned—Prince Hal—King Harry—The Wars of the Roses—Henry VIII. and the Revolt from Rome—Edward VI. and Mary—Elizabeth, the Great Queen: (1) English Adventurers and the Cruise of the *Pelican*; (2) Mary, Queen of Scots; (3) Papist Plots and the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew; (4) The Armada.

*ILLUSTRATIONS.*—Dover Castle—The Pharos, Dover—Norsemen—Homes of our Ancestors—Château Gaillard—Tomb of a Crusader (Gervase Alard), Winchelsea Church—Carnarvon Castle—Coronation Chair, Westminster Abbey—Knights of the Fourteenth Century—Edward the Third—The Battle of Cressy—Tomb of Edward the Third, Westminster Abbey—Tomb of the Black Prince, Canterbury Cathedral—Richard II. on his voyage to Ireland—Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey—Henry V. with Military Attendants—Henry V. addressing his Army—Joan of Arc—The Crowning of Henry VII. on Bosworth Field—Henry VIII.—Wolsey—Sir Thomas More taking leave of his Daughter—Calais during the Sixteenth Century—Queen Elizabeth—The Armada—Drake—Mary, Queen of Scots—Drake playing Bowls with his Captains—Sir Walter Raleigh.

FOR SENIOR SCHOLARS.

VOL. II.—THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER AND GREATER ENGLAND.—1s. 6d.

*CONTENTS.*—The First of the Stuarts—The Struggle for Power—The Puritan Tyranny—The Second Struggle for Power: Charles II.—The Revolution—The Fight with France: The Dutch King—Queen Anne and Marlborough—Greater England—The Story of Anson—The Story of Wolfe—The Story of Captain Cook—The Story of Clive—The War of American Independence—The great French War—The Story of Nelson—The Story of the Great Duke—The End of the Stories.

*ILLUSTRATIONS.*—James I.—Bacon—Charles I.—A Cavalier—Oliver Cromwell—The Great Fire of London—The Seven Bishops going to the Tower—Landing of William of Orange in England—Marlborough—Gibraltar—Chatham—Fight between the *Centurion* and the Manila Ship—General Wolfe—The Death of Captain Cook—Washington—Pitt—Napoleon Bonaparte—Nelson—H.M.S. *Victory*, Portsmouth Harbour—Duke of Wellington—Napoleon on board the *Bellerophon*.

*Maira O'Neill*, Author of 'Songs of the Glen of Antrim,' writing to Mr Blackwood, says: "F.'s 'Stories of the English' was written for my little daughter Susan. The child is quite fascinated by it, but equally so are all the grown-up friends to whom I have shown it. I lent it once to a sailor uncle, and he sat up to all hours of that night with it, and afterwards told me that he could hardly believe that such an account of Nelson's great battles had been written by a woman, because it was technically accurate. And a soldier friend and critic used almost the same words about the account of Marlborough's campaigns. F. is the most patient and faithful student of history that I know. She has such a strong literary sense that she simply could not write anything except in a literary form, and combined with it she has that rare thing, a judicial mind. This, I think, gives her work a quite peculiar value."

### Standard Readers.

Revised Edition. With Supplementary Pages, consisting of "Spelling Lists," "Word-Building," "Prefixes and Suffixes," &c. Profusely Illustrated with Superior Engravings.

BOOK I.	40 Lessons	.	.	.	.	8d.
BOOK II.	40 Lessons	.	.	.	.	9d.
BOOK III.	60 Lessons	.	.	.	.	1s. 0d.
BOOK IV.	60 Lessons	.	.	.	.	1s. 3d.
BOOK V.	60 Lessons	.	.	.	.	1s. 4d.
BOOK VI.	60 Lessons	.	.	.	.	1s. 6d.

**Schoolmaster.**—"We strongly recommend these books.....Children will be sure to like them; the matter is extremely suitable and interesting, the print very distinct, and the paper a pleasure to feel."

### Infant Series.

FIRST PICTURE PRIMER.	.	Sewed, 2d.; cloth, 3d.
SECOND PICTURE PRIMER.	.	Sewed, 2d.; cloth, 3d.
PICTURE READING SHEETS.		

1ST SERIES. | 2ND SERIES.

Each containing 16 sheets, unmounted, 3s. 6d. Mounted on 8 boards, with cloth border, price 14s.; varnished, 3s. 6d. per set extra.

Or the 16 sheets laid on linen, varnished, and mounted on a roller, 17s. 6d.

THE INFANT PICTURE READER. With numerous Illustrations. Cloth, limp, 6d.

**Educational News.**—"Teachers will find these Primers a useful introduction to the art of reading. We consider them well adapted to their purpose."

### Geographical Readers.

With numerous Maps, Diagrams, and Illustrations.

GEOGRAPHICAL PRIMER.	(For Stand. I.)	96 pp.	9d.
BOOK I.	(For Stand. II.)	96 pp.	9d.
BOOK II.	(For Stand. III.)	156 pp.	1s. 0d.
BOOK III.	(For Stand. IV.)	192 pp.	1s. 3d.
BOOK IV.	(For Stand. V.)	256 pp.	1s. 6d.
BOOK V.	(For Stand. VI.)	256 pp.	1s. 6d.
BOOK VI.	(For Stand. VII.)	256 pp.	1s. 9d.

**Schoolmaster.**—"This is a really excellent series of Geographical Readers. The volumes have, in common, the attractiveness which good paper, clear type, effective woodcuts, and durable binding can present; whilst their contents, both as to quality and quantity, are so graded as to be admirably adapted to the several stages of the pupil's progress."

## Historical Readers.

With numerous Portraits, Maps, and other Illustrations.

SHORT STORIES FROM ENGLISH HISTORY . . . . .	160 pp.	1s. 0d.
FIRST HISTORICAL READER . . . . .	160 pp.	1s. 0d.
SECOND HISTORICAL READER . . . . .	224 pp.	1s. 4d.
THIRD HISTORICAL READER . . . . .	256 pp.	1s. 6d.

**Schoolmaster.**—"These new Historical Readers have been carefully compiled. The facts are well selected; the story is well told in language most likely to impress itself in the memory of young children; and the poetical pieces are fitting accompaniments to the prose."

**School Board Chronicle.**—"The treatment is unconventional, but always in good taste. The volumes will meet with much favour generally as lively, useful, high-toned Historical Readers."

## Standard Authors.

Adapted for Schools.

HAWTHORNE'S TANGLEWOOD TALES. With Notes and Illustrations. 160 pp. 1s. 2d.

## Aytoun's Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers.

With Introduction, Notes, and Life of the Author, for Junior Classes.

EDINBURGH AFTER FLODDEN . . . . .	32 pages, 2d. ; cloth, 3½d.
THE EXECUTION OF MONTROSE . . . . .	32 pages, 2d. ; cloth, 3½d.
THE BURIAL-MARCH OF DUNDEE . . . . .	32 pages, 2d. ; cloth, 3½d.
THE ISLAND OF THE SCOTS . . . . .	32 pages, 2d. ; cloth, 3½d.

**Teachers' Aid.**—"Capital annotated editions.....Beautifully clear and painstaking; we commend them heartily to our brother and sister teachers."

**Educational News.**—"Useful issues of well-known poems.....The notes are exceedingly appropriate, and leave nothing in doubt. For class purposes we can specially recommend these little books."

## School Recitation Books.

BOOK I. 32 pages . . . . .	2d.
BOOK II. 32 pages . . . . .	2d.
BOOK III. 48 pages . . . . .	3d.
BOOK IV. 48 pages . . . . .	3d.
BOOK V. 64 pages . . . . .	4d.
BOOK VI. 64 pages . . . . .	4d.

**Schoolmistress.**—"These six books are a valuable contribution to school literature. The poems for each standard are judiciously chosen, the explanatory notes and questions at the end of every lesson are very suitable."

### Grammar and Analysis.

BOOK II.	24 pages . . . . .	Paper, 1½d. ; cloth, 2½d.
BOOK III.	24 pages . . . . .	Paper, 1½d. ; cloth, 2½d.
BOOK IV.	48 pages . . . . .	Paper, 2d. ; cloth, 3d.
BOOK V.	64 pages . . . . .	Paper, 3d. ; cloth, 4d.
BOOK VI.	64 pages . . . . .	Paper, 3d. ; cloth, 4d.
BOOK VII.	64 pages . . . . .	Paper, 3d. ; cloth, 4d.

**Schoolmaster.**—"This is a series of good practical books whose merits ought to ensure for them a wide sale. Among their leading merits are simplicity in definitions, judicious recapitulation, and abundance of well-selected exercises for practice."

**Teachers' Aid.**—"For thoroughness, method, style, and high-class work, commend us to these little text-books.....A practical hand has impressed every line with individuality.....We are determined to use them in our own department."

### Arithmetical Exercises.

BOOK I.	. . . . .	Paper, 1½d. ; cloth, 2½d.
BOOK II.	. . . . .	Paper, 1½d. ; cloth, 2½d.
BOOK III.	. . . . .	Paper, 2d. ; cloth, 3d.
BOOK IV.	. . . . .	Paper, 2d. ; cloth, 3d.
BOOK V.	. . . . .	Paper, 2d. ; cloth, 3d.
BOOK VI.	. . . . .	Paper, 2d. ; cloth, 3d.
BOOK VII.	. . . . .	Paper, 3d. ; cloth, 4d.
HIGHER ARITHMETIC for Ex-Standard and Continuation Classes.	128 pp. . . . .	Paper, 6d. ; cloth, 8d.

\* \* *ANSWERS may be had separately, and are supplied direct to Teachers only.*

**Schoolmaster.**—"We can speak in terms of high praise respecting this series of Arithmetical Exercises. They have been carefully constructed. They are well graduated, and contain a large and varied collection of examples.....We can recommend the series to our readers."

**Schoolmistress.**—"Large quantity, excellent quality, great variety, and good arrangement are the characteristics of this set of Arithmetical Exercises."

### Elementary Grammar and Composition.

Based on the ANALYSIS OF SENTENCES. With a Chapter on WORD-BUILDING and DERIVATION, and containing numerous Exercises. New Edition. 1s.

**Schoolmaster.**—"A very valuable book. It is constructive as well as analytic, and well-planned exercises have been framed to teach the young student how to use the elements of his mother-tongue.....A junior text-book that is calculated to yield most satisfactory results."

**Educational Times.**—"The plan ought to work well.....A decided advance from the old-fashioned practice of teaching."

**Grammar and Analysis.**

Scotch Code.

STANDARD II.	24 pages.	Paper, 1½d. ; cloth, 2½d.
STANDARD III.	32 pages.	Paper, 1½d. ; cloth, 2½d.
STANDARD IV.	56 pages.	Paper, 2½d. ; cloth, 3½d.
STANDARD V.	56 pages.	Paper, 2½d. ; cloth, 3½d.
STANDARD VI.	64 pages.	Paper, 3d. ; cloth, 4d.

**Teachers' Aid.**—“These are thoughtfully written and very practically conceived little helps.....They are most exhaustive, and brimming with examples.

**New Arithmetical Exercises.**

Scotch Code.

STANDARD I.	32 pages	. Paper, 1½d. ; cloth, 2½d.
STANDARD II.	32 pages	. Paper, 1½d. ; cloth, 2½d.
STANDARD III.	56 pages	. Paper, 2d. ; cloth, 3d.
STANDARD IV.	64 pages	. Paper, 3d. ; cloth, 4d.
STANDARD V.	80 pages	. Paper, 4d. ; cloth, 6d.
STANDARD VI.	80 pages	. Paper, 4d. ; cloth, 6d.
HIGHER ARITHMETIC for Ex-Standard and Continuation Classes	128 pages	. Paper, 6d. ; cloth, 8d.

\* \* *ANSWERS may be had separately, and are supplied direct to Teachers only.*

**Educational News.**—“The gradation of the exercises is perfect, and the examples, which are very numerous, are of every conceivable variety. There is ample choice for the teacher under every head. We recommend the series as excellent School Arithmetics.”

**Merit Certificate Arithmetic.**

96 pp. Paper cover, 6d. ; cloth, 8d.

**Mensuration.**

128 pp., cloth, 1s. Also in Two Parts. Pt. I., Parallelograms and Triangles. 64 pp. Paper, 4d. ; cloth, 6d. Pt. II., Circles and Solids. 64 pp. Paper, 4d. ; cloth, 6d. *Answers may be had separately, price 2d. each Part.*

**Educational Times.**—“The explanations are always clear and to the point, while the exercises are so exceptionally numerous that a wide selection is offered to the students who make use of the book.”

**A First Book on Physical Geography.**

For Use in Schools. 64 pp. 4d.

**Journal of Education.**—“This is a capital little book, describing shortly and clearly the geographical phenomena of nature.”

**Manual Instruction—Woodwork.** DESIGNED TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE MINUTE OF THE SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT ON MANUAL INSTRUCTION. By GEORGE ST JOHN, Undenominational School, Handsworth, Birmingham. With 100 Illustrations. 1s.

### Blackwoods' Simplex Civil Service Copy Books.

By JOHN T. PEARCE, B.A., Leith Academy. Price 2d. each.

#### CONTENTS OF THE SERIES.

- No. 1. Elements, Short Letters, Words.
- " 2. Long Letters, Easy Words.
- " 3. Capitals, Half-line Words.
- " 4. Text, Double Ruling, Sentences.
- " 5. Half-Text, Sentences, Figures.
- " 6. Intermediate, Transcription, &c.
- " 7. Small Hand, Double Ruling.
- " 8. Small Hand, Single Ruling.

*The Headlines are graduated, up-to-date, and attractive.*

### Blackwoods' Universal Writing Books.

Have been designed to accompany the above series, and teachers will find it advantageous to use them as Dictation Copies, because by them the learner is kept continually writing at the correct slope, &c. No 1. is adapted for LOWER CLASSES, No. 2 for HIGHER CLASSES. Price 2d. each.

**Practical Teacher.**—"Our readers would do well to write for a specimen of this book, and of the blank exercise-books ruled on the same principle. They are worth careful attention."

**School World.**—"Those teachers who are anxious to train their pupils to write in the style associated with Civil Service Competitions should find the copy-books designed by Mr Pearce very useful. The writing is certainly simple; it may, in fact, be reduced to four elements, in which the pupil is rigorously exercised in the earlier books before proceeding in later numbers to continuous writing."

**Schoolmaster.**—"Those of our readers in search of new books should see these."

**Journal of Education.**—"Aids the eye and guides the hand, and thus checkmates any bias towards error in the slope."

---

## UNIVERSITY CALENDARS.

### St Andrews University Calendar.

Printed and Published for the Senatus Academicus. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

### St Andrews University L.L.A. Calendar.

Printed and Published for the Senatus Academicus. Crown 8vo, 1s.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD & SONS, EDINBURGH AND LONDON.





UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below

REC'D LD-URE

DEC 28 1984

DEC 28 1984

Form L-5  
25m-19,74(24-5)

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
AT  
LOS ANGELES

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



**AA** 000 395 720 6



3 1158 00995 1756

