

To expel the people of Ireland from their own country, and thrust them out as outcast wanderers and exiles all over the world, to seize their homes and possess their heritage will be found to have been for centuries the policy, the aim, and uniring endeavour of the English Government. The scheme which was inaugurated in the province of Munster, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and prosecuted in the following reign by King James the Sixth of Scotland, Son of the beautiful and ill-fated Mary Queen of Scots, namely, the expulsion of the native Irish race, and the "planting" or "colonizing" of their country by English settlers, has ever haunted the English mind. "The history of the world," says an eminent Irish author, "has no parallel for such a design, pursued so relentlessly through such a great space of time. But God did not more signally preserve His chosen people of the Old Law, than He has preserved the Irish nation in captivity and exile. They have not melted away, as the calculations of their evictors anticipated. They have not become fused or transformed by time or change. They have not perished where all ordinary probabilities threatened to the human race impossibility of existence. Prosperity and adversity in their new homes, have alike failed to kill in their hearts the sentiments of nationality, the holy love of Ireland, the resolution of fulfilling their destiny as the Heraclides of modern history. They preserve to-day all over the world their individuality as markedly as the children of Israel did theirs in Babylon or in Egypt."

It was not until the close of the sixteenth century, or more than four hundred years after Henry the Second's landing in Ireland that the struggle of native Irish sovereignty against English rule closed in the tacit surrender of Ireland to James I. During the latter half of the last century of the above period, a new element of antagonism was imported into the conflict. Religious animosity was added to race hatred and national hostility. The English peers and people followed Henry VIII, into the Reformation, followed Queen Mary out of it, and Queen Elizabeth into it again. The Irish on the other hand clung more devoutly than ever to the Catholic faith, a circumstance of contrast, which has largely contributed ever since to keep the two people distinct and which allied with race influences and national traditions, marks each with a separate individuality. With the reign of James I. began the political system which with little variation still exists in the union of Ireland under one crown with Scotland and England. England came in by succession to the Scottish king, and by a remarkable coincidence or concurrence Ireland at the same time virtually surrendered to the sovereignty of a Gaelic prince sprung from a race kindred to its own. Throughout the whole Stuart period, from 1600 to 1700, the national feeling and action of Ireland, with a loyalty fatal to Irish welfare, were displayed on the side of the dynasty thus accepted. In the victorious rebellion of the English Republicans against the duplicity of Charles I., as well as in the still more successful English revolt against James II., the Irish remained steadfast to the loyalist cause, and in the result paid a dreadful penalty for such disastrous fidelity. The soil of the country was declared forfeit by the existing owners, and was parcelled out as spoil among the soldiery of the Cromwellian and Williamite armies; hundreds of thousands of acres were bestowed on the mistresses, court favourites, and natural offspring of William and the early Hanoverian princes, while the native gentry, beggared and homeless, were banished and proscribed, and the general body of the people reduced to a condition little short of outlawry.

The province of Ulster was parcelled out into lots and divided among court favourites and clamouring "undertakers," the owners and occupiers—the native inhabitants—being as little regarded as the wild grouse on the hills. The guilds, or trade companies of London, got a vast share of plunder, something like 110,000 acres of the richest lands of the O'Neills' and the O'Donnells', lands which the said London companies hold to this day. To encourage and maintain these "plantations," various privileges were conferred upon, or offered to the "colonists," the conditions required of them on the other hand being simply to exclude or kill off the owners, to hunt down the native population as they would any other wild game. For two hundred years of history we find the "colonists" generally endowed, nursed, petted, protected, privileged—the especial care of the English Government, whilst the hapless native population were, during the same period, proscribed, "dead in law," forbidden to trade, forbidden to educate, forbidden to own property; for each of which prohibitions—many besides to a like intent—Acts of Parliament, "with day and date, word and letter," may be cited. How to extirpate the hapless people, how to blast and desolate the land rather than it should afford sustenance to even a solitary fugitive of the doomed race, was the constant effort of English military commanders. It was the process by which Munster had been "pacified"—that is desolated. It was that by which Cromwell had pursued the same end. It was a system, the infamy of which amongst the nations of the world, Pagan or Christian, is wholly monopolised by England. "The impartial reader," says Mr. A. M. Sullivan, "be his nationality English or Irish, perusing the authentic documents stored in the State Paper office, is forced to admit that it was not *war* in even its severest sense, but *murder* in its most hideous and heartless atrocity that was waged upon the Irish people in the process of subjugating them. It was not that process of conquest, the wounds of which, though sharp and severe for the moment, cicatrised with time. Such conquests other countries have passed through, and time has either fused the conqueror or conquered, or obliterated all bitterness or hate between them. In Ireland the process was woefully different; so has the product been; so must it ever be till the laws of nature are reversed and revolutionised, and grapes grow on thorns and figs on thistles. It was not *war*, which might be forgotten on both sides, but *murder*, which, to this day, is remembered on one side with a terrible memory." Froude, writing in our own day, has found the testimony of the State Paper Office too powerful to resist, and with all his natural bias in favour of his own country, his candour as a historian more than once constitutes him an accuser of the infamies to which I have been referring. "The English nation," he says, "was shuddering over the atrocities of the Duke of Alva. The children in the nurseries were

being inflamed to patriotic rage and madness by the tales of Spanish tyranny, yet Alva's bloody sword never touched the young, the defenceless, or those whose sea even dogs can recognise and respect. Sir Peter Carew had been seen murdering women and children and babes that had scarcely left the breast, but Sir Peter Carew was not called on to answer for his conduct, and remained in favour with the Deputy, Gilbert, who, left in command at Kilmallock, was illustrating yet more signally the same tendency; nor was Gilbert a bad man. As times went he passed for a brave and chivalrous gentleman, not the least distinguished in that high band of adventurers, who carried the English flag into the western hemisphere, a founder of colonies, an explorer of unknown seas, a man of science, and above all, a man of special piety. He regarded himself as dealing rather with savage beasts than with human beings, and when he tracked them to their dens, he strangled the cubs and rooted out the entire broods." "The Gilbert method," says Mr. Froude again, "has this disadvantage, that it must be carried out to the last extremity, or it ought not to be tried at all. The dead do not come back; and if the mothers and the babes are slaughtered with the men, the race gives no further trouble, but the work must be done thoroughly; partial and fitful cruelty lays up only a long debt of deserved and ever-deepening hate." The work on this occasion happening not be "done thoroughly," Mr. Froude immediately proceeds to explain:—"In justice to the English soldiers, however, it must be said that it was no fault of theirs if any Irish child of that generation was allowed to live to manhood." The same historian frankly warns his readers against supposing that such work was exceptional on the part of the English forces. From the language of the official documents before him, he says, "the inference is but too natural, that work of this kind was the road to preferment, and that this, or something like it, was the ordinary employment of the Saxon garrison in Ireland.

Such was the work in which Carew the Second and his garrisons occupied themselves on the fall of Kinsale, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Oliver Cromwell, though a despot, a bigot, and a canting hypocrite, was a thorough nationalist as an Englishman, and England owes not a little of her constitutional liberty to the democratic principles with which the Republican party, on whose shoulders he mounted to power, leavened the nation. In 1649 the Puritan revolution had consumed all opposition in England, but Ireland presented an inviting field for what the Protector and his soldiery called "the work of the Lord." Their passions would be fully aroused, and there their vengeance would have full scope. To pull down the Throne and cut off Charles' head was, after all (according to their ideas) overthrowing only a political tyranny and an episcopal dominance amongst their own fellow-countrymen and fellow-Protestants. But in Ireland there was an idolatrous people to be put to the sword, and their fertile country to be possessed. The bare prospect of a campaign there threw all the Puritan regiments into ecstasies. In this spirit Cromwell came to Ireland, landing in Dublin on the 14th August, 1649. He remained nine months—never, perhaps, in the same space of time had one man more of horror and desolation to show for himself. It is not for any of the ordinary severities of war that Cromwell's name is infamous in Ireland. War is no child's play, and those who take to it must not wail if its fair penalties fall upon them ever so hard and heavy. If Cromwell, therefore, was merely a vigorous and "thorough soldier," it would have been unjust to cast special odium upon him. To call him "savage" because the slain of his enemies in battle might have been enormous in amount would be simply contemptible. But it is for a far different reason Cromwell is execrated in Ireland. It is for such butcheries of the unarmed and defenceless non-combatants, the ruthless slaughter of inoffensive women and children, as Drogheda and Wexford witnessed that he is justly regarded as a bloody and brutal tyrant. Bitterly did the Irish people pay for their loyalty to the English sovereign. I spare myself recital of the horrors of that time, with which you are all, no doubt, familiar, but not even before the terrors of such a man did the Irish exhibit a craven or cowardly spirit.

The immortal Owen Roe O'Neill was struck down by death early in the struggle, and by the common testimony of friend and foe in him the Irish lost the only military leader capable of coping with Cromwell. Nevertheless, with that courage which unflinchingly looks ruin in the face, and chooses death before dishonour, the Irish fought the issue out. At length after a fearful and bloody struggle of nearly three years duration "on the 12th May, 1652, the Leinster army of the Irish surrendered on terms signed at Kilkenny, which were adopted successively by the other principal armies between that time and September following, when the Ulster forces surrendered." What ensued upon the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland, has been told by Mr. John P. Prendergast, in "The Cromwellian settlement of Ireland," the record of a nation's woes, "one of the most remarkable books ever printed in the English language." The transactions which immediately followed upon the capitulation of the Irish armies, "when," says Mr. Prendergast, "there took place a scene not witnessed in Europe since the conquest of Spain by the Vandals." "Indeed," he continues, "it is injustice to the Vandals to equal them with the English of 1652, for the Vandals came as strangers and conquerors in an age of force and barbarism; nor did they banish the people, though they seized and divided their lands by lot, but the English of 1652 were of the same nation as half of the chief families in Ireland, and had at that time had Ireland under their sway for 500 years. The captains and men-of-war of the Irish, amounting to forty thousand men and upwards, they banished into Spain, where they took service under that King. Others of them with a crowd of orphan girls, transported to serve the English planters in the West Indies, and the remnant of the nation not banished or transported, were to be transported into Connaught, while the conquering army divided the ancient inheritances of the Irish amongst them by lot." The Republican Parliament decided to colonise three provinces, Leinster, Munster, and Ulster, converting the fourth (Connaught) into a vast encircled prison, into which such of the doomed natives as were not either transported as white slaves to Barbadoes, kept for servitude by the new settlers, or allowed to expatriate themselves as a privilege, might