

## ULSTER'S REPLY TO CARSON

(By J. G. SWIFT MACNEILL, M.P., in the *Irish World*.)

I desire, as a Protestant and the senior Ulster member in the Imperial Parliament, in which I have sat for nearly two-and-thirty years, to supplement the trenchant and masterly reply of my distinguished friend, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, to the Orange address to the President of the United States by a further examination of two statements in that address—one embodying a false suggestion, the other in itself an open, palpable falsehood.

The statement embodying a false suggestion is as follows: "The Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament," the address states, "throws a significant sidelight on this prevalent fiction." The "prevalent fiction," the subject of this reference, is that our political status affords any sort of parallel to that of the small nationalities oppressed by alien rule, for whose emancipation the Allied Powers are fighting in this war. "Ireland has," the address triumphantly declares, "thirty-nine more members in the House of Commons than she can claim on a basis of population strictly proportionate." This statement, if its accuracy can be admitted, constitutes not an argument for the maintenance of the Union, but the most damning evidence that could be adduced against that system of government, and a decisive proof that the point has been reached at which the process of national downfall under so disastrous a regime should be stayed.

### Ireland Defrauded.

Under the provisions of the Act of Union in 1800 Ireland was defrauded of her just proportion of members. The Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament, now consisting of 103 members, was then fixed at 100, the number of members for Great Britain being then 558. Mr. O'Connell conclusively proved that Ireland was entitled, on "a basis of population strictly proportionate" to the population of Great Britain, to no fewer than 291 members. In 1800 the population of the whole United Kingdom did not exceed fifteen millions, of which Ireland was estimated to have five. At the last census in 1911 the population of the whole United Kingdom was 45,870,540, of which only 4,390,219 (including the men of the army and navy in Ireland on the night of the census, as well as their wives and families) constituted the total population of Ireland. The under-representation of Ireland, according to the provisions of the Union, is the only grievance which the operations of the Union itself have redressed, but they have redressed it not by the increase of members, but by diminishing the resources and population of Ireland. So much for the "significant sidelight" thrown on the Irish question by over-representation in the Imperial Parliament.

### Support From Froude.

I desire, moreover, to corroborate by the testimony of Mr. Froude, the Unionist historian, who was among the bitterest enemies of his generation to the Irish National movement, Mr. T. P. O'Connor's scathing refutation of one of the statements in the Orange address which embody actual falsehoods.

"The suggestion," says Mr. T. P. O'Connor, "of the Orange address that the American citizens of Ulster descent who took such a prominent and glorious part in America's War of Independence represented the same political opinions as the adherents of Sir Edward Carson to-day, may also be left without comment to the enlightened opinion of America. Every American knows that these Ulster Protestants fled from Ireland because the party to which Sir Edward Carson belonged made life impossible for them in Ireland, and flying from Irish servitude to American freedom they took with them the same hatred as their Catholic fellow-countrymen, who fought by their side

in Washington's army, to English and Irish Tory misgovernment."

Here is Mr. Froude's testimony, written in 1861, by anticipation to Mr. O'Connor's statement. It lends a piquancy to Mr. Froude's words that the Mr. Upton to whom he refers was the first Lord Templeton, whose descendant, the present peer, has taken an active part in support of the Irish Union.

### Cause of Ulster Exodus

"Most of his Antrim leases having fallen in simultaneously (in 1772), the fifth Earl and first Marquis of Donegal demanded a hundred thousand pounds in fines for the renewal of them. The tenants, all Protestant, offered the interest of the money in addition to the rent. It could not be. Speculative Belfast capitalists paid the fine and took the lands over the heads of the tenants to sub-let. A Mr. Upton, another great Antrim proprietor, imitated the example, and tenants over a whole countryside were driven from their habitations. . . . The most substantial of the expelled tenantry gathered their effects together and sailed to join their countrymen in the New World, where the Scotch-Irish became known as the most bitter of the secessionists. . . . It is rare that two persons have power to create effects so considerable as to assist in dismembering an Empire and provoking a civil war. Lord Donegal was rewarded with a marquessate and Mr. Upton with a viscountcy." (Mr. Froude is here slightly in error. Mr. Upton was made a baron in 1776, with 17 other gentlemen who were made peers on the same day. His son was made a viscount in 1806.) "If rewards were proportioned to deserts a fitter retribution to both of them would have been forfeiture and Tower Hill. A precedent so tempting, and so lucrative was naturally followed.

. . . In the two years which followed the Antrim evictions thirty thousand Protestants left Ulster for a land where there was no legal robbery, and where those who sowed the seed could reap the harvest. They went with bitterness in their hearts, cursing and detesting the aristocratic system of which the ennobling qualities were lost and only the worst retained."

### Hence Bunker's Hill.

"All evidence shows that the foremost, the most irreconcilable, the most determined in pushing the quarrel to the last extremity were the Scotch-Irish, whom the Bishops and Lord Donegal and company had been pleased to drive out of Ulster." . . . "There is a Bunker's Hill close outside Belfast. Massachusetts' tradition has forgotten how the name came to Charlestown Peninsula. It is possible that the connection with Ireland is a coincidence. It is possible that the name of a spot so memorable in American history was brought over by one of those exiles." (See Froude's *English in Ireland*, II., pp. 130-155.)

I trust that Sir Edward Carson, the first signatory to this Orange address, a gentleman who had never any association with Ulster till middle age, who when at the Irish Bar contemplated at one time, owing to increasing business, a change from his old circuit (the Leinster) for a circuit more lucrative, designed not the North-east or North-west (Ulster) Circuits, but the Munster Circuit, as a sphere of fresh forensic achievement, will be content to rest on his laurels—that he will not rival the Ulster reactionaries of the eighteenth century, whom he claims as his forerunners in compassing the dismemberment of the Empire.

A recollected mind never quite ceases to think of God and of doing good, distilling into its very amusements drops of holy aspiration.—Father Elliott, C.S.P.

The surest method of arriving at a knowledge of God's eternal purposes about us is to be found in the right use of the present moment. Each hour comes with some little fagot of God's will fastened upon its back.—Father Faber.

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