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ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE'S THIRD LECTURE.

Cromwell Ireland's Great Benefactor—Fatal Mistake of the Prince of Orange—The Cormorants of the Established Church—Fate of the Irish Peasantry.

Mr. Froude delivered his third lecture in Association Hall last evening to a crowded audience. His subject was: "The Penal Laws of Ireland and their Consequences." The lecturer said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: My last lecture ended with an account of the rise, the consequences, and the collapse of the great Irish rebellion of 1641. It commenced in massacre, and it ended in ruin. For nine years the Irish leaders held the destinies of their country in their hands. They were years of continual anarchy and mutual slaughter. One-third of the population perished in the most piteous misery. Its heaviest suffering fell upon the innocent peasantry, their wives, and their little ones. Had the rebellion been sustained by a determination to be free; had an Irish nation been forming itself in that furnace of calamity; when the clouds cleared off had there been seen a liberated people standing erect amidst the ruins of their houses, watching the fleet of the invaders disappearing below the horizon; had Ireland proved herself another Holland; had it fared with the Saxon as it fared with the Spaniard, the price, tremendous as it was, would not have been too much for the admission of one more free commonwealth among the nations of the world. The curtain rose on a far different spectacle. Ireland with its chiefs and its armies, its patriotic heroes, and its passionate devotees,

LAY PROSTRATE AT THE FEET

of a few thousand English Puritans. What was to be done with it? I ask you, gentlemen, with the experience of two centuries of progress and enlightenment to guide you, what would you have had Cromwell do? Will you say that he should have proclaimed a universal amnesty, or thrust ballot-balls in the hands of the clans whom his sword had scattered, and bidden the Irish to decide their own destiny? They would have voted by an immense majority for the objects which by arms they had failed to win. They would have bidden the English and Scotch colonist, with their industries and their Protestant religion, to have simply taken themselves away, and to have left Ireland to her own people. The English, you may say, had no business there. It is too late to raise questions of that kind. Ireland had formed part of the dominion of the English sovereign. I will not say how it had come about, but so it was. England, 120 years before, had shaken off the papal authority.

THE POPES HAD LEVIED WAR

upon their devoted subjects, as they were pleased to call all Protestant States. They had used the swords of Spain and Austria to force them back into submission, and the shrieks of slaughtered men had gone up from hundreds of battle-fields. It had pleased Ireland, in that universal war, to take the Italian side. She had made her provinces the theatre for a century of desperate insurrections. Had she succeeded in establishing her independence, she would have been a thorn in England's side and the ally of England's enemies. Had Elizabeth left her to herself it would have been but for the French and the Spaniard to come in. Closed around with hostile armies, hostile nations on either side of her, England, and the cause for which England was fighting, would have come to an inglorious end. It could not be, and the resolution once formed that Ireland, whether she would or not,

MUST REMAIN ATTACHED TO ENGLAND.

The rest had followed as of necessity. We must look at the position as men, not as dreamers and enthusiasts. What was Cromwell to do? I will tell you what he did, and you shall judge for yourselves whether he did ill. The Irish demanded liberty of conscience. "I meddle with no man's conscience," the Lord-General answered, "but if you mean by liberty of conscience liberty to have the mass, that will not be suffered while the Parliament of England has power."

"Monstrous!" you may say. Well, gentlemen, I suppose it would be easy for me to alter some facile commonplaces on the beauties of the liberty of conscience. Speaking here in this place, before the freest people in the world, and speaking upon a subject on which the American people are more justly sensitive, which is the liberty of thought and speech, than perhaps on any other subject, in this connection and at this time I cannot utter those words. Before I denounce a great man like Cromwell, I must be sure that either you or I, or any of us, would have acted more wisely or more generously in the same circumstances. The mass, as we know it, is the sacred rite of the religion, which is one of many modes, and one of the oldest, and in some respects the most beautiful, modes of worshipping our common Maker. It has borrowed one precious jewel from the coronet of its adversary, for it has learned to respect the rights of conscience in others, and in learning that it has parted with but a single element which made it an object of dread to others.

IN ITSELF THE CATHOLIC CREED

has been and is the belief of some of the noblest men who have ever done honor to humanity; but this is not the creed which Cromwell refused to tolerate. The mass, as Cromwell knew it, was the symbol of a system which, wherever it had power, was at that moment punishing by sword and fire every deviation from its own ordinances. In countries wherein it had not power it was stirring up civil war and the very fiercest passions which disgrace humanity, only that it might recover the means of perpetuating its usurpations. It had made Germany a charnel house. Ireland, of which I am here speaking, it had plunged into unutterable woe. I will not say that what Cromwell did was right or wrong, but this I know, that if we and our fathers had been struggling in a death wrestle for a century with such a spirit, this I know, that we should not hesitate, if the chance was in our power, to stop the fountain from which those waters of bitterness were flowing. [Applause.] Had Cromwell's policy towards Ireland been persevered in, as a whole, I believe, I should not be here addressing you on any questions of difference between ourselves and Ireland. He had formed a design for the pacification of that country which would have made future troubles there impossible.

THE ULSTER SETTLERS,

who had been driven out, and all other English and Irish owners who had stood by the English Parliament throughout the war, were replaced in their estates. All the other Irish land owners had been out in the war against England, and their lands were declared confiscated. As before, on the original settlement of Ulster, the peasantry were left undisturbed. Those who possessed any real right in their farms, having performed honest labor upon them, were protected, subject only to the condition of being obedient to the new Government. The noble lords and gentlemen, the men whose trade was fighting, who had called themselves lords of the soil, and as lords of the soil had maintained themselves by poor men's industry, these, by one huge sweep, were dispossessed. They were not driven out of Ireland altogether, nor were they left without means of support if they had chosen to exert themselves. Of the four districts of Ireland one was still to be theirs. The great province of Connaught was assigned to the Irish gentry as exclusively their own. They were cut off from the rest of the country. They might live in such way as pleased them best. As the Saxon conquerors of England drove the Britons into Wales, so Cromwell drove the rebelling Irish into Connaught. Over the rest of the island he planted down the army which had conquered it. Each soldier had his land assigned to him. If he preferred to return home he was at liberty to sell it to another Englishman, who should take his place. Many thousands of Protestant families were thus distributed over the land to introduce English industry and English order.

THE REFORMED RELIGION

was made a reality. The Huguenots and all whom Catholic despotism had driven from their homes, were welcomed, and all were encouraged to bring with them their trades and their occupations. Preceding settlers had introduced manufactures into Ireland. They had built large ships and they had began to trade. Commercial jealousy had taken the alarm in England, and Irish commerce had been nipped by restriction. These absurd and iniquitous laws Cromwell cut away from the roots. He saw no justice in starving Irish industry to fill the pockets of English manufacturers. He saw too that if Ireland was to become as he desired to see her, a full partner in England's prosperity, the fiction of a separate interest and a separate nationality ought to come to an end. He abolished the Irish Parliament. Ireland was incorporated into England and made part of England, and her towns and counties sent their representatives to Westminster. Thus, with the elements of mischief handcuffed or swept out of the way, with a new and wholesome stock of energetic Protestants planted into her soil, with a full and free participation in every material benefit which England possessed,

CROMWELL HAD TURNED A FRESH LEAF

in her tragical history, and she had entered at length on a career of industry and prosperity, which we call tyranny from our modern point of view. We must look facts in the face, and not be frightened by words. In fifteen years the three provinces which were thus treated had grown from a wilderness into a garden. Bogs were drained and planted afresh with trees; dwelling houses sprang up and substantial farm buildings; fields were fenced and clothed with corn; trading ships came back to the harbors and the rivers' mouths; life and property were made secure, and Irish peasant and English farmer under the rule of the Cromwellians lived side by side, and each added to the other's welfare with the road to industry open equally to all.

Enough of Cromwell. I as an Englishman honor him, and glory in him as the greatest statesman and the greatest soldier that our race has produced. [Applause.] What is more, gentlemen, I consider him to have been the best friend in the best sense of all which was good in Ireland.

The restoration came. The Stuart Kings were brought back, and with the Stuarts came the old story of compromise and half measures. The Irish Parliament was at once set up again. The Irish expected that Cromwell's soldiers would be expelled, and that the confiscated States would be restored to their old owners. Never constant long to any one policy, England was content to weaken the Protestants without conciliating the Catholics. Something over one-third of the land was restored.

THE CONNAUGHT PLAN

was abandoned and the exiled Irish were allowed to return to their homes. Two-thirds of the lands were left to the Cromwellian settlers, and the old rivals were once more left face to face, with all the old animosity embittered a thousand fold.

The Episcopal Church was reëstablished. It suited the Irish Protestants as ill as it suited the Scotch Presbyterians. The Scots would have none of it. They cleared it out and set up their own churches. The Irish Protestants were less fortunate. The archbishops and bishops were placed in their sees. To counterbalance them the Catholics were allowed to reëstablish a rival hierarchy; chapels and convents were rebuilt, and as an indication of Government favor, very like what we observe at the present day, the Catholic primate was received in state at Dublin Castle by the English Viceroy.

For the Protestant non-conformists, meanwhile, there was no mercy. They were assumed to be Republicans, and Republicans just then were looked upon as venomous reptiles. The Northern Presbyterians and the Cromwellians were the bone and sinew of the Protestant interest. They were the best soldiers, the best farmers, the best citizens, the best men of business. In all matters secular and spiritual they had the stern resolution which ended with Calvinism. Yet it was thought wise to allow the

BISHOPS TO PERSECUTE THESE MEN.

Their chapels and their schools were closed, their ministers were required to conform to the establishment, and when they refused were deprived of their benefices. It was a turning point in the history of the country. The proudest and bravest of Puritan colonists sold their allotments, and bade Ireland a second farewell. They had given their blood in vain. Kings and priests had come back again, and with kings and priests it seemed that they were to have no abiding place. They turned their faces to the setting sun, and the descendants of the conquerors of Ireland are now citizens of the United States of America. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, I was once present, a few years ago, at a very extraordinary scene. It happened that there was some uncertainty where James I. was buried in Westminster Abbey. The Dean of Westminster, who is my friend, had a commission from the Secretary of State to search among the tombs and discover where James's coffin lay. It was not thought prudent to conduct such an investigation by daylight. It was done at night, and he asked me, and perhaps one or two more gentlemen, to be present. We went; and there, by flaring torches, among those old dark arches, we were probing among the ashes of the great dead. We looked upon all that remained of kings, princes, warriors, statesmen, and prelates. We felt almost guilty for the liberty which we were taking in disturbing their august repose. At last we came to a tomb wher evidently some great person had once lain; at least, we knew not what it was or who it was. It was the tomb of Oliver Cromwell, the great Protector of England. They had taken him up from his tomb; they had hung his body on a gallows; they had cut his head from his shoulders and posted it on a spike on Westminster Hall. They had flung out the Cromwellians; they had flung out Cromwell, and there was this sad and silent and

AWFUL MEMORIAL

of what had been. It gave us thoughts which had better not be uttered.

Well, gentlemen, for these Cromwellians in Ireland—they were gone. Other English came in their places, money makers, land jobbers, speculators. The persecution of the Protestants was checked after its first excesses, and the Ulster settlement continued to prosper, but the Protestant colonies in the south had received their death blow. The Catholics overspread them or absorbed them. The Catholic religion swept back like a returning sea. James the II. followed Charles, and James, himself a Catholic, lent the influence of the Crown to the cause. In both countries he set himself to undo the Reformation and reëstablish orthodox Romanism. He placed Catholics in the highest offices in the State. He made Catholic Judges and Catholic Chancellors, Catholic Sheriffs and magistrates. He made the army Catholic, and he expelled the Protestant officers. He disarmed the Protestant gentry, and finally he created the brother of the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, the notorious Dick Torbet, a duke, and appointed him Viceroy. The next step was to have been the reversal of the land settlement and the restoration of the Catholic proprietors. It was to have been managed quietly by form of law, but the English revolution came in the way. James abdicated and fled to France, and

WILLIAM OF ORANGE

became King of England. How was all this to affect Ireland? According to English lawyers, no act of the Irish Parliament was valid which had not passed under the great seal of England. The King of England, whoever he was, was held to be King of Ireland also. The Irish interpreted the constitution differently. They insisted that though James might have lost the English crown he was still King of Ireland. They invited James to come, and he came. They invited Louis XIV. to help them. Louis sent them money and arms, some of his best officers, and 5,000 men.

The factions that Cromwell had overthrown were once more in possession of the Irish Government. It remained for them to accomplish at once what their grandfathers had failed to do, and to root up, conclusively and forever, the detested Protestant settlers. They called a Parliament, a free national Parliament, a fair representation of the majority of the Irish population, and in the acts of it you will see the inevitable tendency of the thing which is called home rule. They were perfectly natural acts. Under one condition they were perfectly right acts—if their resolution on the battle-field would equal their courage in the senate house. They tore up Cromwell's plantations to the roots; they dispossessed the colonists who had settled on their soil as completely as they had themselves been dispossessed by the Puritans, and then, to make clean work and spread a net which would let no single alien escape, they

ATTAINTED BY NAME

almost every Protestant landowner in the country. You may say that this was right, and that England ought to have acquiesced. I say that it was right with one provision, that Ireland was prepared to back her words with deeds. When there is a question of the dismemberment of an empire, the province which aspires to a separate existence must have strength to do it. England would have been craven had she assented to a separation from her of her own free will. It would have been a death blow to her own liberty. [Applause.] Nor was Ireland itself without men who would strike a blow for the English connection and their own hearths and homes; nor could England, after having planted them down in Ireland, leave these men with honor to be despoiled. The Ulster Protestants had something in them of the old Calvinistic heroism. Londonderry was an old town, unwalled and unprovisioned; but the Protestant shopkeepers and apprentices held Londonderry against the Catholic army with French officers until a roasted rat had become a dainty and starvation was held at bay with boot soles and garbage from the gutter.

An army was sent from England. The new King came in person to head it. Thirty years of concession, years of affected obedience, and as the only result the work of conquest had to be done over again. Times had changed in England, and not for the better. William's troops were not like the Ironsides'. They were a motley compound of Dutch, English, Germans, and French Huguenots, and they were ill disciplined and dissolute. The Irish, on the contrary, had never been in better condition. They had been drilled by French officers; they were well armed and equipped; they were on their own soil, fighting for everything which they held most dear, yet the result was in no way different from what it had always been under similar circumstances. At

THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE

the Irish did not so much as make a creditable stand. At Athlone they were surprised and driven from a position which the most moderate care would have made impregnable. At Aughrim they fought bravely and well, but they stood only until the French General had been killed by a cannon ball, when they broke into an irretrievable rout, and never rallied again. William was unwilling to press them. He was himself tolerant beyond all contemporary princes. He knew little of Irish history. He understood little or nothing of the Irish people. He saw only in them a high-spirited but an unfortunate race who had been long misgoverned and oppressed. His mind was mainly on his duel with France. He was anxious only to quiet Ireland on easy terms, and the easier terms he allowed the sooner he thought the work would be accomplished. Cromwell gave the Irish no respite until they had submitted without condition. William would not allow them to be pressed, and insisted upon peace while they were still in a condition to stipulate. The war was ended, but it ended only in the famous

ARTICLES OF LIMERICK

and Galway, the root of endless feud, bitterness and reproaches for broken faith. Before I describe those articles and what became of them I must ask why thus universally, again and again, the rebellion of Ireland was unsuccessful; why a race whose courage was and is beyond suspicion, why men who in other fields and under other standards have won both fame and admiration, why such a race when fighting for their own country and in their own cause have behaved always so unlike themselves. I have already indicated the answer, and I must again repeat it—because the hearts of the masses of the people were not in the matter. The Irish peasant would shout for Sarsfield and Tyrone as they go now to the polls and vote for the patriotic candidate. It would not have been better that Sarsfield or Tyrone had won, and the peasant had no reason to regret the days when he was trodden under foot by the Kern and Gallowglass, when between blackmail and the terrorism inspired by raiding bands of ferocious soldiery, he had neither plenty nor peace.

What was it that gave the peasant the right to enjoy the fruits of his own industry? The settled law and

RULE OF THE STRANGER.

The peasant had had experience of the advantages to be enjoyed under English authority. Never had life gone so well with him. Never, in all the years of his tragic history, had he been so comfortably situated or so well rewarded as when at work for the Ulster settlers, or toiling on his own patch under the protection of English law. Speaking from the standpoint of a man of the revolution—the Catholic owners having been driven out, and their lands having been taken by large owners who now resided on their estates, and cared nothing for the welfare of their tenantry—I think the men of the revolution should have acted on the principle of Henry VIII., and made the absentees sell out to men who were willing to live in Ireland. Granted that it would seem hard, but no administration can prosper that has one law for the rich and another for the poor. A real aristocracy, resident in the country, and interested in the country's prosperity, would have been of infinite value to such a country as Ireland then was. An aristocracy of absentees was nothing better than a mockery and a curse.

There is another measure which statesmen would call impossible, but which I almost regret could not have been carried out. Louis of France, just at this time,

REVOKED THE EDICT OF NANTES,

and declared that Protestants would no longer be tolerated in the French dominions. The Huguenots looked to Ireland for a home, and Irish Catholics had their eyes turned longingly to France. I cannot but suggest to you that it would have been better for all parties concerned had there been an exchange of populations. With care and system it might have been done, with the consent of all parties concerned. Impossible, a statesman would say. I believe statesmen find all measures impossible except those that come up of themselves, without care from them. [Applause.] Grant that it is impossible, then considering the change which had come over the condition of Ireland, I think the time had come that there should have been an end to the penal laws. After the defeat of the last desperate attempt of the old Irish to recover their lands, and expel the Protestant owners, there was no further occasion for penal enactments against liberty of conscience. The genius of Protestantism is opposed to such restrictions. But in Catholic countries there was no toleration for the Protestant; and, taking man's nature as it is, it is no wonder that the ordinary Protestant should be inclined to follow the example. But the penal laws were against the genius of free institutions, and could not be enforced in a Protestant country. Experience had shown that they could not be carried out in Ireland. The revolution had left the Catholics without the power to hurt, and proscriptive laws could only be a mockery and an insult. But the Catholics were not the only sufferers from

THE PENAL LAWS.

The Nonconformists had amply proved their loyalty to England in the rebellion, but the supreme object of statesmanship appeared to be to keep the Catholics down and to maintain the supremacy of the Episcopal Church by persecuting the Nonconformists. With a system of school teaching, such as the Kirk established in Scotland, and due encouragement to trades and manufactures, the Irish would have been swept into the stream of expanding industry. There were two branches of manufacture already in a thriving condition. The woollen in the North was Protestant, the linen trade was carried on in different parts of the country, and in this the Catholics shared. Every cabin had its spinning wheel, every village its weavers. Industry had taken root, and needed nothing but fair play to develop Ireland into a rival of England. It needed only justice and a continuance of political quiet to make an end of Ireland's misery. The Catholics would have forgotten foreign affiliations, and the two factions would have lost the remembrance of sectional differences in their daily intercourse of common occupation.

THE REVOLUTION HAD OPENED A BREACH

between the two creeds, and the manner in which it was dealt with made the wound incurable. The English Parliament insisted that the land confiscated after the revolution should be sold, and its proceeds applied to pay the expenses of the war. If this had been done, there would have been none of the excuses afterward alleged for interfering with Irish trade. Industrial prosperity would have gone on unchecked.

But the prospect was blighted, and an opportunity destroyed that could never return. By the Articles of Limerick and Galway, the Catholics were promised the toleration which they enjoyed under Charles. More than half of the aristocracy connected with the rebellion were allowed to retain their estates, and the estates declared forfeited, instead of being sold, were given to King William's favorites, and from this source the English were debarred from defraying the cost of the war. The English Parliament was irritated at this conduct on the part of the King, and much time was spent in recriminations.

But the question which occupied the public mind was, who should be King if King William should die—and Anne. England had had enough of the Stuarts, and decided for the House of Hanover. The Irish Catholics declared very naturally for

THE PRETENDER.

The Catholic priests and bishops taught their people that the Stuarts were their lawful sovereigns, and the Irish Protestants insisted that persons teaching such disloyal doctrine should be driven from the country. The Stuart sentiment was not confined to the Catholics, but prevailed among the prelates and clergy of the Established Church. The disloyal feeling among many of the Irish peers and prelates was brought prominently into notice by a circumstance. An attempt had been made upon the life of the king, and the English Parliament passed a severe act for the punishment of offences against King William's person. This act was sent over to Ireland to be repassed by the Irish Parliament, but the Irish peers were rash enough to throw it out. This action of theirs came at a peculiarly ill time. There was a faction in England ready to take advantage of the indignation occasioned by what was called Ireland's ingratitude. The woollen weaving industry was so prosperous in Ireland that the English manufacturers trembled for their supremacy. They then thought of Ireland as a colony. You know how England handled her colonies in the last century. [Applause.] The English manufacturers petitioned for the passage of a law placing such restrictions on Ireland's trade as would destroy that trade forever. The English Parliament, in a sort of desperation, thought that its only chance to keep Ireland in subjection was to keep Ireland poor and helpless, and at one sweep they overwhelmed her woollen trade, and

CUT OFF AT A SINGLE BLOW

half the business of her unhappy people. Twenty thousand Protestant workmen left Ireland and came to this country or returned to the places whence they had come. Many more followed, but the destruction of the woollen trade was not the only cause of their departure. The Episcopal Church had obtained the passage of an act providing that no person should preach unless he had been ordained by a bishop. In Ireland there was no toleration as in England, and the bishops—I believe bishops have produced more mischief in this world than any class of people ever invented—undertook to have the act enforced. The Nonconformists had been faithful to King William all through the early and dreary days of the revolution. They had defended Derry, and had aided in the ultimate triumph of the royal arms, and this was their reward. And fresh ship loads bade the bishops a definite farewell, and took to the plantations to assist in dismembering the British empire.

It was said that the Catholic priests were teaching disloyalty, and an act was passed for the expulsion of the Irish bishops and clergy. The priests were allowed to remain and say mass as long as they should live, provided they took the oath of allegiance. No priests were to be ordained in place of those dying, and none were to come from foreign parts into the country. The prelates of the Establishment flattered themselves that in spite of the Articles of Limerick

THE CATHOLIC RELIGION WOULD DIE

a natural death in Ireland. In a community of trade and prosperity such measures might have succeeded. In Ireland the act was fulminated only to be ridiculed. The Catholic bishops could not be discovered, and the Irish judges and magistrates received private instructions that the laws passed were not to be enforced. The Irish Protestant Parliament felt that no such measure could be enforced, and at its wit's ends and in despair it petitioned for its own dissolution. A commission had been appointed to consider the terms of an act of union, and the Irish Parliament laid itself and its fortunes at the feet of England.

I suppose that in the history of any country no such act can be found as the refusal of Ireland's request in 1704. But England had fallen under an influence which has had too much weight in swaying her policy—the influence of money—of capitalists and manufacturers, traders who never look beyond their ledger, and whose political foresight looks no further than the balance sheet of the succeeding year. To admit Ireland to union would have been to admit Ireland to free trade, and there they saw ruin staring them in the face.

IRELAND WAS DOWN,

and so should remain. England refused, and the Irish Parliament was left to find some other means of self-protection. What this Irish Parliament should have done was to have made Protestantism into a reality by giving the Nonconformists the same rights and privileges as enjoyed by the members of the Established Church. But this would not suit the bishops. The grand purpose of the bishops in the last century was to keep dissenters down and overthrow the Catholics. Another act was therefore passed that could not be enforced. This act was entitled "To prevent the further growth of Popery." An act had just been passed in England to prevent Catholics from purchasing land and from settling on English soil. It must have been made after the example of Louis of France, when he recalled the edict of Nantes. It was provided further that no Catholic should be able to purchase an estate from a Protestant, or should take a lease upon any farm or land for more than thirty-one years, and that no Catholic should sit in Parliament, take office under the Crown, or be admitted to any of the learned professions.

Now what was the effect of this act? The effect was to root out all moral principle from the middle and upper classes. Worthless children pretended to be converted in order to make themselves independent of their parents; gentlemen affected conversion, that they might be sheriffs and magistrates, or be able to buy a piece of land, or hold a lease. Lawyers qualified themselves in the same way to be admitted to the bar or the bench.

THEY CALLED THEMSELVES PROTESTANTS.

They were in fact of no creed at all. Being in truth Catholics, they were condemned by their own consciences, and became reckless desperadoes. Ireland was filled from end to end by men who were perjured to the lips to save their position in society. The law, however, was even-handed in its iniquity. It was ruled in addition, in the same act, that no one was a Protestant in the eye of the law, who was not a member of the Established Church. Nonconformists had hitherto no legally recognized existence. They had no toleration; they were liable to punishment; but they were subject as dissenters to no special disabilities. A clause in the act against Popery acknowledged their presence, but acknowledged it only to place them in almost the same position as the Catholics. No one was to be admitted to serve his country in any capacity, military or civil, above the rank of a petty constable, until he had received the Sacrament from an ordained clergyman. The Protestant community was formally cut in two, and the most energetic section of it was ostracised.

One more touch had still to be added to the picture of the condition to which the English and Irish Legislatures, between them, had reduced the miserable country. The English cloth manufacturers possessed at this time the monopoly of the European markets. The Irish rivalry was no longer to be dreaded, for the Irish weaving industry was at an end, but the cupidity of the English was still insufficiently protected. The advantage of England over the rest of the world lay in the

QUALITY OF ITS WOOL,

and Irish wool was as good or better. So excellent was it that if a pack of Irish wool was mixed with three packs of French wool, the French weavers could then compete successfully with the English. The Irish wool must be secured therefore at all hazards to the English manufacturers, and secured on easy terms too. [Laughter.] The English Parliament, at the instigation of the manufacturers, passed an act that not a fleece of Irish wool should be exported to any other country except England. All the Irish wool was to go to England, and England herself was to fix the price which she thought it reasonable to pay for it [laughter]—sixpence a pound, or thereabouts. The French at the same time were willing to give three shillings a pound, and the Government was wise enough to imagine that, with this enormous temptation, it could prevent smuggling. [Laughter.]

There is no country in the world so favorable for smuggling as Ireland. The coast all around is indented by dangerous bays, approachable only by native boatmen. The coast guard were laughed at and commanders were bribed. In revenge for the destruction of its trade all Ireland combined against the law. Catholic and Protestant, all classes of the people, jurymen, the judges on the bench, and even the officials of Dublin Castle itself, all went hand in hand to defeat English avarice and

PUNISH ENGLISH INJUSTICE.

Ingenuity could not have devised a system better suited to the lawless temperament of the Irish people, or better calculated to encourage such a temperament. This state of things continued for three-quarters of a century, and it forms the key to Irish history and Irish character as long as the commercial restrictions were maintained. It was accounted no sin to smuggle. A priest once consulted his Bishop as to what he should say about it. The Bishop said that as King George had no right to the crown he had certainly had no right to the customs duties. [Laughter.] On rather different grounds, but still as to the main facts, I entirely agree with the Bishop that he had no right to the customs duties. [Laughter.]

Just glance at Ireland then, as she stood at the accession of George I., and as she remained until her chains were broken by the revolt of the American colonies. A Viceroy resided in Dublin—some great English Earl or Duke; he came over to open Parliament, and he remained there only so long as Parliament was in session. Parliament met only on alternate years. For the greater part of the time, therefore, the country was governed by Lords and Justices, usually the Irish Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the Archbishop of Armagh, the Primate. In the Legislature the Church interest was sovereign. The Peers being almost entirely absentees, the Upper House was virtually the house of the Bishops of the Established Church. The members of the Establishment, though recruited by the pretended converts from Popery, amounted to no more than one-tenth of the whole population, yet the clergy had in their hands the ecclesiastical property of the entire kingdom. If, with these advantages it made no progress, the reason is not far to seek. The tithes, if properly distributed, would have supported a resident clergyman in every parish in the country; but clergymen who were related to some great magnate, or who were fortunate enough to have interest at the Castle of Dublin, held sometimes as many

AS SIXTEEN DIFFERENT BENEFICES.

They pocketed the money, the churches were allowed to fall to ruin, and the congregations, of course, became Catholics. The bishops were appointed by the Crown. Some of them were very excellent men. The name of Bishop Berkeley would alone redeem his order from discredit; but of the generality of those prelates I can but quote the account which is given by Dean Swift:

> No blame (Swift wrote on the occasion of some scandal) rests with the court for these appointments. Excellent moral men are always selected, but unfortunately it uniformly happens that as the worthy divines cross Hounslow heath on their way to Ireland to take possession of their Bishoprics, they are regularly robbed and murdered by the highwaymen, who seize their robes and patents and go to Ireland, and are consecrated Bishops in their stead. [Laughter.]

I myself found in Dublin Castle an application to the Viceroy from one of the bishops of the last century, who was going to London, for a separate ship to take his horses and servants and carriages from Dublin to Holyhead, and for leave to transport for his own personal, private, and immediate use 4,000 ounces of silver plate. [Laughter.]

IN THE WRECK OF THE IRISH TRADE

the linen manufacture escaped. Ulster was allowed to retain its staple industry, and with it a Presbyterian population. But while they worked on unflinchingly they did not fail to resent, to the bottom of their hearts, the injustice with which their religion was treated, and the disabilities under which they continued to labor. They were republican; they were disaffected to their Government; their nearest sympathies were with their kinsmen in New England. The rest of the country was left to the operation of the laws I have described, and by which and under which was formed the extraordinary race of modern Irishmen with which we are all familiar. Amidst anarchy and the paralysis of industry, Irish society had no longer attractions for men of wealth or intellect. The nobles and gentlemen lived in England or on the Continent. Their lands they let to large middlemen on easy terms. The English lord was far away; he asked no questions as long as the rent was paid; his Irish middleman, holding on a long lease perhaps twenty or thirty thousand acres, must be an idle gentleman too. Catholic born, he was obliged to call himself Protestant. He was as much Protestant as he was anything. His essential creed was the creed of his forefathers, that work was dishonorable; so he sublet his great holding to six or seven middlemen under him, and they must also be gentlemen, they must also hold work to be beneath their dignity, and so they must sublet theirs again. [Laughter.]

THERE WERE HALF A DOZEN OWNERS

or *quasi* owners, before you came to the poor drudge who was to work for all—the peasant, who had to furnish this long scale of privileged masters with materials for a life of idleness before he himself could touch a farthing for the food of himself and his children. All these so-called gentlemen were living beyond their means, eating and drinking—especially drinking [laughter]—duelling, hunting, horse-racing, borrowing money and mortgaging. If the peasant was industrious and improved his little bit of farm, the sharks were down upon him, raised his rent, or turned him adrift and let his holding at an improved rent to some one else. Under this accursed system the Irish people rather starved than lived during the whole of the last century; and then we quarrel with them for being reckless, improvident, and discontented! [Applause.]

Never in this world has any race of men been treated with such prolonged inhumanity as the Irish peasantry. [Applause.] First plundered violently by their chiefs, they were plundered afterward and more scandalously by forms of law. Except during the short interval that Puritanism was a living belief in the Scotch and English settlers, the dogs and horses that they kept for their amusement received far more justice from the Irish land and lease holders than the human beings by whose toil they were enabled to exist. [Applause.]

THE PRIME FAULT

rests with England. [Applause.] The English, for their own purposes, had taken possession of Ireland, and had made themselves responsible for the government of it. As they had to answer to the great tribunal of nature, they were bound to have governed it with justice. But if England was primarily answerable, the Irish middlemen must bear their share of the blame. The fault of England was neglect. The practical pressure was laid by men of Irish blood and race. The English agent would have left the peasant in rags: the Irish middle-man took his skin and his flesh and left him in his bones. (Laughter and applause.) The curse of the country was too much liberty—not liberty to the poor but liberty to the rich, and the strong to do what they would with their own. Now and then in the letters of a Viceroy one does find a cry of indignation. Lord Donegal once, wanting money to pay his debts, demanded enormous fines of his tenants, and evicted half a county in enforcing them, making six thousand families homeless. The Viceroy, judging by what he said about it privately, would have been extremely glad had he been able to have

HANGED LORD DONEGAL

on a gallows sixty feet high, a spectacle to all his brother noblemen; but the law, unfortunately, no longer provided means for promoting noble lords in such emphatic style. [Laughter.] Lord Donegal got his money, and the six thousand families, all Protestants, came to New England. [Applause.]

I will mention a few more specimens of the condition of Irish society in the last century. Ordinary assassination was too common to deserve notice. Every Protestant farmer, every outlying Protestant gentleman, kept his household armed. He had only himself and his servants to depend upon to protect his life. Half the County Kerry, the county that I know best, was ruled for many years by Mr. Daniel Mahoney and his "faries." He was head tenant of Lord Shelburne who lived in England. He was a sort of smuggler prince, and his "fairies" were four thousand peasants in white sheets and with blackened faces, whose business was to see that no policeman, revenue officer, tax collector, or undesirable visitor should set his foot within the precincts of the Killarney Country. [Laughter.] Daniel Mahoney's daughter married the O'Donoghoe. His will is at the old place yet. He bequeathed his "best blue velvet breeches to my daughter O'Donohoe, as the man in Kerry best fitted to wear them." [Laughter.]

WARS WERE NOW ENDED,

but faction fights had taken their place. The black thorn had superseded the battleaxe; but it had this advantage, that the combatants might be "murdered entirely," and, like the guests of Wahalla, go to battle fresh again next morning. Combats between the gentry were equally common, but these retained their deadly character. Duelling became so frequent that it was proposed at last to make the survivor pay for the support of the family of the man that he had killed. Whenever an English nobleman came over as Secretary of State from England to Ireland he had to be proved in the same way that we prove rifles, and guns—by standing fire. Sir John Blaquiere was sent over shortly after the middle of the last century to be Secretary of State under Lord Harcourt. An opposition member, a Mr. Bagnal, picked a quarrel with him at the end of a week for some unknown reason. Sir John Blaquiere believed that if he did not fight he might as well leave the country. So he accepted Mr. Bagnal's challenge, and they met at the usual fighting ground in the Phœnix Park. A gentleman who was just then riding in the park, saw that something was going on, and rode over to witness the duel. This is the description he gives of it:

Blaquiere first fired in the air, and Mr. Bagnal then took deliberate aim at him.

THE PISTOL MISSED FIRE.

He cocked it again, and again it missed fire. It was the days when they had flints in their pistols. Blaquiere then bowed and said, "There appears to be something the matter with your flint, sir. You had better touch it with the edge of your knife." He did so, and took deliberate aim again, and again the pistol missed fire. Sir John Blaquiere then said, "I think, sir, you had better change your flirt." Another flint was put in the pistol, and then Mr. Bagnal had better fortune. The pistol went off, and the ball passed through Sir John Blaquiere's hat. The seconds loaded again, and this time Mr. Bagnal fired first. He again missed. Sir John Blaquiere was going to fire in the air again when Mr. Bagnal took off his hat, bowed, and insisted that Sir John must shoot at him. The latter said he saw no reason why he should shoot at him, that he had had no quarrel with him, and would not hurt him for the world. Mr. Bagnal replied that it could not be; that he must fire at him, treat him like a gentleman, otherwise it would be a second affront, and they would have to fight again. But finally they shook hands over the matter, and Sir John Blaquiere was after that the most popular Secretary of State that ever held office in Ireland. [Laughter and applause.]

Where, it may be asked, was the Irish Parliament all this time? It was discussing the condition of the country. But the Irish Parliament was managed, too. How it was managed a few words will tell. Half the revenues of Ireland were settled permanently on the Crown, and the Crown claimed the disposition of them without being responsible to the House of Commons. Out of this fund in the early part of this century when political matters were more quiet, were provided pensions for the mistresses of the first Georges.

AS THE IRISH PARLIAMENT

grew more troublesome the money was applied less scandalously but more mischievously to the purposes of political corruption. When a peer or a commoner brought up the question of the injury done to Irish trade, and obtained a hearing in either House, the Viceroy would send a message to him, and intimate to him that if he would hold his tongue he might name his conditions. The most distinguished champions of Irish rights were rarely inaccessible to influences of this kind, and the country was made to provide out of its own resources the means of corrupting its natural defenders. Many pretended patriots discovered that there was no road to wealth and promotion so sure as an affectation of patriotism. I do not mean to say that there were no good and honest men at that time in Ireland and the Irish Parliament. The Bishops and clergy were actively engaged in building churches and school houses, while the people were making roads and canals, draining bogs and working farms; but among the most loud-mouthed patriots the Viceroy found the most malleable material.

Miserable Ireland! betrayed by her own champions that a trusting nation had raised to power only that they might laugh at her in their sleeves, and fill their purses out of her credulity! But it is said that things of this sort go on in most countries where there are popular governments, that corruption, more or less of it, is a necessary condition for the working of free constitutions. If that be so, then have the destinies pronounced sentence against free constitutions. Either liberty must cast out corruption or corruption will destroy liberty.

Here there was a perfect storm of applause, amid which Mr. Froude retired from the platform.

East River Pirates Under Fire—One of them Supposed to be Wounded.

The canal boat R. F. Silliman, lying at the foot of North Eighth street, Williamsburgh, was boarded by thieves about 1 o'clock yesterday morning, who forced open the forward hold and stole a quantity of new rope valued at upward of $200. The noise awoke the captain, James McComb, who hastily dressed himself. When he reached the deck he saw two men in a small boat rowing away in the direction of New York. The captain took the ferry to Houston street and told Officer Ginley of the Union Market police station. This officer procured the assistance of Officer Mcbride, and together they went to the dumping wharf foot of Rivington street. They were not long there until a boat rowed by two men approached and landed their cargo on board of the canal boat John Clark Curtin, which was lying alongside. The officers sprang from their place of concealment and ran down the wharf, but the rascals seeing them coming rowed off. Although the officers fired four shots at them, they kept on their way across the river. It is thought that one of the men in the boat was hit, as he screamed out after the firing that he was shot. The officers found all the rope that had been stolen from the R. F. Silliman, and then arrested the captain of the John Clark Curtin as an accomplice of the thieves.

Prairie Fires in Nebraska—Many Houses and Barns Destroyed.

OMAHA, Oct. 21.—The weather has been extremely dry in this vicinity of late, and prairie fires have been unusually frequent and destructive. The country within an area of thirty miles from this city has been mostly burned over, and enormous quantities of hay and grain destroyed, besides many houses, barns, and fences. Yesterday a prairie fire started about two miles north of the city, destroying most of the fences, sheds, and buildings at the race track and fair grounds. The soldiers at the barracks here were out all last night and to-day fighting the flames to prevent the destruction of the barracks, and have succeeded in checking the flames in that quarter.

The Granite State Ablaze for Greeley.

MANCHESTER, Oct. 21.—The campaign was fairly opened in this city to-night by a large and brilliant torchlight procession. From noon until nightfall vehicles of every description came into the city from all directions, bringing the hardy sons of the Granite State, with their white hats and capes, to take part in the display in honor of the Farmer of Chappaqua. At 9 o'clock the procession began to move from the depot square in command of Col. C. W. Piper, amid the booming of cannon. The first in line was the Manchester Woodchoppers, led by the City Band with transparencies and torchlights, followed by over 200 from the locomotive works, and a large delegation from Franklin and Concord. The Concord Woodchoppers, over 300 strong, created quite a sensation. They had two men dressed in State prison uniform and chained together, one carrying a transparency with "Yerkes" upon it, the other one "Mercer." Between them a large transparency bearing the inscription, "Pardoned out to vote for Grant." Among other mottoes were "Anything to beat thieves" and "New Hampshire five thousand sure for Horace Greeley." From Nashua was a delegation of over 100 soldiers who served under Grant, with a transparency bearing the mottoe, "Veterans of 1861, '62, '63, '64." Over 500 men from Portsmouth, led by the Portsmouth Navy Yard Band, were also in line. Upon actual estimate, over 5,000 torches were in the procession, and the display is conceded to have been the best ever witnessed in Manchester.

THE PATAPSCO REGATTA.

Exciting Race Between the New York Rowing Club and the Ariel Club of Baltimore—The New Yorkers Victorious.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 21.—The regatta this afternoon on the Patapsco River was witnessed by fully 4,000 persons, the majority of whom were ladies. The first race was between the New York Rowing Club and a crew of the Ariel Club of this city. The starting point was a flag stake a short distance below Fort McHenry and the course down the river one mile and a half to a stake boat and return, making the distance three miles. The crew of the New York boat, the Kerosene, were: F. L. Leland, bow; W. H. Calhoun, No. 2; Frank Ellison, No. 3; and O. F. Johnston, stroke oar. The average weight of the New York crew was 157 lbs. The crew of the Baltimore boat, the Debutante, were: William Gillmore, bow; E. N. Greenwe[illegible], No. 2; Walter Negley, No. 3; and J. H. C. Watts, stroke; and the average weight 146 pounds. Both shells were new, being recently built for this race by Elliott, of Greenpoint, L. I.

The boats started at 4 o'clock, the New York crew pulling 40 and the Ariel 39 strokes. For the first half mile the boats pulled nearly abreast, when the seat of the stroke oar of the Ariel boat slipped, by which accident the crew lost three strokes, and the Kerosene shot ahead. The Ariel crew soon regained their stroke, spurted ahead, and passed slightly in advance of the New Yorkers. From this point to the turning stake the race was most exciting, the boats keeping well together. Both boats turned about the same time, and the race home was hotly contested, the New York boat reaching the starting point four lengths in advance of the Ariel crew. Time, 17 minutes 14 seconds. The Ariel's time was 18 minutes. The race was for a set of colors, a flag with the coat-of-arms of Maryland, and a silk burgee, to bear the name of the winning boat with the date of the race. In the betting the New York crew was the favorite.

The second race was between three Baltimore Clubs, the Undine, L'Hirondelle, and crew No. 2 of the Ariel, in six-oared, out-rigged gigs, over a two-mile course, one mile to stake and return. The race was won by the Undine Club. Time, 15 minutes, 37 seconds; Ariel second, and L'Hirondelle, which was the favorite before the race, third. One of their out-riggers was broken.

A WEST SIDE TRAGEDY.

The Attempt of the Police to Drive off the Itinerant Venders in Eighth Avenue—A Policeman Beaten, Perhaps Fatally.

On Saturday nights Eighth avenue, near Forty-second street, becomes a market filled with scores of itinerant venders, who wish to dispose of their overripe fruit and vegetables and bad smelling ham, fresh meat, clams, fish, and oysters, which it would be impossible to keep over Sunday. They sell nothing fit for food, and their prices are much lower than those at which respectable dealers can sell good articles.

They all live in the neighborhood known as the stamping ground of the "Forty Thieves," and their lawlessness is a great annoyance to the residents of the neighborhood. The next morning the streets where they have been are filled with decaying cabbage leaves, unsalable vegetables, scraps of meat and bones, fish entrails and oyster shells, which load the air with pestilential odors throughout the day.

Complaints were made to Capt. McElwain, of the Thirty-seventh street Police Station, and he resolved to break up the business. On Saturday night he detailed several men from the reserve, and they, under command of Roundsman John Clark, cleared the street with some difficulty, despite the threats of the venders. After reporting at the police station, the roundsman started out on his rounds. At Fortieth street and Eleventh avenue he saw a fight between two men, the smaller of whom seemed to be receiving very rough treatment. He took the largest man off from the other and separated them. The two combatants add a bystander assaulted the officer and with his own club beat him so severely that his life was despaired of.

Officer Mulligan, on post in Fortieth street, drove the men away from the roundsman, and took him to the Police Station. After having his wounds dressed he was taken home. A few minutes before the roundsman was due at Eleventh avenue and Fortieth street, a vender's wagon containing three men was driven rapidly through Fortieth street. One of the men was heard to say, "I wish that Captain was in H—l," and another rejoined "I'd like to kill that —— of a roundsman."

Capt. McElwain says that these men probably belong to the gang, and that his theory of the assault is that these men shammed a fight so as to get the roundsmen near enough and give them a chance to hit him.

As soon as the roundsman had been made comfortable, the Captain, Sergeant Coombs, and six good men in civilians' dress sallied out to find the assailants. In Eleventh avenue, near Forty-second street, they caught several of the gang, and gave them in charge of uniformed officers to be taken to the police station. As they were walking off more of the gang arrived, and thinking that the officers not in uniform were with them, and that they were the stronger crowd, attempted to rescue them; but they found more policemen around them than they had supposed, and more of them were taken in.

In all there were nine arrested. Of these Hugh McVey, William Young, and James Corrigan were held in default of bail, and the others discharged. Young and Corrigan were yesterday identified by Roundsman Clark as the ones who were fighting. McVey was held on charge of attempting to rescue a prisoner.

Last night Roundsman Clark was slightly improved, although still in great danger.

LOCAL NOMINATIONS.

Bringing to Light the Names of the Men who are Really to Run.

Last evening, in the Sixth District, Thirteenth Ward, the National Democracy nominated for the Assembly John C. Rapp.

The Apollo Hall Assistant Aldermanic Convention nominated Daniel F. Crowley for Assistant Alderman.

The Seventh Assembly District Grant Republican Convention nominated George W. Clarke for the Assembly and Thomas E. Cornell for Assistant Alderman.

The Independent German General Committee nominated Judge Leonard for the Supreme Court, Judge Spencer for Superior Court, and William F. Havemeyer for Mayor.

The Tenth Assembly District Convention nominated James M. Paterson for the Assembly.

The Apollo Hall of the Democracy of the Seventh Congressional District nominated Thomas J. Creamer.

The James O'Brien Young Men's Association nominated James O'Brien for Mayor, Nicholas Muller for the Assembly from the First District, Alderman Fitzgerald and Thomas Foley for Assistant Aldermen.

The Ninth Assembly District Tammany and Liberal Republican Convention nominated William H. Dorgan for Assembly.

The Tammany Convention nominated Charles Blumenthal for the Assembly from the Fifteenth District.

The Grant Republican Assistant Aldermanic Conventions nominated G. F. Coddington from the Ninth District, W. S. Karits from the Eleventh, W. P. Simpson from the Fifteenth, Stephen Simonson from the Seventeenth, William Wade from the Thirteenth, Frederick H. Mann from the Eighteenth, and Benjamin Bayer for the Twenty-first District.

The Grant Republican Assembly Conventions nominated for the Assembly E. A. Willoughby from the Third, Austin Leake for the Fifth, George W. Clarke for the Seventh, Solon B. Smith for the Eighth, Stephen Pell for the Ninth, Jacob M. Patterson for the Tenth, Alonzo B. Cornell for the Eleventh, Frederick W. Hahn for the Twelfth, Charles Blackel for the Thirteenth, Robert B. Boyd for the Fourteenth, Capt. C. I. Farley for the Fifteenth, Charles A. Flammer for the Seventeenth, Bernard Biglin for the Eighteenth, William D. Opdyke for the Twentieth, and William Haw, Jr., for the Twenty-first Assembly District.

The Tammany Hall convention of the Seventeenth District nominated Charles Feitner for Assistant Alderman. The "Friends of Apollo Hall" nominated Dr. Alexander Hugart for Coroner. The Apollo Hall convention of the Fifteenth District nominated Andrew J. Caffrey for the Assembly. The Grant Republican Assembly convention nominated Mr. Weiss for Assembly and Mr. Simpson for Assistant Alderman. The Twentieth District Liberal Republicans nominated John D. Coughlin for the Assembly.

The Committee of Seventy last evening approved the nominations of the Hon. William F. Havemeyer for Mayor, Noah Davis for Judge of the Supreme Court, and Hosper C. Van Voorst for Judge of the Superior Court. Other endorsements were deferred to Friday night next.

Kings County Liberal Nominations.

Last night the Democrats and Liberals of Kings county nominated for the Assembly: Fourth District, Jarvis Whitman; Fifth District, Henry W. Slocum; Eighth District, Archibald M. Bliss, Ninth District, John C. Jacobs.

Yesterday afternoon the Democrats of the Fourth Congressional District held their convention in Nelson's Hotel, Flatbush. The district comprises the county towns and all the wards in Williamsburgh, except the Thirteenth and Nineteenth, and has heretofore given a large Democratic majority. The Hon. Stephen J. Colahan of the Nineteenth Ward was unanimously nominated. Mr. Colahan is Clerk of the City Court, and was a delegate to the Baltimore Convention.

Fifty Horses Burned to Death.

CHICAGO, Oct. 21.—A fire broke out at 7:30 this evening in a large barn belonging to the West Side Omnibus Company, on West Madison street, and spreading with incredible rapidity, soon destroyed the entire structure and contents.

Fifty horses were burned to death. The fire extended to an adjoining building, three story frame, the lower stories occupied by a market and stores, and the upper floors as residences, which was also entirely destroyed, the occupants saving a portion of their furniture.

The entire loss is estimated at $50,000; insurance, $5,000 in the Home of New York, $2,000 each in the Citizens' and Howard of New York, and $2,000 in the Amazon of Cincinnati. Eight or ten barns and stables in the rear were also burned. Loss small.

Justice Buckley's Successor.

Yesterday the Common Council of Brooklyn appointed William M. Maben Justice of the Second District Court—the late Justice Buckley's—for the unexpired term until May, 1873.

THE PRESIDENT'S PALACE.

THE PROGRESSIVE EXPENDITURES OF THE ESTABLISHMENT.

One Million Dollars Disbursed Since the Beginning of the Century—$323,834 of it Credited to Grant's Four Years.

From the Cincinnati Commercial.

When it was first proposed to build a house as an official residence for the President of the United States, republican simplicity was in some quarters deeply shocked. It was declared to be only an aping of the aristocratic fashions of the Old World, with their palaces for the royal family, built, and decorated, and maintained at the expense of the laboring masses of the people. The corner-stone of the President's house was laid at Washington on the 13th of October, 1792, while George Washington was President of the United States. It was long in building, and when Congress removed from Philadelphia to Washington, in 1800, the White House was in a highly unfinished state, as the letters of Mrs. John Adams, its first occupant, abundantly show. The jealousy of the "Red Republicans" of those days about any attempt to support the rank and station of the President at the expense of the public is well shown in the following extract from a book by Tom Callender, Jefferson's friend and *protégé*, written in 1798:

> As for the palace of the President, the plan must have originated with somebody who wanted to set up a political idol. A President is the very last man in the community for whom the public ought to build a house, because he has a salary five times larger than that of any other public officer in the Union, and hence can afford better than any other public officer to pay the rent of his house.

But the argument in favor of providing the Chief Magistrate with an official residence at the public expense prevailed, and to this day the sole officer of our Government who enjoys the advantage of a house free of rent is the President. The heads of departments, with their comparatively small salaries of $8,000 a year, are compelled to pay the entire expenses of maintaining their households in Washington, while the President, with $25,000 a year, has also his mansion, periodically refurnished with elegance, and his five secretaries, his steward, and messenger, and doorkeepers, and watchmen, and policemen, all paid for out of the public purse.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

The White House, indeed, is not a success in an architectural point of view. It is badly planned and badly executed, especially in the interior, and it is a pity that the British when they burned the first White House in 1814 had not also destroyed the plans of the architect, who rebuilt it after the same old designs. The house is constructed of Virginia freestone, which is not white, but a dirty brown, and extremely porous, so that it has to be kept constantly covered with a thick coat of white paint, whence, indeed, it derives its name. Even with this the house is excessively damp at certain seasons, with a chronic tendency to mouldiness. It is located, as most readers are aware, in the west end of Washington, a mile and a quarter from the Capitol, and occupies the front of a plat of ground forty acres in extent, which stretches down to the Potomac in the rear of the mansion. The building has a front of one hundred and seventy feet, and is eighty-six feet in depth. The lofty portico in front displays four Ionic columns. The East Room (or grand drawing-room of the White House) is a fine apartment, eighty by forty feet, with a ceiling of twenty-two feet, and richly furnished, as are also the smaller apartments on the first floor, known as the Red, Blue, and Green Rooms, familiar to the people of the republic as the reception rooms at Presidential levees. The President's office is very inappropriately and inconveniently located on the second floor. The entire mansion contains barely twenty rooms. An extensive conservatory has been recently built as an adjunct to the White House, replacing an old and much inferior one, partially destroyed during the war.

A COSTLY LUXURY.

What the Executive Mansion itself has cost architecturally is not accurately known, since the appropriations, both for the original edifice and for rebuilding the mansion after its interior was burned in 1814, are "lumped" with the general expenses of construction of the Capitol and other public buildings of Washington. The cost of the edifice, however, was not far from $500,000, including the first and second erection.

The repairs and refurnishing of the White House, up to the beginning of Monroe's administration in 1817, had cost the very considerable sum of $91,500. The grants of money by Congress for refurnishing the Presidential Mansion have been regularly made every four years since 1805, corresponding with the Presidential terms, with the exception of the commencement of Mr. Monroe's second term in 1821, when no appropriation was made. The sums granted have been variable, running all the way from $6,000 to $50,000. In Jackson's time there were two grants, one of $14,000 and one of $15,000, for refurnishing the White House. In Van Buren's first year the rather extravagant sum (for those days) of $20,000 was voted. Nor was this all. Appropriations were made those times for repairs and other expenses in the four years of Van Buren's term, swelling the total expense of the White House to $39,245 for that administration—an unprecedented sum. And when to this was added the discovery by one Ogle of the terrible gold spoons in the Presidential china closet (though the spoons were afterward found to be merely plated or gold-washed), the popular odium against Van Buren and his extravagant administration was aroused to a high pitch.

The Whigs came in with a rush on the "Gold Spoon" and Log-Cabin furor, and were attacked with a severe fit of economy. Under the influence of this, only $6,000 was voted to refurnish the White House under Gen. Harrison, which was increased to $14,000 under Polk. The difference in point of expenditure between the administrations of Harrison and Tyler, and those of Van Buren and Polk is well illustrated in the $18,000 of total expenditure on the White House in the four years of the former, against $39,000 and $35,000 under each of the latter.

THE ITEMS UNDER EACH ADMINISTRATION.

The following table shows the progressive expenditure in keeping up the establishment of the President from the beginning of the century to the present year. The items included under each administration are what has been appropriated for furniture, repairs, fuel, attendants, Presidential grounds and greenhouse, fences, stable, and contingent expenses. It does not include, under any administration, the appropriations for the President's secretaries or clerical service of any kind.

Administrations.	*Expended on White House.*
John Adams, 1797—1800	$14,000
Jefferson, 1801—1808	14,000
Madison, 1809—1816	43,000
Monroe, 1817—1824	25,239
J. Q. Adams, 1825—1828	30,900
Jackson, 1829—1836	71,160
Van Buren, 1837—1840	39,245
Harrison and Tyler, 1841—1844	18,689
Polk, 1845—1848	35,038
Taylor and Fillmore, 1849—1852	87,265
Pierce, 1853—1856	100,033
Buchanan, 1857—1860	94,900
Lincoln, 1861—1864	108,753
Johnson, 1865—1868	184,590
Grant, 1869—1872	323,834
Total	$1,140,576

It will be seen that of this million of dollars, in round numbers, more than one-half, or $617,107, has been expended during the last eleven years.

A SCANDAL HUSHED UP.

There was a great outcry and some scandal during Mr. Lincoln's administration at the necessity of appropriating a considerable sum beyond the estimates to make good a deficiency in the furnishing and repairs of the White House. And when Mr. Johnson came in there was another scandal, hushed up at the time, but strongly animadverted upon by Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, who was Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, about the stripping of the White House after Mr. Lincoln's decease by an unfaithful steward, or the pillaging of unwatched servants, or something of the kind. It was this that led to the heavy appropriations for refurnishing of $30,000 in 1865, supplemented by $35,500 for furniture and repairs in 1866.

Of course the reader will make his own allowance for the extravagant rise in values and the cost of labor and commodities since the war. In the expense of the past four years we do not include the cost of the Presidential stable, stated by the architect at $27,025.15, for which no appropriation was made by Congress.

The Maryland Jockey Club Races.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 21.—The races of the Maryland Jockey Club over the Pimlico Course begin to-morrow, and promise to be of more than ordinary interest and unusually well attended. The entries for the hurdle race are Lochiel, Blind Tom, and Tammany, with Lochiel as the favorite by three to one over the others. For the Dixie Stakes—a dash of two miles—Joe Daniels, Woodbine, Experience, Oaks Mate, Silent Friend, True Blue, Wheatly, and a brother to Pilgrim will start, Joe Daniels being the favorite over all the others. The value of the stakes in this race is over $10,000. For the third race—mile heats—Tubman, Fadladeen, and Hanover will start, with Tubman as the favorite. Monarchist, Defender, and Flora McIvers start in the fourth race—a three-mile dash—Monarchist being the favorite.

The Bostons Beat the Mutuals.

The following is the result of the tournament game in Philadelphia yesterday between the Bostons and Mutuals:

INNINGS.	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.	7th.	8th.	
Boston	1	3	7	1	4	0	0	3	—[illegible]
Mutual	0	0	5	0	8	1	2	0	—[illegible]

Mr. Ed. James's Benefit.

Mr. Ed. James will have a grand testimonial in Harry Hill's Theatre on Thursday evening, to enable him to have an operation performed on his eye. In addition to the other attractions there will be a sparring match open to all light-weight pugilists, for a hunting-case watch.