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Master Degree in British Civilization

**William Ewart Gladstone's Commitment to the Irish Question
1868-1894**

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DEDICATION

To the dearest people to my heart,

To my parents, Yamina and Mhamed

To my husband and his family

To my sisters, Souhila and Bouchra

To my best friend kheira and her family

To my dearest friends, Sarah, khouira Nadia and all my classmates

I SAY : I LOVE YOU GREATLY

Thank You

Abstract

This work aims at studying the origins of the Irish question and the role of Gladstone in his first and second ministries . It aims at providing the necessary information to understand Gladstone's policy and his failure to achieve his goals in Ireland . It comprises three chapters .The first chapter , traces the origins of the Irish problem back to the Normans and the Tudor and Stuart plantations and to the Act of Union which united England and Ireland under the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland .The chapter also examines the Irish Question during the nineteenth century , from the tenants and landlords relationship to the established church of Ireland , and the disorder due to famine and the emergence of the Fenians , in addition to the coming of W. E . Gladstone to office in 1868 . The second chapter tries to explain Gladstone's policy to solve the Irish question during his first and second ministries .from Irish religion to Irish education and Irish politics . This is besides Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule policy in his third ministry. The third chapter examines the real failure of Gladstone's policy in Ireland.

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General Introduction

In this dissertation we will attempt to analyse the Irish problem, the objectives of Gladstone's policy in Ireland, and why he failed. These sections have been selected because first, they show the Irish question and the changes that occurred throughout its history. Second, they show how Gladstone's points of view and attitudes about Ireland changed as he grew older. He shifted from righting Ireland's wrongs, to a complete separation from Britain by Home Rule policy.

William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898), was a British statesman. In a career lasting over sixty years, he served as Liberal Prime Minister four times, more than any other person (1868-1874, 1880-1885, February-July 1886 and 1892-1894). His Christian faith held the extremes of his character in sufficient harmony to avoid disintegration and to produce one of the powerful political personalities in British history. He, thus, saw politics and political issues in terms of morals, and Irish affairs were no exception.

The purpose of my research is to show that Gladstone's policy can not be separated from his own beliefs in religion, liberty and justice. His views had certainly contributed to his involvement in Ireland.

The main questions we deal with in this dissertation are : what was Gladstone's policy? To what extent was Gladstone's policy different from other policies in Ireland? why did Gladstone's policy fail?

To answer these questions descriptive, argumentative approaches will be followed. Because of the nature of the subject; in this dissertation we will try to use the descriptive method, to show the main aspects of the policy and why it failed.

This dissertation begins with an introductory chapter that deals with the origins of the Irish problem that goes back to the first Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in 1169.

The impact of the Normans coupled with Tudors and Stuarts plantations and the heavy imbalance of advantage with disadvantage obtained by the Irish as a result of the Union of 1800 have left their mark upon Ireland, probably forever, and there may always be huge gaps in understanding how the Irish felt about British involvement in their country. The study also examines the Irish problem in the second half of the nineteenth century, to show the roots of the rivalry between Ireland and England, as

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well as the issues in which they struggled for a very long period of time (land, religion and politics). Without at least a short historical background, the reader may not really get a full understanding of Gladstone's policy and its relation with Ireland and the Irish history. Then, the chapter deals with the coming of W.E. Gladstone to office in 1868 to show how he sought to remove Irish grievances.

In the second chapter, we will explain Gladstone's reforms during his first and second ministries. Moreover, we will explain the effect of Gladstone's religious faith on the established church of Ireland. Then, we will deal with his impact on Irish education. In addition, this chapter is devoted to the Irish Land reform. As a final point, the chapter introduces Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule.

The third and last chapter develops a discussion about Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule and the difficulties he faced to persuade his colleagues in the party and his followers that his policy was the right policy. Then, the chapter will discuss the failure of Gladstone's policy in Ireland.

CHAPTER I : ORIGINS OF THE IRISH PROBLEM

Introduction

The Irish question is a phrase used to describe Irish nationalism and the calls for Irish independence .It is based on problems of land ownership,religion and politics between Ireland and Britain in the 19th century .It is traced back to the Normans when they first went to Ireland in the 12th century .The impact of the Normans coupled with Tudors and Stuarts plantations and the heavy imbalance of advantages with disadvantages obtained by the Irish as a result of the Act of Union of 1800 ,have left their mark ,Probably forever ,and there may always be huge gaps in understanding how the Irish felt about British involvement in their country .

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Chapter one : Origins of the Irish Question

Ireland was divided politically into various kingdoms .The first Norman knight landed in Ireland in 1167 .The normans brought with them the tradition of the common law ,based upon the personal ownership of property in contrast with life under Brehon law where ownership was vested in the extended family or clan .However,the new commers quickly adopted the Irish language,and it was said that ‘’ they were more Irish than the Irish themselves’’⁽¹⁾ .

The Normans are the first who started the political problem .They wanted to impose British rule over Ireland .Edward Poynings introduced the Poynings Laws which caused the Irish question .

1-1-Edward Poynings and the kildare Supremacy

Sir Edward Poynings was an english soldier administrator and diplomat, and Lord Deputy of Ireland under King Henry VII of England .

Meanwhile in Ireland, a Yorkist stronghold , the struggles between the Butlers and Geraldines had reduced royal authority to a shadow even within the English pale, and Geraldines and Lord Deputy ,are in treasonable relations with Warbeck .

Poynings landed at Howth on 13 October 1494 with a thousand men ,and Henry Deane ,bishop of Bangor , to act as chancellor ; Hugh Conway as treasurer ; and others to control the courts of king’s bench,common pleas ,and exchequer . Poynings’s first measure was an expedition into Ulster , in conjunction with Kildare, to punish O’Donnell,O’Hanlon,Magennis,and other chieftains who had abetted Warbeck’s first invasion of Ireland .

¹Curtis,Edmund, A History of Ireland : From earliest times to 1922, London,Routledge,2002 ,P.183

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His progress was stopped by the news that Kildare was plotting with O'Hanlon against his life. Some colour was given to the charge by the revolt of Kildare's brother James, who seized Carlow Castle, mounted the Geraldine banner, and refused to surrender when summoned in the king's name. Poyning abandoned the Ulster invasion, turned south, and with some difficulty reduced Carlow; he then proceeded to Drogheda and summoned a parliament.⁽¹⁾

It opened on 1 December 1494, and, after attainting Kildare, proceeded to pass for Poyning's numerous acts tending to make Irish administration directly dependent on the crown and privy council.

Judges and others were to hold office during pleasure, and not by patent as hitherto; the chief castles were to be put in English hands; it was made illegal to carry weapons or make private war without licence, and it was declared high treason to excite the Irish to take up arms. Further more the statutes of Kilkenny were passed in 1366, forbidding marriage or intercourse between the English colonists and the Irish, and the adoption by Englishmen of Irish laws, customs, or manners, were also re-enacted. Constitutionally, no parliament should be summoned in Ireland except under the great seal of England, or without notice to the English privy council, and that no acts of the Irish parliament should be valid unless previously submitted.⁽²⁾

Another act declared all recent laws in England to be force in Ireland (It was subsequently decided that this provision applied to all laws passed in England before 1494). These two measures, subsequently known as Poyning's laws or the statutes of Drogheda, rendered the Irish parliament completely subordinate to that of England.

A slight modification of them was introduced in Mary II's reign, and during the rebellion of 1641 Charles promised their repeal; but their principle was extended by a statute passed in 1719, empowering the English parliament to legislate for Ireland, and it was not until 1782 that they were repealed, and the Irish parliament once more became

¹Curtis, Edmund, op, cit, p, 48

²Paul F. State .A Brief History of Ireland. New York : Facts on File, 2009, p. 83

Independent .

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While this parliament was sitting ,Poynings made another expedition into Ulster, leaving a commission with his chancellor to continue,prorogue, or dissolve it as he thought fit .The Irish retreated, and the second expedition was even less successful than the first . Poynings now negotiated alliances with various septs, chiefly by money payments , and enforced on the inhabitants of the pale the duty of protecting its borders against Irish incursions . with the help of his under-treasurer, William Hatteclyffe, with whom he was connected by marriage , Poynings endeavoured to reform the finances ;but the opposition of subordinate officials largely impaired his success , and Warbeck's attack on Waterford in July 1495 interrupted the work . The lord deputy marched in person against Perkin, who blockaded Waterford with eleven ships , while Desmond ,with 2 400 men , attacked it on land . The towns held out for eleven days , and then ,on Poynings's approach,Warbeck fled to Scotland .⁽¹⁾

Poynings was recalled in January 1496.The Yorkists in Ireland had been dealt with ,but Henry was disappointed that Poynings ,through his system of subsidising Irish chiefs ,and the partial failure of his fiscal reforms , had been unable to make Ireland pay her own way ; and he now fell back on the cheaper method of governing by the help of the great Anglo-Irish families.Kildare ,who had regained favour , was once more appointed deputy , and the Geraldine supremacy lasted till 1534 .

The period 1494 -1495 marked the culmination of the home rule demand of the English in Ireland . Though interrupted by Poynings law in 1495 , it continued in effect till the fall of the house of Kildare .His power was already prepared by a number of marriages ,both with Gales and the English ,which it was his policy to continue and which built up for his office and sent Lord Grey from London to replace him as deputy . King Edward could not defeat Kildare because he had power on a network of family alliances .⁽²⁾

¹Curtis,Edmund ,op .cit,p.52

²Somerset Fry,Fiona and Peter , A History of Ireland, London : Routledge ,1991,P.176

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At last new tudor dynasty took decisive action in Ireland. Kildare was removed from power and on October 13th 1494, there arrived as deputy to Prince Henry a Viceroy Sir Edward Poynings . He was ready to crush the home rule party ; and restore the sovereignty of England . Poynings orders were to reduce the lordship of Ireland to whole and perfect Obediance to ensure that the Irish parliament should never act freely again against English policy .The famous Poynings law was passed which states that , « No parliament shall be held in Ireland till the lieutenant and council of Ireland shall first certify the king »⁽¹⁾.Under the great seal of such causes and acts as they seem should pass ; then the king and his council, after affirming such causes and acts to be good and expedient for the said land, should send his licence there upon , as well in the affirmation of the said causes and acts as to summon the said parliament in England that ; done a parliament shall be holden after the form and effect afore rehearsed, any parliament holden hereafter contrary to these forms to be void and of no effects.the citadel of power being thus recovered , The next step was to defend it against Irish and English enemies.This famous law was to have a curious and long history right up to 1783.⁽²⁾

As the political problem started with Poynings , the religious problem could be traced back to Oliver Cromwel's revolution and the passing of the penal laws.

1-2- Conquest and Rebellion

In 1641 , the Irish rebelled against the English and Scottish who seized their land and were immediately caught up in the English civil war between parliament and the king . In 1649,Oliver Cromwell landed at Dublin with an army of 12 .000 men .He was joined by the 8000 strong parlimentary army . He successfully laid seige to the town of Drogheda ,and on his orders the 2,699 men of the royalist garison were put to death . Townspeople were also slaughtered . Cromwell reported,« we put to the sword the whole number of inhabitants .I don't think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives. »⁽³⁾

¹Foster,R.F,Modern Ireland 1600-1972 , England : Allen Lane , 1988 ,P.98

²Paul F.State,op .cit,p.105

³Curtis, Edmund,OP.P .132

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Large scale confiscation of land followed . The owners were driven off eleven million , acres of land and it was given to the protestant colonists . « Irish landowners found east of the river Shannon after 1 may 1654 faced the death penalty or slavery in the West Indies and Barbados. »⁽¹⁾ The expression to hell or to connaught originated at this time : ‘‘those who did not leave their fertile fields and travel to the poor land west of the Shannon would be put to the sword . ’’⁽²⁾

1-3- Wars and Penal Laws

The introduction of the penal laws in Ireland would have a serious impact on Irish society and dive Ireland into deeper poverty for years to come .

Penal laws were passed against Roman Catholics in Britain and Ireland after the Reformation that penalized the practice of the Roman Catholic religion and imposed civil disabilities on Catholics .

The first Penal laws were introduced by the native Irish which ordered that no Catholic could have a gun ,Pistol ,or sword⁽³⁾ . Over the next thirty years ,the other Penal laws followed : Irish Catholics were forbidden to receive an education , enter a profession ,Vote ,hold public office , practise their religion, attend catholic worship ,engage in trade or commerce ,or inherit land from a Protestant . Rent land worth more than thirty shillings a year , or own a horse of greater value than five pounds .

Edmund Burke , an Irish born Protestant who became a member of parliament , described the penal laws as

‘‘ A machine of wise and elaborate contrivance as well fitted for the oppression , improverishment and degradation of people and the debasement in them of human nature it self , ever proceeded the perverted ingenuity of man . ’’⁽⁴⁾

¹Curtis, Edmund,OP.Cit,P 133

²Forster , R.F,OP.Cit,P .102

³Ellis,Peter Berresford , Eye Witness to history , Hoboken , NJ : Wiley,2004,P.129

⁴Ellis , Peter Berresford, OP,Cit, P.130

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Initially , the dual monarchs of England and Ireland were cautious about applying the Penal laws to Ireland because they needed the support of the Catholic upper classes to put down the Gaelic Irish rebellion in the nine years war (1594-1603) . In addition , a significant section of the catholic aristocracy was old English who had traditionally been loyal to English rule in Ireland .

However ,the ascent of James VI of Scotland to both the English and Irish thrones as James I in 1603 and the eventual victory in the nine years war saw a series of coercive new laws put into force . In 1605 the Gunpowder Plot was planned by a group of English Catholics , who were disappointed in their hopes that James would relieve laws against Catholics . This provided a further impetus and justification for restrictive laws on Catholics in Ireland , Scotland and England .⁽¹⁾

From 1607 , Catholics were barred from holding public office or serving in the army . This meant that the Irish Privy council and the lords Justice who , along with the lord deputy of Ireland ,constituted the government of the country , would in future be Anglicans . In 1613 , the constituencies of the Irish House of Commons were altered to give plantations settlers a majority .Catholics also in all three kingdoms had to pay ‘ recusant ‘fines for non-attendance at Anglican services . Catholic churches were transferred to the Anglican church of Ireland .

In 1634 the issue of the ' Graces ‘arose ; generous taxation for Charles I (whose Queen Henrietta Maria was Catholic) was voted by Irish Catholic landlords on the understanding that the laws would be reformed , but once the tax was voted Charles ‘Viceroy refused two of the 51 Graces ,and subsequent bills were blocked by the Catholic majority in the Irish House of Lords .

Catholic resentment was a factor support that was eventually put down in the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland in 1649-1653 . After the Act of settlement in 1652 ,Catholics were barred from membership in the Irish Parliament and the major landholders had most of their lands confiscated under the Adventurers .

¹Alan Young , Michael J . Stead . In the Foots tepts of Robert Bruce in Scotland , Northern England and Ireland .London : The History Press , 1998,p .247

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With the purpose of keeping Ireland under its rule ,and avoiding all sorts of revolution ,Britain introduced the Act of Union in 1801 .

1-4- Act of Union

In 1800 , the British and the Irish parliaments enacted the Acts of Union .The merger created a new political entity called United Kingdom of great Britain and Ireland with effect from 1st January 1801 . The Anglican church became the official Irish church and Catholics were not allowed to sit in parliament ,even if 88 % of the Irish were Catholic .

The Union with Ireland came about on 1 January 1801 , to solve the Irish problem , The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was created in 1801 by the Act of Union . This solution pleased nobody in Ireland , the protest ruling class did not want to lose their independence , and the Catholics felt betrayed when George III refused to grant Catholic emancipation within a united kingdom , Ireland started to struggle for reform . ‘O’Connell and his Catholic association founded in 1823 led the struggle for Catholic emancipation ‘⁽¹⁾. He insisted that British Parliament repeal the anti-catholic laws to justify its claim to represent the people of Ireland .

British politicians promised Irish leaders equal voting opportunities ,when Ireland would be part of the United Kingdom . But the king of Great Britain and Ireland , George III supported by most Tories and by many Protestants Irish land-lords, behind the 1801 Act of Union through which he refused to let this happen despite the intended logic , the British parliament would open up the path for Catholic emancipation , that is the right for catholics to sit in the Westminster Parliament . However , it was almost thirty years after the Act of Union that Catholics were granted emancipation . There was an imperial context to the Act of union as well . Ireland was often viewed as a British colony , and since this was long before the era of decolonization. If Ireland broke away , it would be a bad example for other colonies that seek independence .so, Ireland was not just strategically important ,but it also had a symbolic value .

¹MC Dowell , David, An Illustrated History of Britain,Longman UP , 2006 ,P.149

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2-The Irish Problem in the Nineteenth Century

2-1- The Conflicts between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland

A conflict between the two main religious groups , the Protestants and the Catholics, has been going on for over four hundred years .About 5,000 Protestant families owned 95 of Irish land . Owning its privileged position to the conquest of Gaelic Ireland from the 16th century, this elite came to be collectively known as the Protestant Ascendency . ‘’ It was defined by its religion , its ownership of property , its adherence to notions of traditional privilege, and by social convetios .⁽¹⁾the ascendency dominated politics, the civil service ,and high society , but it was far from fluid and variable than this simple template would suggest . Throughout the 18TH century, while land ownership conferred status , it did not necessarily confer wealth .and just as impecunious landlords were not uncommon ,neither wera they ambitious and successful professionals . This was particularly true of lawyers , who cut a swatch through heigh society and gained political clout in the Irish parliament .⁽²⁾

Anglicanism was the incontrovertible identifying feature of this elite . This distinguished them in crucial ways from Catholics and from other Irish Protestants .Presbyterians were excluded from this hierarchy , but throughout the 18th century they expanded their own economic and political influence.

2-2- Land

William Ewart Gladstone the prime minister of the united Kingdom of great Britain and Ireland had taken up the Irish question in an effort to win the general election of 1868 by uniting the Liberal party behind this single issue . The shock of fenian violence , especially in England , as well as the growing awareness of the potency of strong nationalist feelings in pan-European politics was a second reason to tackle the Irish

¹Ellis,Peter Berresford, OP.Cit, P .200

²Brewster Scott , Virginia Crossman, Fiona and David Alderson , Ireland in proximity-history,gender and space .London and New York : Routledge , 1999 , p.97

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question . Gladstone had a very sincere desire to bring peace with fairness to Ireland ,and by extension, the rest of the UK, which was then at the Zenith of worldwide Imperial power .

The landlords and Tenant (Ireland) Act 1870 was partly the work of chichesterFortescue , John Bright and Gladstone the Irish situation was favourable , with agriculture improving and pressure on the land decreasing since the great Irish Famine . The Encumbered Estates court (1849) and agitation by the Tenant Right League had led to the sale of estates by debt-ridden mainly absentee landlords . Gladstone's liberal government had no explicit mandate for the act, unlike the 1869 Disestablishment Act and so could expect some opposition from the English landlord class in the house of lords , fearful for the implications of property rights in England ,many of whom were whigs that Gladstone relied on for support in parliament .Partly for this reason , Gladstone 's approach was cautious, even conservative , Since he was dedicated to maintaining the landlord class whose social and moral influence .⁽¹⁾

Another problem which the rural population had , was the fact that their annual food harvest was based on potato .Potatoes were notoriously susceptible to disease and famines due to failed potato crops which had occurred on a number of occasions in the 19th century Ireland.

2-3- Politics

The political impact of the famine was very great. There were those who believed that the government in London had done as little as it could to help the Irish . In fact government more precisely under the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, tried to help Ireland . He repealed **the Corn Laws** ⁽²⁾ so that grain could be released at prices which the Irish peasantry could afford. The government also provided works ; those works could not relieve distress because there were only enough jobs for about one-tenth of the number of people Looking for them. Then the government decided to transfer

¹Brewster Scott, Virginia Crossman , Fiona and David Alderson , op. cit, p .113

²**Corn Laws** : laws put by the British government permitted the free entry of cheap .

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the whole problem of Ireland's poor to the landlords which encouraged them to evict as many poorer tenants as they could .

Therefore , the Irish believed that the only people who could help the Irish were the Irish themselves.

After 1845 the Irish feeling that they were alienated from the British main-land grew. And it was after the Great famine that secret organizations grew and they simply wanted the British out of Ireland and a republic set up free from the rule of Westminster; the most famous were the Fenian .⁽¹⁾

2-4- Fenians

The Fenians were members of the so called Fenian movement in Ireland and elsewhere, though primarily in America and England .

The Irish Republican Brotherhood was founded in Dublin, and thousands of emigrants who fought in the American Civil War pledged themselves to return and fight for Ireland. They used their war experience to train young Fenians.

According to Christopher Harvie and H.C.G. Matthew , “The Fenians were the very opposite of the open, peaceful and Constitutional organization of the 1820's and 1830's as **Daniel O'Connell's**⁽²⁾ party.”, with their aim of orderly and limited change, “they wanted separation and revolution, the immediate and total overthrow of British power in Ireland. And they saw no other way of achieving it except by force.”⁽³⁾

¹Thomas A.Boylan Timothy P .Foley , Political Economy and Colonial Ireland , London and New York : Routledge ; 1992 ,p .78

²· **Daniel O'Connell** (1775-1847) The liberator, he is one of the great Catholic Irish political leaders in the first half of the nineteenth century .He campaigned for catholic emancipation .

³Somerset Fry , Fiona and Peter ,OP.Cit,P .241

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Thousands more Irish man had followed the million or Famine emigrants to America, Continental Europe and even Britain herself the most radical had gone to Paris, where they could study the methods of revolution, and among them were James Stephens , rail way engeneer form Kilkenny, and his friend John O'Mahoney, who came from an ancient land owning family with a tradition of rebellion.

Fenian activity took various forms. In March 1867,Fenians gathered in Chester to organize the Chester raid but the raising was badly led and they failed. Twelve Londoners were killed during the attempt to free Fenians imprisoned in Clerkenwell prison in London. The British were outraged and frightened, they saw the Irish man as a menace, a danger that had to be contained.

A few days after the Clerkenwell explosion the leader of the British Liberal party told a public meeting that *“Irish violence was the result of Irish grievances , and it was Britain's duty to remove those grievances.”*⁽¹⁾. The speaker was William Ewart Gladdstone , a devout Christian who saw his mission in life as serving God in the highest manner possible, and in his view , that was through politics .

¹Somerset Fry, Fiona and Peter , OP ,Cit,Ps . 242&243&244

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Conclusion

William Ewarts Gladstone started his career in 1830 's with the usual British misconceptions about Ireland . and for many years , He had regarded Ireland as wronged . In 1845 , He had spent some time traveling in Europe and the European statesmen , Particularly the French foreign minister , Francois Guizot, had given him their views that the condition of Ireland was a blot on the honour of Britain . After the clerkenwell explosion , he felt the plight of the Irish must be put before the British people .

The problems of religion , land , and politics were the major reason , that led William Gladstone into his stated mission to pacify Ireland .

CHAPTER II : THE REFORMS OF GLADSTONE IN IRELAND

Introduction

William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898) was the Liberal counterpart to Disraeli serving as Prime Minister four times . He was one of the longest serving members of the British House of Commons , having sat as a member of parliament for over sixty years .Gladstone was a good religious man , and he brought his belief to do his will in politics .

As early as 1845, Gladstone had seen the injustices in the treatment of the Irish by Great Britain . He had even felt some responsibility for it and spent the rest of his life helping to put things right . By the 1860's he had in mind at least the outline of the Irish Policy based on disestablishment of the church and reform of the land and educational system .

Moreover , this chapter explains the reforms of Gladstone in Ireland . It also deals with the influence of Gladstones reforms on church ; then , his impact on Irish education .and the reforms of the Irish land .

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1- Irish Religious Issues

The reforms on the church are the first way of Gladstone's reform to pacify Ireland . He strived to do this through the Irish Church Act of 1869 , This was key in his attempts to pacify Ireland as although the church of Ireland had been the established church , it represented only a tiny minority of the population . The Irish Church Act of 1869 proposed the disestablishment of the church of Ireland . Gladstone claimed that :
« *The Irish establishment was the worst enemy of the established church and a religion which appropriated the revenue of a national church to provide services and sacraments for themselves , was taking the surest way to make it self- hated* »⁽¹⁾

Within days of taking office , Gladstone had prepared draft proposals to deal with the Irish Church , and shortly afterwards the large Liberal majority in the House of Commons secured the passage of a Bill to disestablish the Church .

Gladstone introduced the Irish Church disestablishment bill on 1 March :

“He declared that , from 1 January 1871 ,The church of Ireland would Cease to be the state church in Ireland , and would be disendowed of Its lands , The church would there after be governed by its bishops and A representatives group of clergy . All annual public grants to religion in Ireland - including that of Maynooth College-would cease .much of the £ 16 million raised by disendowment would be devoted to public works in Ireland . except for those already covered by the poor laws . the remainder Would be granted to help the church of Ireland to pay its own clergy , and be Used as compensatory sums to the Presbyterian churches and to Maynooth College . ”²

^{1,2.} Patridge,Michael,Gladstone,London : Routledge , 2002 , Ps.122&123

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On 24 March , Gladstone secured a parliamentary triumph : a majority in his favour of 118 (368 to 250 votes) . This was a large majority by far than in 1866 , when the liberals had been turned out of office by a mere eleven votes , while in 1841 Peel had defeated the whigs in 1841 by only one vote . ⁽¹⁾ Gladstone believed that it was a good start ; it was such a large majority that it would help propel the Bill through the committee stage in the Commons and , hopefully have some effect on the behavior of the lords when they came to discuss it .

Most importantly , as early as 13 December when Gladstone saw the Queen and stated the case of the Irish church , she hesitated. However , It would seem that the queen's hesitations were overcome by the scale of Gladstone's success. The bill easily secured its passage through the commons , with even the proposal to compensate Maynooth College out of the church of Ireland's funds being voted through by a majority of 107 . The final reading , on 31 May , saw a liberal majority of 144 . ⁽²⁾

In addition , Gladstone and the Queen began to pressure the archbishop of canterbury to make sure the measure passed the lords by getting the church of England bishops to abstain at least from opposition .

The result of the disestablishment of the church of Ireland Act was the end of the union of that church with the church of England from 1 January 1871 .It would receive some £ 10 million of revenue , but lose about £ 5 million to secular purposes . The measure was one of Gladstone's greatest triumph , not so much because of its terms , but because of the way in which he had taken on the in-built conservative majority in the House of the Lords and had won . ⁽³⁾

¹Michael, Patrige,Gladstone,London: Routledge , 2002,P.67

^{2,3}D.George Boyce & Alan O'Day, Gladstone and Ireland , politics ,religion and nationality in the Victorian age, UK : Swansea University , 2010,ps.98&99

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In his act, Gladstone suggested four main terms. First , from 1871 the church of Ireland would become a voluntary body ; second , Irish bishops would no longer be appointed by the crown or sit in the House of Lords ; third , all church property , except churches in use , were confiscated and used to : Provide for the clergy , schoolmasters and officials of the established church who had lost their posts . Also , it compensated those who had lost their rights of patronage .

Gladstone's own evaluation of his achievement was this; *'I see the discharge of a debt of civil justice, the disappearance of a national reproach and relief to a devoted clergy from a false position'. Certainly a Protestant Anglican Church, representing a small percentage of the Irish population, no longer enjoyed status and wealth denied to the bishops, clergy and members of the Roman Catholic Church. Even so, it was somewhat ironical that the devoutly Anglican Gladstone should sponsor a Bill which Benjamin Disraeli, a convert, would roundly condemn as 'legalising confiscation, consecrating sacrilege, condoning treason and destroying churches'.⁽¹⁾*

Gladstone introduced an important act . It showed the influence of the old Protestant ascendancy which was in decline . Also , it was seen as a prelude to the destruction of the landlords and ; It gave encouragement to the Irish ; it means that was a popular measure .

After all , the disestablishment of the church of Ireland was one of a group of questions including the land of Ireland and the Irish education as well .

¹Patridge,Michael,OP.Cit,P.126

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2-The Educational System's Reforms

Gladstone also tried to pacify Ireland through reforms in education. University reforms are much needed since although Catholics controlled a number of small colleges, they had no major degree-awarding institutions of their own .

The position of the universities in Ireland was related to religious factors . They were three universities in Ireland ;Dublin university , a Roman Catholic foundation , dating back to the fourteenth century ; Trinity College , Dublin , a sixteenth –century protestant foundation, and the Queen's university dating only from 1845 and consisting of three affiliated Godless Colleges-Belfast college , Cork College and Galaway College .⁽¹⁾

In 1872 , Gladstone brought up the Irish Universities question in the cabinet . They settled the Irish University Bill endeavoured to establish a ‘ neutral ‘ university centred on a new university of Dublin , which would not teach theology , philosophy or modern history . Belfast , Cork , and Galaway Colleges , and the Catholic Dublin University would be affiliated institutions of this new university . Also , in March 1873 the Irish Universities Bill was defeated in the Commons by three votes, due to the abstentions or opposition of Irish Liberal MPs. Gladstone subsequently resigned, but Disraeli declined to take office, so the Liberal Government limped on until the 1874 General Election .⁽²⁾

The most important issue that was declared by Gladstone after the disestablishment of the church , and education was the problem of the Irish land .

^{1,2}Patridge,Michael,OP.Cit,Ps.128 ,129

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3-Irish Land

Another way in which Gladstone attempted to pacify Ireland was through the First Irish Land Act of 1870, This helped to pacify Ireland as the force of law was given to the tenant's rights.

Gladstone thought , it was only right that , if a tenant was evicted , he should be paid compensation for disturbance , and he should also be paid compensation for any improvement he had made on the land .

Gladstone proclaimed that a cabinet committee would have to be set up to look into the whole matter . When the proposal was discussed in cabinet , Gladstone in the early stages of negotiation thought that he would be able to secure a measure which would extend to the whole of Ireland the practice of Ulster . There tenants received protection from injustices once they had been in residence for a number of years . If the tenant was evicted , he would be paid compensation , whether or not he made improvements to the property . It took him until 25 January 1870 to win the support of all his colleagues . Cabinet , he noted in his diary , the great difficulties of the Ireland land Bill there are now over . Thank God ⁽¹⁾ The bill secured its second reading on 11 March , by a clear majority , but it did not complete its passage through the Commons until May 30 . Even though quickly or easily , and Gladstone had to take the lead in securing its passage , since none of his colleagues had the necessary knowledge .

The Land Act was not totally effective , because it had taken much times than the Irish Disestablishment Act , but this did not mean that the Bill was completely negative because it gave Gladstone better reputation in the Irish eyes , which he was to built on it later years . It showed that the Westminster Parliament could pass legislation that could try and improve the lot of the average Irish farmer and served as an indication that more concessions could be esctracted from it if more pressure was put on it .

⁽¹⁾Patridge,Michael,OP.Cit,P.126

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Landlords looked at this problem as personal issues , which the state should not interfere with . Yet , the act failed ; the safe guards Gladstone had put in the Bill were taken out by the lords and the Irish tenants found their position virtually unaltered . Competition for land was still so fierce that a prospective tenant was often prepared to buy his way into a tenancy , spending money which could have been used for improvement , and occasionally to compensate a landlord for the cost of evicting a sitting tenant .

Evictions without compensation were still easy enough . If a landlord raised the rent beyond what the tenant could pay , but not so much that a court would deem the increase exorbitant , he could evict the tenant without compensation when inevitably , he fell into arrears . Gladstone was turned to the idea of having their own parliament , not as the Fenians had advocated , after a complete separation from Britain , but as a part of federal arrangements , the Irish parliaments would be responsible for domestic affairs , including the land laws .

In 1870 , a prominent Irish lawyer and MP , Isaac Butt (1813-1879) , drew together a group of nationalist Irishmen , Some of them Protestants dismayed by disestablishment ; some Catholic Liberals and others Fenians , and formed them into a Home government association .⁽¹⁾ Three years latter , he superseded it with the Home Rule Party failed completely to pierce the indifference of the new conservative government .

After G.C.Biggar came to the fore . though , Ugly hunchbacked and shrewed , Biggar developed a technique of obstruction in the commons which infuriated his British opponents But Biggar was too plebein to become party leader .

The Irish gentry who comprised most of the parliamentary Home Rule Party would not follow a tradesman with a rasping Belfast accent . They wanted a leader with presence and impeccable back-ground as well as dynamism . And before long they found him . In April 1875 a new member was returned for Meath in a by election-an-Anglo-Irishman , a Protestant with an English education , tall and handsome with an air of self-confidence besides great force and determination . He was Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891) .

¹Paul F. State, op .Cit,p .103

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Parnell 's mother was an American whose father had fought as an admiral against the British in 1812 . She was verulently anti-British and her son adopted her attitudes . Yet , he had some English characteristics himself . Parnell first took notice of politics when the Fenians rose in 1876 ; he was only twenty one at the time and had no thought of joining them but , imbued with his family's tradition of nationalism , he felt a fervent sympathy for their aims .

He saw the Home Rule Party as an alternative to Fenianism ; more

Practical , less extreme , open instead of secret , using constitutional

Methods rather than force .But the intensity of Fenianism always

Struck a chord in him ⁽¹⁾

Parnell had quickly seen the possibilities of **The Ballot Act** ⁽²⁾ . Before it the Irish voters had been easily intimidated ; under the direction of their landlords they had elected members to the two existing English parties .

After the secret ballot , there could be an independent Irish Party . Parnell as leader of this party , soon made himself master of a new parliamentary tactic-struction . By keeping the House of Commons up all night with their speeches , the Irish could hold up the progress of all business .This was a new and sensational method of forcing the Irish party and its problems on the attention of the British parliament .

¹-Somerset Fly , Fiona and Peter, OP.P.249

²**Ballot Act** : 1872 one thing Gladstone did in his first government which made voting secret.

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In Ireland ,the agrarian problem became a acute with the **agricultural slump** ⁽¹⁾ which set in after 1875 . Direct action began , and the Fenians began to take land . in 1879 an Irishman personally scared by eviction arrived in Mayo from America . He was **Michael Davitt** ⁽²⁾ a 31 years old Fenian , found in Mayo a period of extreme disorder , which became known as the land war .As a result , in 1879 he formed the Land League to unite tenants who , because of the Depression , were threatened with eviction . The League got money from the USA , formed branches throughout Ireland and seemed to be threat to government . In 1879 ,Parnell agreed to become president of the land League Party ; to check the extremism of Davitt , who had thought of nationalizing the land , and party so that he could use the power of the Land League in the cause of Home Rule .⁽³⁾

Gladstone returned to power through his second Government (1880-1885) . The Irish question had played a dominant role in the life of Gladstone's first ministry and , not surprisingly , it played an important one in the second ministry , too .

Parnell adopted a new method of attack . He told a gathering of peasant farmers how they could get their way .

' When a man takes a farm which another has been evicted ' he

Said ' ,you must show him on the road side when you meet him

You must show him in the streets of the town , you must show him

¹**Agricultural Slump** : the harvest of 1879 was the worst since the Great famine ; in 1880 there were 2590 agrarian outrages and between 1874 and 1880 some 10 thousand evictions .

²**Michael Davitt** : born in Mayo in 1846 , evicted with his family which sought a home in Lancashire , he became a Fenian and in 1871 was sentenced to fifteen years emprisonem but was released in 1877 , he thought the land struggle must go along with national struggle .

³Paul F ; State,OP.Cit,p.83

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*At the shop counter , you must show him in the fair and at the
Market-place , and even in the house of worship , by leaving him
Severly alone , by putting him into a sort of moral Coventry by
Isolating him from the rest of his kind as if he were a leper of
Old,you must show him your detestation of the crime he has
Committed . ‘(1)*

Parnell's new turn , incomprehensible to nearly all Englishmen , helped to determine the government's order of priorities . As soon as the new session opened in January , 1881 , W.E.Foster, the radical politician who had carried the Education Act in 1870 and who was now chief secretary for Ireland, introduced a Coersion Bill . The Bill provided for suspension of Habeas Corpus and so for giving the authorities the power of arbitrary arrested and held indefinitely without trial , public meetings could be prohibited , newspapers seized and the right to trial by jury suspended. (2)

Parnell and his supporters fought the Bill with dogged anger , employing every kind of obstruction ; the debate on the queen's speech at the opening of parliament was prolonged for eleven nights and a single debate spun out to 41 hours . The Coersion Act was passed, nevertheless , in February 1881 .

Gladstone introduced the land bill in 1881 , He conceded the demand of the land league for what were popularly known as the three FS : Fair rents,fiscity of tenure and free sale . This meant that a leases were to be for fifteen years ; a land commission was set up to fix fair rents ; and a tenant on leaving his holding could sell his improvement to the incoming tenant .(3)

¹Somerset Fry , Fiona and Peter ,OP.Cit,P.245

²D.George Boyce & Alan O'Day , OP.cit,p.75

³D.George Boyce & Alan O'Day,op .Cit,p .137

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The landlords failed and peasant ownership was seen in the distance . The land Act of 1881 was very far-reaching , and The Irish are not grateful . The House of Lords had shown , only earlier , that it would not countenance security of tenure for tenants in areas with their rent , whatever the circumstances , and in order to push his bill through , Gladstone had to leave out provision for hardship cases .

The act needed more support from Parnell to make it succeed , but Parnell made highly provocative speeches ,he hurt Gladstone by describing him as a ‘ masquerading knight-errant ’⁽¹⁾ and gave advice to tenant farmers to put test cases to the land tribunals , set up under the act , and not to pay a penny in rent until the cases had been heard . The chief Secretary , W.E.Foster , concluded that Parnell was trying to wreck the Act . He arbitrarily arrested Parnell , as he had the power to do under the Coercion Act , and elapped him into Kilmainham jail . In October 1881 , Parnell was in prison nearly six months ,but coercion did not quell the agitation . Indeed while it lasted , outrages increased , as did also the number of persons killed . Both the British government and Parnell were at length prepared to feel them towards a treaty-by which Parnell and other Irish leaders were released on condition that they used their effectiveness to bring crimes and disobey the laws .⁽²⁾

The Viceroy and chief secretary W.E.Forster resigned when the Coercion policy failed , His place was taken by lord Frederick Gavendish who was murdered in 1882 in Phoenix Park, Dublin , along with his under secretary , T.H.Burke .

Parnell was so shocked that he wrote immediately to Gladstone offering to resign his seat : an offer Gladstone declined . He was deeply afraid that the murders would destroy the Kilmainham Treaty but , paradoxically, they helped him make the final break with extremism than he wanted . When the Government brought in another Coercion Act , to satisfy the British public opinion , Parnell became once more champion of Irish rights while, at the same time , cooperating with the government under the Land Act . hence , he was to be free to persue his objective of Home Rule .⁽³⁾

^{1,2-} Somerset Fry , Fiona and Peter , OP.Cit, Ps .255&256& 331

³⁻D.George Boyce & Alan O’Day , op .Cit,p 147

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The suppressed land League was superseded by the Irish National League in October 1882, a nation-wide organization for collecting funds and putting candidates for a Home Rule Party. Parnell's standing in Ireland at this time was shown in the results of the 1885 national election. He won every seat in Ireland outside eastern Ulster except Trinity College, Dublin.⁽¹⁾

Gladstone had committed himself to what was vaguely termed justice for Ireland. But he was not yet ready to devise a Home Rule Bill, and a few months before the election Parnell had withdrawn his support from the Liberal government.

Parnell in return, advised Irish men living in England to vote conservative when the general election came. The result was the Liberals' majority over the conservatives.⁽²⁾

Gladstone had put Home Rulers into the position which all third parties in the House of Commons hoped to attain. He believed that all peoples capable of self government in Italy, The Balkans and other European countries dominated by a powerful neighbour and he could not, with any consistency, hold back self government from Ireland.⁽³⁾

¹D.George Boyce & Alan O'Day, op .Cit,p 148

²Michael,patridge,OP.Cit,P.99

³Jarman,T.L,OP.Cit, P.22

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Conclusion

Gladstone's mission to pacify Ireland had its successes and failures. The successes were the Irish Church Act, since it removed the major religious grievances of the Irish Catholics. It did not by any means solve religious differences, Protestants still owned much of the land, and they still dominated the resented landlord class. The consequences of the act were more symbolic than practical, it did very little to pacify Ireland. Some historians have gone further to say that the Land Act was more to the advantage of Gladstone than it was to the people of Ireland and that it was simply a political stroke to 'bind Ireland to the Union by proving that the Westminster Parliament was prepared to legislate for what the mass of Irish people considered to be their legitimate grievances'. Overall Gladstone failed in his attempts to pacify Ireland as most of his acts and reforms failed and the final Home Rule Bill led to him resigning within months of it.⁽¹⁾

¹David Bebbington , op .Cit,p.123

CHAPTER III : HOME RULE AND GLADSTONE'S FAILURE IN IRELAND

Introduction

It had taken Gladstone many years of anguish and reflection before he reached the conclusion that Home Rule was the only solution for the Irish problem.

“Though he took up the Irish question in 1868 a response to the Fenian outrages and as a device for uniting his party, he did so also, as he told his sister, ‘in the name of the God of truth and justice It is his concern with justice for Ireland that is the leitmotiv of J.L. Hammond classic study of Gladstone and the Irish nation.’”⁽¹⁾

As a result, in 1886 Gladstone introduced his first Home Rule Bill but it was rejected by the House of Commons. He introduced a second Home Rule Bill in 1893. This one was passed by the House of Commons, but it was rejected by the House of Lords. ⁽²⁾

It was clear that Gladstone failed to achieve his aim of Home Rule because first, it was difficult for him to persuade his colleagues in the party and his followers that Home Rule was the right policy. Second, Ulster Protestants and Ulster Unionists were firmly opposed to home rule. So, Gladstone found himself fighting two fronts; this led to his failure.

¹⁻ Adelman, Paul , Gladstone , Disraeli and later Victorian Policies , 2nd ed . Longman Group limited , 1991 , P .41

²⁻ Michael Patridge , OP.Cit,p .85

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1. Gladstone's First Home Rule Bill

The problem for Gladstone was-what tactics should he now pursue ? In the end he determined, publicly , to maintain silence over his conversion to home rule. Gladstone seems to have been moved primarily by two considerations. According to Adelman :

“ if he spoke out publicly of homerule , the break up of the Liberal

Party would inevitably follow; and on the eve of a general election; in

addition he could be accused of counterbidding for the Irish vote.

Secondly, [. . .]

Gladstone aimed ,sincerely if naively,at achieving a non-party approach to

Irish problem . ’⁽¹⁾

It was these considerations that led Gladstone to keep silence , even to Parnell and his colleagues, during the election campaign at the end of the year.

But, Gladstone's conversion to home rule became known through the indiscretion of his son, Herbert, and on 8 April 1886; Gladstone introduced; at the cost of party unity, his first Home Rule Bill. The bill proposed an Irish parliament to deal with purely Irish affairs, to enter representation of Ireland in Westminster, and to leave control of foreign affairs, defence and external trade in the hands of the British government.

The leading members of Gladstone's earlier governments refused to join him, the most notable being the whig Lord Hartington. Also Joseph Chamberlain , a leading radical, resigned. Thus there were defections on both the right and left wings of the Liberal party. Both Chamberlain and Hartington held several meetings to dissuade Liberals from supporting the bill. The home Rule bill was introduced in a powerful speech which lasted three and a half hours.

¹-Adelman , Paul , OP.Cit,P .43

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“Gladstone maintained that it was the duty of parliament to find an answer to the question whether it is or is not possible to establish good and harmonious relations between Great Britain and Ireland.[. . .] ” .⁽¹⁾

He thought that it was necessary for a separation of Great Britain and Ireland . he said:“how to reconcile imperial unity with diversity of legislation”⁽²⁾.He claimed he would examine whether it was possible to establish a legislative body to sit in Dublin. And to strengthen the British parliament by freeing it from the obstruction of the Irish members. This meant that Irish nationalists would never again hold the balance between British parties.

The Bill was debated in the House of Commons for sixteen days. In June 1886,however, the bill was defeated in the Commons by 343 votes to 313 with Liberals voting against the bill. As a result leading members of the cabinet resigned, the Liberal party split, one section becoming Liberal Unionists (as Joseph Chamberlain),and in June the bill was defeated.Protestants of Ulster remained firmly unionist.⁽³⁾

Lord Randolph Churchill, a leading conservative, wrote in a letter words which are still remembered : “ *Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right.* ”⁽⁴⁾

Gladstone refused to resign during the time of the elections. The Liberals were defeated and as a result Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister. In the struggle for Irish home rule the Liberal party had split, this led to the emergence of the conservative party .

Salisbury's government from 1886 to 1892 was supported by Liberal Unionists Hartington and Chamberlain, ruled Ireland strongly. New Crimes Act was introduced as a coercive measure and was administered by A.J.Balfour, Lord Salisbury's nephew. Also according to Lustick, measures to reform the land issue and public disorder were introduced to kill home rule with kindness as Balfour put it⁽⁵⁾.

^{1,2,4} Jarman , T.L ,OP.Cit,Ps .26&27&28

³Michael,Patridge,OP .Cit,p .98

⁵Lustick, Ian S , Unsettled States , Ithaca, N Y : Cornell University Press, 1993 ,P.189

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Kindness was the Tory solution to the land problem. In a number of land purchase Acts between 1886 and 1905, the conservative governments proposed to make £ 200 million available for loans to tenants who wanted to buy their land from the landowners.

By this policy the government hoped to create a body of satisfied Irish proprietors; by 1920 the greater part of the land was owned by the Irish, whereas before 1903 most of the land was owned by the English and the Irish were only tenant farmers. Also the policy was created to weaken the support for Land League and Home Rule.

There was a bad harvest in much of Ireland in 1886, many tenants found that they could not even pay the judicial rents fixed under the 1881 Act, and Parnell's Irish National League organized what was called the Plan of Campaign, which ingeniously proposed that hard-hit tenants should offer their landlords lower rents and, if the landlords refused them, pay no rent at all, but put the money into a fund for those who were evicted. When the new conservative government tried to destroy the plan of campaign through the Coercion acts, its high-handed arrests and imprisonments of priests among others, were reported and bitterly criticized in England.

“ British members of parliament went to Ireland and watched evictions: they described Parnell, as the champion of the Irish poor who had become the hero of the hour.”⁽¹⁾

Then in 1887, The Times opened a vicious campaign against him, accusing him of inciting the Irish to crime and, in particular, condoning the Phoenix Park murders⁽²⁾. The government set up an inquiry which went on for the best part of two years until, in February 1889, a Dublin journalist broke down in the witness box and confessed to forging the letter on which the accusation was based. When Parnell appeared in the House of Commons shortly afterwards, the entire opposition rose to its feet and gave him a standing ovation. He was on the crest of a wave.

¹Turner, Edward Raymond, Ireland and England, New York : Century, 1919, P.250

²Jackson, T.A., Ireland her own : An outline History of the Irish Struggle for National Freedom, London : Lawrence & Wishart, 1938, P.346

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Then the wave broke. In 1880, Parnell had met Mrs Catherine O'Shea, the English wife of captain **O'Shea**⁽¹⁾, an Irish home rule member of parliament. They had begun a passionate love affair and in 1882 Mrs O'Shea had given Parnell their first child, a girl who died a few weeks later. In 1883 and 1884 two more daughters had been born to the couple. But in 1886 O'Shea resigned his parliamentary seat and his antipathy to Parnell revealed itself. It was until 1889 that O'Shea started divorce proceedings.

In Victorian England divorces were so rare, and they were given a great deal of attention. They were heard at great length in open court and fully reported in the newspapers. The puritanical nonconformists who made up the bulk of the British Liberal party were so shocked by Parnell's adultery over so long a period with the wife of a colleague that Gladstone was in danger of losing their support for home rule.

So, he gave the Irish Home Rule Party an ultimatum. "Parnell's continued leadership was, he said, likely to render his own leadership of the Liberal party 'almost a nullity'⁽²⁾. The Irish Party must choose between Parnell as its leader and Liberal support for home rule.

'Resign-marry-return' was the laconic advice sent to Parnell in a telegram from South Africa by Cecil Rhodes. But Parnell was determined to hold onto the leadership. The Irish Home Rule Party debated Gladstone's ultimatum for several days in a committee room in the house of commons and then voted by 45 to 29 against Parnell, but he would not accept the decision. He allowed the tightly disciplined, highly effective Home Rule Party, which he himself had moulded, to destroy itself by splitting.⁽³⁾

¹**O'Shea** : an impecunious, somewhat raffish character who had his own affairs on the side, was a complaisant husband so long as complaisance could help his career, and Parnell did all he could to further the captain's ambition.

²Somerset Fry, Fiona and Peter, OP.Cit, P. 259

³Marc Mulholland, the Longest war : Northern Ireland's Troubled History. New York : Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 201

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He married Mrs O'Shea in June 1891 and set up house with her in Brighton. From there he carried on a frenetic campaign in Ireland, making the crossing from Holyhead every week to travel the country, address meetings and try to drum up support. But the Catholic bishops were against him, as Victorian Britain had been, and his standing in Ireland slumped. Yet he struggled on, a gaunt, proud figure, until his health gave way and he died at the age of forty five.

The fall of Parnell was a heavy blow to Gladstone—the heaviest, he said, he had never received. For five years he had been battling for Irish Home Rule, ‘laboriously rolling up hill the stone of Sisyphus’⁽¹⁾ As he put it. When he lost Parnell's dynamic support, the Irish Home Rule Party split. Gladstone, the grand old man of British politics, was eighty one: too old to roll it uphill again. Nevertheless he introduced a second Home Rule Bill in February 1893.

2. The Second Home Rule Bill

Though Gladstone's 1868 Home Rule Bill had caused him to lose power, once reappointed Prime Minister in August 1892 Gladstone committed himself to introducing a new Home Rule Bill for Ireland. The Liberals were brought back to power with a small majority—there were 273 Liberals and 81 Irish members against 269 conservatives and 46 Liberal Unionists. The conservative government was defeated on a vote of no confidence, proposed by H.H. Asquith. “It was Gladstone's fourth ministry and he was nearly eighty-three, but the vigorous old man was determined to do his duty as Gladstone spoke for two and a half hours. Once again Gladstone appealed for peace between the British and the Irish. He argued:

“If it were with my latest breath, I would entreat you to let the dead bury the dead, and to cast behind you every recollection of bygone evils to cherish and love and sustain one another throughout all the vicissitudes of human affairs in the time that are to come.”⁽²⁾

¹Somerset Fry, Fiona and Peter, OP.Cit,P,259

²Jarman, T.L, OP.Cit,P.31

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The Bill passed in the House of Commons in September by 307 votes to 267. But the House of Lords rejected the Bill by 419 votes to 41. Lord Hartington who had broken with Gladstone in 1886 proposed the rejection. ⁽¹⁾

Gladstone wished to dissolve parliament and carry the issue to the country. But the country was not interested in home rule, there was no popular excitement over the defeat of the Bill, and Gladstone's colleagues would not agree to dissolve parliament. Other disagreement with his colleagues followed, and in 1894 he resigned, dying four years later.

3. Gladstone and The Irish Opponents of Home Rule

Gladstone failed to give Ireland home rule because there was a double Irish attack in Ireland itself, opposition of Liberal Unionists, and in England the disagreement among members of his party.

3.1 Opposition in England

The historian Hammond stated that, this was very evident in the way that he announced his conversion to Home rule, refusing to admit any change of policy and insisting upon consistency. ⁽²⁾ This infuriated his opponents who described Gladstone in various unflattering ways. "an honest man with a not dishonest mind" ⁽³⁾. Gladstone's disagreement with his colleagues led to his total failure.

A concrete illustration of the way Gladstone misjudged the home rule and stored up future trouble was his complete under estimation of the Irish opponents of home rule—the Irish Unionists, the Irish land owning ascendancy in the South, and the Ulster Protestants in the North.

¹Michael, Partridge, OP, Cit, P.137

²Hammond, J.L, Gladstone and the Irish Nation, London : Longsman Green, 1938, P.70

³Lecky, 'Home Rule', The Columbia Encyclopedia, 6th ed, 2009, P.2

3.2 Opposition in Ireland

North-East Ulster was to be for thirty years the citadel of the union cause. In 1886 Churchill, a tory leader, addressed enthusiastic crowds in Belfast and the North, urging them to resist home rule. Religious animosity has on the other hand been inconspicuous in the South, where the intensity of Protestant feeling in the North has hardly been realized.

The excitement of Belfast was expressed, after Churchill left, in serious riots

“They were not the first of their kind, for in 1864 riots had followed the burning of effigy of Daniel O'Connell by a Protestant crowd, as an off-set to a demonstration in Dublin of the Liberator.”⁽¹⁾

In subsequent years the Orange operatives of Belfast showed themselves determined to permit no Catholic procession or home rule demonstration in their city. So in 1886 a collision began between Protestant and Catholic workmen which led to riots in which many lives were lost and the military had to be called into the help of the police.

Meanwhile in the House Commons, Gladstone made a superbly eloquent appeal to all sides to pass the Home Rule Bill and end a feud of England and Ireland. But already some of his ablest lieutenants had forsaken him. The Radical Joseph Chamberlain who founded the Liberal Unionists, and Lord Hartington and the whig section revolted. In spite of all the old man's eloquence and solemn warnings, the enthusiastic support of his main party, and a temperate speech from Parnell. The bill was defeated. Also, the Conservative government with the help of the Liberal seceders to finally defeat Home Rule.⁽²⁾

Gladstone's failure was not only in terms of home rule; land issue also raised questions. How far did Ireland and the land issue benefit from Gladstone's intervention?

It is true that Gladstone focused attention on Ireland and it is also true that the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland satisfactorily moved the longstanding

¹Partridge, Michael, OP.Cit, P. 340

²David Bebbington, OP.Cit, P. 65

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grievances. Nevertheless, the wisdom of his attitudes to land is open to question.

Gladstone's land legislation of 1870 and 1881 aimed at curbing the rights of the Irish landlords and transferring more rights to tenants in doing so, it has generally been regarded as a good thing, going some way to solve the problems that had retarded Irish agricultural development and prompted Irish unrest. However, it is doubtful whether Gladstonian land policy was really in the best interest of Ireland and Irish agriculture as a whole. ⁽¹⁾

Increased tension in the Irish countryside was an evidence Gladstone chose to ignore. He was not interested in the economic and technical problems arising from attempts to modernize methods and output on the small farms that predominated in Ireland. Concerned rather with the redemption of English guilt, Gladstone's land legislation offered a solution to neither the problem of Irish agricultural backwardness nor the problem of Irish agitation against British rule. ⁽²⁾

the need to make Irish agriculture more efficient and more competitive. It discouraged landlord investment. It encouraged farmers to continue inefficient practices.

Gladstonian legislation failed. It was easier to attack Irishland lords than to tackle the more fundamental problem of Irish agricultural development.

¹ Paul F. State, *OP.Cit*, p. 146

² Paul F. State, *OP.Cit*, p. 203

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Conclusion

By the time his second ministry came to an end in 1885, Gladstone was convinced that traditional liberal policy towards Ireland was completely bankrupt. It was this that helped the Summer months of 1885 the key period in Gladstone's conversion to home rule. His own Policy of religious and agrarian reform had failed to reconcile the Irish to the continuance of English rule; further reform was bound to be just as nugatory. Moreover Gladstone's reflection during these months on fundamentals of the Irish attitude, coupled with his deep European outlook, convinced him of the reality of Irish nationality: how then could he oppose what a majority of the Irish people wanted? His letters to Hartington and Chamberlain showed that it was perfectly plain to them that his mind was moving to a definite Home Rule Policy. ⁽¹⁾

The basis of his conversion is that he came to believe that home rule was the only solution to pacify Ireland and complete his 1868 mission. Gladstone came to the conclusion that the union had been unjust to the Irish, as a result, he put the first Home Rule Bill which was rejected by the House of Commons. It was followed by the Second Home Rule Bill introduced by Gladstone in 1893, which was not so much different from the first one with the presence of 80 Irish MPs in Westminster. The bill Passed by the House of Commons but was rejected by the House of Lords. ⁽²⁾

Gladstone failed to realise his dream in Ireland. This was due to his colleagues opposition to his policy on one hand; on the other hand, Ulster unionists were an obstacle against him. This is what led to his failure and to his retirement from office in 1894.

¹Redmond, Robert S, 'The Unfinished Story of Irish Home Rule', Contemporary Review, Dec 2003, P. 39

²Redmond, Robert S, op .Cit, p.304

GENERAL CONCLUSION

In 1880 Gladstone was 70 years old. However, he had conducted a massive and popular campaign in the run up to the election of 1880 in which he proposed a certain manifesto. The campaign ensured Gladstone had immense popularity among the people and Liberal MPs. Gladstone's immense and powerful skills as an orator and parliamentarian must not be forgotten. He tried all he could to help Ireland, and Gladstone's name is frequently mentioned in Irish history from the 1880's to Gladstone's retirement from politics in 1894. In his 1868 to 1874 government, Gladstone disestablished the Church of Ireland. This meant that Catholic farmers no longer had to pay tithes to the Church. Gladstone believed peace would come to Ireland only when feudalism ended and peasants had a meaningful stake in their work. Accordingly, he threw his energies into the Irish Land Act, passed in 1881. It guaranteed tenants could retain their holding as long as they paid rent, avoided persistent waste and obeyed the laws. The bill guaranteed tenants could sell their holding, providing rent was paid in full .

Gladstone's Home Rule Bills were however his greatest failure. As Paul Adelman argues *'Gladstone's personal and obsessive commitment to Home Rule resulted in his underestimation of the problems involved in getting a measure accepted.'* Gladstone's measures did amount to significant departure in British Politics. It was unusual for any British minister to have an Irish policy .

Gladstone thought that England owed much to Ireland because of Ireland's past history. He believed that England had wronged Ireland, as was very evident in his attitude towards the land question .Also , he was convinced that Ireland and the Irish had suffered great wrongs, He thought that nineteenth century England had a moral duty to make reparations.

It can be argued by some critics that Gladstone's crusade was for England's sake rather than for the sake of Ireland. Gladstone told the whole House of Commons that the removal of Ireland's grievances was an English duty so that instead of hearing in every corner of Europe the most painful commentaries on the policy of England towards Ireland, we may be able to look our fellow Europeans in the face.

But it was clear that Gladstone did his best to help Ireland and to meet Irish grievances. Through his ministry , reforms were made to satisfy the Irish but the question is : did Ireland benefit from Gladstone's reforms?

GENERAL CONCLUSION

It is matter of debate as to how far Ireland and Irish concerns benefited from Gladstone's intervention. It may be that the benefits were far outweighed by the future problems his policy stirred up. It is true that Gladstone focused attention on Ireland, and it is also true that the disestablishment and partial disendowment of the Church of Ireland satisfactorily moved the long standing grievance. Nevertheless, the wisdom of his attitudes to land and Home Rule are open to question.

According to some critics Gladstone had failed to look at tenure from an Irish point of view, and did not yet realize that Irish tenants thought of themselves as part owners of the land on which they worked. Therefore, the land Act was the remedy for a disease that was not seriously affecting Ireland in 1870. One important consequence of the Act was to establish the principle that property in land was not absolute, but this was certainly not Gladstone's intention.

Gladstone wished to protect tenants from unfair treatment, and in this the 1870 Act failed. Overall, the Act did little to stave off revolutionary fervor as it ultimately led to the rise of Parnell and the land war and the consequent militancy and rural unrest in Ireland.

Ireland soon emerged as a major problem of Gladstone and the liberal Government in 1880. Violence caused by a coupling of nationalism and an Agricultural depression increased substantially. Gladstone's aim and objective was to right the wrongs of the first land Act and end the land problem. Again the long-term solution to the crisis, Gladstone insisted was further land reform.

Some critics concluded that it took the sting out of nationalist radicalism complicated land bill, recent historians have argued Gladstone again failed to face up the economic realities of rural Ireland.

We conclude that Gladstone's measures did little or nothing to improve productivity and competitiveness in Irish farming, and that the Act had little economic impact. Gladstone as a politician and leader of his party was burdened with the task of having to keep his party united to be effective in government and to consolidate his position. By the 1880's, it was clear to Gladstone that his aim to reconcile the Irish to English rule had failed. He had got himself in to a vicious cycle involving popular protest being responded to with passage of reform and realised that he was getting nowhere fast.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This failure to solve resentment in Ireland brought Gladstone to the natural conclusion that the Irish needed liberty.