

Emerson Papers, 1824 – 1840, 1865 – 1925

- Collection Reference Code:** PP00286/
Title: Emerson Papers
Dates: 1824 – 1840, 1865 – 1925
Level of Description: Fonds
Extent: 27 items, largely bound volumes
Name of Creator(s): Collon estate, Alfred H Wynne and John Emerson Senior and Junior
Admin/Biographical History: The Emerson papers originate from Alfred H Wynne and John Emerson Senior and Junior, who acted as agents (inter alia) for the Collon estate, in County Louth, in the period 1865 – 1925.

The account books and rentals relate to the various estates for which Alfred H Wynne and two successive John Emersons, all three of Collon, Co. Louth, acted as agents, c. 1870 – 1925. The collection spans the period of the Plan of Campaign. It relates partly to the Massereene estate in Collon which is noteworthy for being the only estate in County Louth where the tenants adopted the Plan of Campaign and united to demand a reduction of their rents. It was during this case that Lord Massereene dismissed his agent Wynne for offering advice in relation to making an abatement of rent. He then employed John Emerson Senior and Junior. Some of the rentals (PP00286/002/002 and 003) contain some annotations such as no abatement, judicial (term), statutory (term), ejectment decree or civil bill decree. To read more about the case, see the extract from the 'Incidents of Coercion: A Journal of Visits to Ireland in 1882 and 1888' by the Rt Hon G Shaw Lefevre, MP (London, 1889), which provides a summary of events, at the end of this descriptive list (p8).

- Archival History:** This collection was originally deposited in the Public Record Office Northern Ireland, where it had the collection code D3711. John Emerson, a descendant of the Emersons who acted as the agents for the Collon Estate, arranged for the transfer of the collection to Louth County Archives in October 2009. The collection underwent conservation in 2010 which was largely funded by the Heritage Council.

- Immediate Source of Acquisition:** John Emerson

- Scope and Content:** The Emerson papers consist of 25 bound volumes and two other items regarding Miss Shekleton's farm account (kept with PP00286/002/001). The majority of the collection comprises rentals, rent receipt books and account books recording Collon estate and others (see list below), 1865 – 1925, but principally 1872 – 1906. The earliest volume is a timber book recording tenants' planting on the Collon estate [of the 1st Lord Oriel and 2nd Viscount Ferrard] in 1824 – 1833, with some references to 1804 – 1809, and comments written 1835 – 1840.

Estates recorded in the collection include (in alphabetical order by surname):

- **Benjamin Samuel Adams'** estate in Shinan, Shercock, County Cavan
- **Samuel A. Adams'** estate in Croley, Shercock, County Cavan
- **William Augustus Adams'** estate in Killineer, parish of St Peter's County Louth, and Corravilla, Corlattylannan, and Kinnea Manor, all in the parish of Knockbride, County Cavan

- **Samuel Bradford's** estate (receivership) in Ballynahattin, Dundalk, and Dungooly, Faughart, both in County Louth
- **Thomas P Cairnes'** estate in Rathbran Church, Killary, County Meath
- **Mrs Elizabeth Castles'** estate at Claret Rock, (Carrickaneena, County Louth)
- **John Daly Devereux's** estate in Ballyrankin, Kilrush, County Wexford
- **Robert Foster Dunlop's** estate in Monasterboice, County Louth
- **Arthur Forbes's** estate in the parishes of Drumcondra, Kilmessan, and Loughbrackan, County Meath
- **Edward Singleton's** estate in Belpatrick, Collon, County Louth
- **Harry Sydenham Singleton** and **John Roland Singleton's** estate in the parishes of Tullyallen and Drumshallon, County Louth and Knockbridge, and Drumgoon, Co. Cavan
- **Whitshed** estate in Drogheda, and the parishes of Collin (Collon), County Louth, Grangegeeth and Knockcommon, County Meath, and Clondalkin and Tallaght, County Dublin
- **WR Wynne's** estate in Dowth, County Meath

Other placenames included in the rents received books include:

- Ardagh, Carricknashanna, Collon, and Mell, County Louth
- Glasleck and Shercock, County Cavan
- Creewood and Rathdrinagh, County Meath
- Carrickmacross, County Monaghan

Subject index: Collon, County Louth; Emerson, John; Landed estate; Massereene estate; Rent books; Tenants; Tree planting

Appraisal & Destruction: Retain permanently

Accruals: No further accruals are currently expected.

System of Arrangement: The collection is arranged by record type, and then chronologically as far as possible.

Conditions of Access: Open Access, by appointment

Conditions Governing

Reproduction: Contact County Archives staff regarding copying.

Language/Script of Material: English

Physical Characteristics: Bound volumes, paper. Poor – good condition.

Technical Requirements: Careful handling required

Finding Aids: Descriptive list can be found on on-line catalogue available at <http://www.louthcoco.ie>

Existence & Location of Originals: Louth County Archives Service

Existence & Location of Copies: Some digitised documents may occasionally be found on <http://www.louthcoco.ie>

Related Material:

Louth County Archives Service: PP00019/ Collon estate, 1779 – 1781

PRONI: D207, D562, D1739, D4084 Foster/Massereene Papers, 1590 – 1939

Publication Note:

- HG Tempest, Rental and Accounts of Collon Estate, 1779-81 (CLAJ, Vol x, No 3 1943, p222-229)

Repository Home Page: <http://www.louthcoco.ie>

Source Material: <http://www.louthcoco.ie>

Date of Description: September 2010, by Jayne Hutchinson, & updated 2013 by Lorraine A McCann, Louth County Archives Service

Level headings:

Fonds: PP00286/, Emerson Papers, 1824 – 1840, 1865 – 1925, 27 items

Item: PP00286/001
Timber book, 1824 – 1833, 1835 – 1840, 1 item

Series: PP00286/002/001 – 005
Rentals, 1873 – 1901, 5 items

Series: PP00286/003/001 – 004
Rent received books, 1865 – 1904, 4 items

Series: PP00286/004/001 – 016
Journals, 1872 – 1906, 16 items

Series: PP00286/005
Cash book, 1906 – 1925, 1 item

Descriptive List

PP00286/001

Timber book recording tenants' planting on the Collon estate [of the 1st Lord Oriel and 2nd Viscount Ferrard].

Many of the trees are noted as having blown down in the storm of 1839. The trees are numbered according to the ditch they are planted in on the tenant's holding. Some have their height recorded in feet and inches, alongside their value in £s d. If the tree was cut down and sold the year of sale and the price received is recorded. The trees are predominantly ash, with the practice of pollarding (the removal of upper branches to promote new growth) regularly recorded.

Also contains two loose pages, one of which is an index.

The following farms and lands are included in the book: Michael & Denis Branigan's farm, Collon; Robert Higgins' farm, lands of Collon; representative of Mr McCourt, Corn Mills, Collon (and later 'now Mr Cowdroy'); Sargeant Asdil Graham, Drogheda road; Luke McGivney's farm, held by Doctor [James] Dromgoole; John Reillys farm Carricknanean; Pat Lawless' farm, Carricknanean; Richard Reilly Carricknanean; Nicholas Lawless Carricknanean; Thomas Reilly's farm Carricknanean; Thomas Early's farm Carricknanean; Edward Reilly's farm Carricknanean; Michael Whearty's farm Carricknanean; Hugh Carter's holding Whiteriver; Owen Byrne's farm

Whiteriver Land; William Patterson Whiteriver Land; Manus & James Lambs' holding at Whiteriver; Laurence Garretty Whiteriver Land; representative of Laurence McKenna, now James Campbell Whiteriver land; Owen Carroll Knockeclevy; Samuel & James McKeever & Pat Bellew Knockeclevy; John & Laurence Bellew Drumbar; John Costigan Carrickmagow; Peter Hanratty Late Grier Carrickmagow; Charles Griffith Carrickmagow; Patrick Griffith Carrickmagow; Pat Finigan Carrickmagow; Henry Petterson Mount Oriel Meadows North of Mount Oriel; Thomas Petterson's farm Mount Oriel Meadows; Patt & Edward Mullin's farm Collon Lands; Miss Tate farm Collon Lands; John Douglass' farm Collon Lands; John Douglass' farm Branaganscross; Sargeant Patt Henry's farm Collon Lands; Daniel Morgan's farm Collon Lands; Sargeant Mcgrath's farm (now Samuel McCale's) farm Collon; John Abraham's farm Collon; William Leech farm Collon; Stewarth McClure's farm Collon; Widow Lynch's farm Collon; Edward Boylin's farm Collon; Sargeant Thomas Pallat's farm on Lands of Branaganscross; Thomas Judy Byran's farm Branaganscross; Henry Byran's farm Branaganscross; William Noonan's field Branaganscross; Patt James Murphy, Corley's Land; Michael Byran's farm; Patt & Thomas Barron's farm Collon; Robert Braden's Branaganscross; Sargeant Patt Wisdom's farm, Collon; Sargeant William Read's farm Collon; James Downey's farm Collon; Lawrance Kiran's farm Collon; Pat Curran's farm Branaganscross; James M Moonan's farm and Edward Falls Carleysbawne; James B Moonan's farm Carleysbawne; Edward & James Reilly's farm Carleysbawne; Patt McEntengart's farm Carleysbawne; James & George Moonan's farm Carleysbawne; Doctor Blackwell's farm, Collon; Doctor Drumgold's farm (it was Peter McGloughlin's); Lawrance Garland's farm now Mr Sanderson's Collon; Patt McGivney's farm Kills (Kells?) Road; Luke McGivney's farm Kills Road; Richard Riely's farm Carleysbawne; George Abraham's farm Branaganscross; John Branagan's farm Branaganscross; Frank McEntagart's farm Carleysbawne; Bellowshill Land; and Thomas Hughes' farm Collon.

16 loose inserts, 13 of which contain maps

1824 – 1833, with some references to 1804 – 1809, and comments written 1835 – 1840

c.500pp

PP00286/002/

Rentals. These books provide details on rental number (over 500 rentals), townland, tenants' names, gale days (day on which rent is due), arrears due, year's rent, rent and arrears total, total received, and other rent details, and observations.

1873 – 1901

5 items

PP00286/002/001

Rental of Alfred H Wynne as agent for the following estates: Harry Sydenham Singleton's estate in the parishes of Tullyallen and Drumshallon, County Louth and Knockbridge, and Drumgoon, Co. Cavan; Whitshed estate in Drogheda, and the parishes of Collin (Collon), County Louth, Grangegeeth and Knockcommon, County Meath, and Clondalkin and Tallaght, County Dublin; Arthur Forbes's estate in the parishes of Drumcondra, Kilmessan, and Loughbrackan, County Meath; Edward Singleton's estate in Belpatrick, Collon, County Louth; the estate of John Daly Devereux in Ballyrankin, Kilrush, County Wexford; the estate of Benjamin Samuel Adams, Shinan, Shercock, County Cavan; Robert Foster Dunlop's estate in Monasterboice, County Louth; and the estate of Samuel A. Adams in Croley, Shercock, County Cavan. Some pages at back are cut out.

Includes two loose pages which don't appear to be a part of this rental: a summary of Miss Shekleton's farm account for the year 1880; and a list of expenses (names of those paid) reaping Miss Shekleton's oats for 1880.

01 Nov 1873 – 01 Nov 1878, 1880

3 items

195ff & 8pp; and 2 other items

PP00286/002/002

Rental for the following estates: Singleton; Robert Foster Dunlop; John Daly Devereux; Benjamin Samuel Adams; Arthur Forbes, all as above; also the estate of WR Wynne, Dowth, County Meath; that of Thomas P Cairnes, Rathbran Church, Killary, County Meath; and Samuel Bradford's Estate (receivership), Ballynahattin, Dundalk, and Dungooly, Faughart, both in County Louth. Contains some annotations such as no abatement, judicial (term), statutory (term), ejectment decree or civil bill decree. Some pages at back are cut out.

01 Nov 1884 – 01 Nov 1891

117ff & 7pp

PP00286/002/003

Rental for the estate of John Roland Singleton in the parishes of Tullyallen and Drumshallon, County Louth, and Knockride (Knockbridge) and Drumgoon, County Cavan, and for the estate of William Augustus Adams in Killineer, parish of St Peter's County Louth, and Corravilla, Corlattylannan, and Kinnea Manor, all in the parish of Knockbride, County Cavan. Contains some annotations such as no abatement, judicial (term), statutory (term), ejectment decree or civil bill decree.

01 Nov 1892 – 29 Sep 1901

162ff

PP00286/003/

Rent received books. These books detail rental number, townland name and tenant's name, period of payment, and amount received.

1865 – 1904

4 items

PP00286/003/001

Rents received book for Ardagh, Carricknashanna, Collon, and Mell, County Louth; Glasleck and Shercock, County Cavan; Creewood and Rathdrinagh, County Meath; and Carrickmacross, County Monaghan; Singleton and Whitshed estates.

1865 – 1873

270pp

Poor - fair condition

PP00286/003/002

Rents received book for Ardagh, Carricknashanna, Collon, and Mell, County Louth; Glasleck and Shercock, County Cavan; Creewood and Rathdrinagh, County Meath; and Carrickmacross, County Monaghan; Singleton and Whitshed estates. Also includes the estates of Samuel A Adams at Croley, Shercock, County Cavan and of Mrs Elizabeth Castles at Claret Rock (Carrickaneena, County Louth).

1877 – 1888

466pp

PP00286/003/003

Rents received book for Ardagh, Carricknashanna, Collon, and Mell, County Louth; Glasleck and Shercock, County Cavan; Creewood and Rathdrinagh, County Meath; and Carrickmacross, County Monaghan; Singleton and Whitshed estates. Also for Singleton and Forbes estates. Some pages appear to be missing.

1888 – 1904

c.353pp

PP00286/003/004

Rents received book for Ardagh, Carricknashanna, Collon, and Mell, County Louth; Glasleck and Shercock, County Cavan; Creewood and Rathdrinagh, County Meath; and Carrickmacross, County Monaghan; Singleton and Whitshed estates. For rents received at the Estate Office in Collon for the Singleton, Dunlop, Wynne, and Whitshed estates. Some pages appear to be missing.

1878 – 1897

404pp

PP00286/004/

Journals

1872 – 1906

16 items

PP00286/004/001

Journal, arranged on daily basis, recording income and expenses for the various estates for which Alfred H Wynne was agent. Included are expenses for the running of Oriel Farm and Demesne, the allowance made to the poor of Collon parish, labourers' expenses, etc.

05 Dec 1872 - 01 May 1875
c.564pp

PP00286/004/002

Journal, arranged on daily basis, recording income and expenses for the various estates for which Alfred H Wynne was agent. Included are expenses for the running of Oriel Farm and Demesne, the allowance made to the poor of Collon parish, labourers' expenses, etc.

05 May 1875 - 23 Aug 1877
c.654pp

PP00286/004/003

Journal, arranged on daily basis, recording income and expenses for the various estates for which Alfred H Wynne was agent. Included are expenses for the running of Oriel Farm and Demesne, the allowance made to the poor of Collon parish, labourers' expenses, etc.

25 Aug 1877 - 03 Jan 1880
c.749pp
Some pages torn

PP00286/004/004

Journal, arranged on daily basis, recording income and expenses for the various estates for which Alfred H Wynne was agent. Included are expenses for the running of Oriel Farm and Demesne, the allowance made to the poor of Collon parish, labourers' expenses, etc.

02 Dec 1881 - 27 Jul 1883
c.714pp

PP00286/004/005

Journal, arranged on daily basis, recording income and expenses for the various estates for which Alfred H Wynne was agent. Included are expenses for the running of Oriel Farm and Demesne, the allowance made to the poor of Collon parish, labourers' expenses, etc.

28 Jul 1883 - 23 Jan 1886
c.985pp
Some pages torn

PP00286/004/006

Journal, arranged on daily basis, recording income and expenses for the various estates for which Alfred H Wynne was agent. Included are expenses for the running of Oriel Farm and Demesne, the allowance made to the poor of Collon parish, labourers' expenses, etc.

30 Jan 1886 - 29 Oct 1887
c.598pp

PP00286/004/007

Journal, arranged on daily basis, recording income and expenses for the various estates for which John Emerson Senior and Junior were agents. Included are expenses for the running of Oriel Farm and Demesne, the allowance made to the poor of Collon parish, labourers' expenses, etc. Includes one loose page and a 16 page insert.

29 Oct 1887 - 04 Dec 1889
c.614pp
Some pages torn

PP00286/004/008

Journal, arranged on daily basis, recording income and expenses for the various estates for which John Emerson Senior and Junior were agents. Included are expenses for the running of Oriel Farm and Demesne, the allowance made to the poor of Collon parish, labourers' expenses, etc.

13 Dec 1889 - 28 Mar 1892
c.627pp

PP00286/004/009

Journal, arranged on daily basis, recording income and expenses for the various estates for which John Emerson Senior and Junior were agents. Included are expenses for the running of Oriel Farm and Demesne, the allowance made to the poor of Collon parish, labourers' expenses, etc.

23 Apr 1892 - 27 Apr 1894

c.649pp

PP00286/004/010

Journal, arranged on daily basis, recording income and expenses for the various estates for which John Emerson Senior and Junior were agents. Included are expenses for the running of Oriel Farm and Demesne, the allowance made to the poor of Collon parish, labourers' expenses, etc. Some pages appear to be missing.

05 May 1894 - 02 Mar 1896

c.631pp

PP00286/004/011

Journal, arranged on daily basis, recording income and expenses for the various estates for which John Emerson Senior and Junior were agents. Included are expenses for the running of Oriel Farm and Demesne, the allowance made to the poor of Collon parish, labourers' expenses, etc.

19 Mar 1896 - 13 Jan 1898

c.652pp

Some pages torn

PP00286/004/012

Journal, arranged on daily basis, recording income and expenses for the various estates for which John Emerson Senior and Junior were agents. Included are expenses for the running of Oriel Farm and Demesne, the allowance made to the poor of Collon parish, labourers' expenses, etc.

15 Jan 1898 - 19 Oct 1899

c.653pp

PP00286/004/013

Journal, arranged on daily basis, recording income and expenses for the various estates for which John Emerson Senior and Junior were agents. Included are expenses for the running of Oriel Farm and Demesne, the allowance made to the poor of Collon parish, labourers' expenses, etc.

21 Oct 1899 - 01 Jun 1901

c.653pp

PP00286/004/014

Journal, arranged on daily basis, recording income and expenses for the various estates for which John Emerson Senior and Junior were agents. Included are expenses for the running of Oriel Farm and Demesne, the allowance made to the poor of Collon parish, labourers' expenses, etc.

08 Jun 1901 - 26 Feb 1903

c.654pp

PP00286/004/015

Journal, arranged on daily basis, recording income and expenses for the various estates for which John Emerson Senior and Junior were agents. Included are expenses for the running of Oriel Farm and Demesne, the allowance made to the poor of Collon parish, labourers' expenses, etc.

28 Feb 1903 - 05 Dec 1904

c.651pp

PP00286/004/016

Journal, arranged on daily basis, recording income and expenses for the various estates for which John Emerson Senior and Junior were agents. Included are expenses for the running of Oriel Farm and Demesne, the allowance made to the poor of Collon parish, labourers' expenses, etc.

05 Dec 1904 - 30 Mar 1906

c.555pp

PP00286/005

Cash book recording income and expenditure for various estates in counties Louth, Meath, and Cavan.
23 Oct 1906 - 07 Jul 1925
c.117pp

The following extract from the '*Incidents of Coercion: A Journal of Visits to Ireland in 1882 and 1888*' by the Rt Hon G Shaw Lefevre, MP (London, 1889) was copied from the website, <http://www.proni.gov.uk/>:

On our way thence to Collon we called at the huts of some of the tenants who had been evicted, and heard their stories. At Collon we were fortunate enough to find at his house Mr Wynne, the late agent of Lord Massereene, and I heard from him an account of the dispute between Lord Massereene and his tenants, from the point of view of one not unfavourable to the former, and who cannot be regarded, as otherwise than in the interest generally of landlords. Mr Wynne is the agent for many other large proprietors in this district. In 1886, when the great fall of prices occurred, he advised all his employers that abatements should be made to the tenants of about 15 per cent in the case of judicial rents, and 20 per cent in non-judicial rents. Lord Massereene alone refused to take his advice, and actually dismissed him from his post as agent, for his leniency to the tenants. In all the other cases his advice was followed, and as a result no difficulty had occurred on other properties; and Lord Massereene's was the only one in the county of Louth where a combination of tenants had taken place, and where the Plan of Campaign had been adopted. Mr Wynne had no doubt that an arrangement might have been arrived at on this estate in 1886 without difficulty; he held, however, that the tenants were on their part to blame for entering into a combination so speedily, and without waiting longer to see whether Lord Massereene would make concessions. He thought that some of the tenants were able to pay their full rents; he considered that there would be no difficulty now in settling the dispute if it were not for some of the leaders of the movement who had been evicted; and that the difficulties of a settlement had been increased by the violent speeches which had been made. He thought that Lord Massereene, who was open to reason, should not be called upon to humiliate himself by reinstating these leaders of the movement in the farms from which they had been evicted.

The following day I spent in Dublin, with the object of calling on Messrs Dudgeon and Emerson, the new agents of Lord Massereene. It was evident from what I had heard on the estate that Lord Massereene was ready to give way on every point except as to the reinstatement of evicted tenants and the costs of legal proceedings.

My object in calling on Messrs Dudgeon and Emerson was to use such influence, as I might have, to effect a settlement, and to induce concessions on these two points. I did my best to persuade them that it would be wise, even in the interest of Lord Massereene, to make no vindictive exceptions to treat all his tenants equally, and to reinstate all those tenants whom it was now practically admitted had been unjustly treated. I was quite unable to make any impression on the gentlemen. They seemed to me to be typical solicitors of an aggressive class; it was their mission to put down combinations of tenants; they looked at the matter of the Massereene tenants from the point of view generally of landlords; it was necessary to make examples and to punish the leaders of such a movement, otherwise it might spread to other parts of the North of Ireland. They boasted that they had already, by a mixed policy of legal proceedings, of threats, and concessions, broken down the combination on this property; a majority of the tenants, they said, had paid part of the rent due. To give way wholly now, and to reinstate the leaders of the movement, would, in their view, be a confession of weakness, and would be a humiliation to Lord Massereene, which he could not be expected to submit to. After seeing these gentlemen, and hearing all that they had to say, I was able to form an opinion on the whole case, and make out a complete story of the dispute between Lord Massereene and his tenants.

Lord Massereene's property in the county of Louth consists of about 200 tenants, with a rental of 6,001 a year. Some of the tenants are men of substance, with large farms; others are very poor, with holdings of from five to ten acres; but the bulk of them hold farms of between twenty and thirty acres. It is admitted on all hands that there was no better or more orderly class of tenants in the North of Ireland.

The case curiously resembles in all its main features that of Lord Clanricarde. In 1886, Lord Massereene refused to act upon the advice of his agent and to make abatements of rent to them; as already explained, he dismissed his agent for offering this advice to him, and put his affairs into the hands of Messrs Dudgeon and Emerson, an indication in itself of war with his tenants.

The tenants then met, and sent a deputation to their landlord. Lord Massereene refused to see them, and sent a

message by his servant that he could only communicate with them through his new agents. The bulk of the Catholic tenants then entered into a combination and adopted the Plan of Campaign, refusing to pay their rents unless an abatement of 20 per cent. were conceded in the case of judicial rents and 25 per cent. in the case of non-judicial rents. The Protestant tenants, about thirty in number, did not join in this movement. They are not in the habit of acting in concert with their Catholic neighbours. I was told, however, that it was well understood they would receive 'the most favoured nation' treatment, and would get whatever abatements should be ultimately conceded to those who joined the combination. It was said that the Protestant tenants were planted on the estate by a predecessor of the present owner, in place of Catholic tenants, who had been cruelly evicted. There was fear among the tenants of the same process being repeated. They had seen advertisements in an Antrim paper offering farms in Louth to Protestant tenant farmers.

Thenceforward war ensued between the landlord and these tenants. Proceedings of ejection by wholesale were commenced by Messrs Dudgeon and Emerson in the Superior Courts and County Courts. They admit that they received instructions to resort to every means known to the law, for the purpose of breaking down the combination of the tenants. On their part, the tenants made very resistance which the processes of law permitted; costs on both sides were multiplied. Eventually, and as an example, ten of the tenants were evicted with the aid of a large force of police and soldiers, and several persons were sent to prison for resistance to these evictions. The farms from which these persons have been evicted have since remained derelict and uncultivated; no one has been found to take them; their former owners are living near by, either in huts built for them out of the proceeds collected under the Plan of Campaign, or in neighbouring farms, in the confident hope of being reinstated.

For nearly two years this legal warfare proceeded; Mr Dudgeon himself headed raids of bailiffs and police in the night time to seize cattle in distraint of rent. Proceedings in bankruptcy against some of rent. Proceedings in bankruptcy against some of the tenants, attachments of property of others, have been resorted to. By these and other measures enormous costs have been piled up against the tenants and added on to the claims of the landlord. I was informed on very good authority that the costs were ten times what they ought to be. During the same period arrears of rent have accumulated, and on the average three years' rent is now due.

Recent proceedings have thrown a light upon the position of the tenants and the course of Lord Massereene in refusing abatements to his tenants in 1886. Under the Land Act of 1887 the Land Commissioners have made a proportional reduction of judicial rents for the gale due in November of that year and subsequent gales, averaging about 15 per cent.; and in several cases where fresh applications had been made by the tenants for judicial rents the Commissioners have recently made awards averaging about 25 per cent., and in many cases considerably more.

Lord Massereene has lately prepared to make large abatements in respect of the arrears of rent which have accumulated during the period of the dispute. His agents have offered to make the same proportional abatement of the arrears of judicial rent as the Land Commissioners, under the Act of 1887, have decided should be made in respect of rents due since that Act; and in the case of non-judicial rents they have offered to make abatements of arrears of rent in the same proportion as the Land Commissioners have reduced the rents, or may do so in the future.

This is a practical concession of the justice of the tenants' claim. If made originally in 1886 it would have settled the case, and there would have been no dispute, no combination, and no evictions. It fully justifies the advice of Mr Wynne, the late agent, and the demand of the tenants for abatements of rent, and it has shown that their action in combining together for the non-payment of the full rents was justifiable and successful. But for the combination these terms would not have been conceded. There remain, however, two questions - that of the reinstatement of the tenants, who, it is now practically admitted, were unjustly evicted, and that of the legal costs piled up in the harassing proceedings of Messrs Dudgeon and Emerson.

It is an element of this case, as of so many others, that the landlord, by the advice of his new agents, will in no way recognise the right of the tenants to combined action, that he will not negotiate with them collectively, but insists upon dealing with them individually or through others than their recognised leaders.

It seems, then, that Messrs Dudgeon and Emerson, acting on this principle, when they were prepared to make these concessions, approached the tenants through the two priests, Father Taafe and Father McKee. It is worth while to quote their letter as showing the manner in which such offers are made.

'Our instructions', they wrote on March 27 of this year to Father Taafe, 'are to deal with the case of each tenant separately and on its merits. In the case of all the tenants who recently got their rents fixed by the Land Commissioners, we are prepared to give them the benefit of the reduction, made by applying the fair rent to the arrears due and not as in strictness merely to the gale due last November. In some of these cases we are allowing more than this owing to special circumstances.

'In case of those tenants who had judicial rents fixed by statutory agreement, and not by order of the Court made after a hearing, we have advised Lord Massereene to give the same allowance on all arrears as is allowed in respect of the November gale of last year by the schedule issued by the Land Commissioners, and his Lordship has accepted our advice. With regard to costs, our firm are prepared to deal liberally with each tenant who avails himself of the offer now made and pays his rent.

'Lord Massereene has been put to great expense owing to all the cases being defended, and he cannot be the sufferer by reason of the tenants having acted in such a foolish way as to defend actions when they had not a shadow of defence.

'If the general body of the tenants settle on the terms we have mentioned, the cases of those who have been evicted, and whose farms are now the absolute property of Lord Massereene, will be considered with a view to reinstating them in their farms; but we are instructed to state that Francis Cooke, James Byrne, and John Drumgoole are excepted from the offer now made, as his Lordship considers that they are in a great measure personally responsible for what has taken place on this estate.

'If the terms now offered are not accepted within a week from this, our instructions are to proceed at next Quarter Sessions against all in arrears, and also to execute forthwith the decrees which have already been obtained ...'

A similar offer was made through Father McKee to the tenants in the other part of the property. Father Taafe referred this letter of Lord Massereene's agents to Dr Logue, the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, whose answer is of the utmost value for the understanding of this case and for the admirable manner in which he reviews the proposal.

'Armagh: March 20, 1888

'Dear Father Taafe, - I have carefully considered your letter and that of Messrs Dudgeon and Emerson which you enclosed. I am sorry to say that I can see in the proposals made but very slight reason to hope for a satisfactory settlement. I would not be much inclined to find fault with the scale of reduction proposed by Messrs Dudgeon and Emerson, though they grant very little beyond what is granted by the letter of the law.

'However, it appears to me that at this stage of the dispute the amount of the reduction is a secondary consideration. The costs seem to be the great obstacle. From what I have heard I believe that the tenants, with the best will in the world to do so, would not be able to meet these costs or anything approaching to the amount.

'True the solicitors say that these costs have been swelled by the useless defences on the part of the tenants. From the information I could gather I am led to believe that these costs have been piled up to such an enormous figure by vexatious actions taken in the Superior Courts, while the decrees of a County Court would have served all practical purposes equally well.

'But apart from the money question, I see in the solicitors' letter indications of an intention which, if carried out, would render an amicable settlement of the dispute, and one that would lead to permanent peace, impossible.

'1. It appears that Lord Massereene wishes to deal with the tenants individually; that means war and not a settlement.

'2. It appears that his Lordship intends to make victims, and I am much mistaken if that intention does not shut the doors against an amicable arrangement. He may perhaps succeed in patching up some kind of temporary arrangement on these terms, but he will leave an amount of smouldering discontent which is likely to break into a fresh flame of still greater volume.

'Were I asked to make a suggestion of what I think best for Lord Massereene and the tenants, it would be

something like this:-

'1. Both sides should agree on the amount of reduction to be allowed on the rents now due and on the arrears; and I think neither side should stand out on trifles in settling the amount.

'2. I would advise all those who can possibly pay the reduced rent and arrears to do so at once. For those who cannot pay at once I think some arrangement should be made to enable them to pay by instalments.

'3. The costs, which appear to me to be the great difficulty, should be brought within the capability of the tenants without pressing more than can be avoided on the landlord.

'4. There should be no exceptional treatment of individuals and no victims.

I am yours faithfully,

MICHAEL LOGUE'.

It would be impossible to point out more clearly the present issues of the dispute and the principles on which it should be settled, if permanent peace is to be hoped for, than in this excellent letter.

It would appear that Father Taafe took no further action on receipt of it. On the other hand, Father McKee called together the tenants of his district, and, after discussing the question with them, made this reply to Messrs Dudgeon and Emerson:-

'The tenants of the Massereene estate, also parishioners of mine, are anxious to come to a settlement with Lord Massereene on terms honourable to themselves as well as to his Lordship ...

'They cannot forget the evicted tenants, who have suffered so much in the recent struggle. They cannot, therefore, accept any terms from which any of the tenant should be excluded'.

Meanwhile Mr Dillon had crossed over to Ireland in March last, with the intention of making political speeches in reply to the challenge of the Chief Secretary for Ireland at Staleybridge, in which he had claimed that the Government had succeeded in suppressing the National League in all the districts in which it had been proclaimed under the Coercion Act. Mr Dillon had no previous connection with the Massereene case, and had taken no part in advising the combination. It was only when in the district that he heard of the position of affairs there, and of the desperate efforts then being made to induce the tenants who had joined in the combination to come to terms separately with their landlords, and to abandon the evicted tenants.

It was represented to him that there was danger lest, under the joint influence of threats of eviction, of favourable terms offered to them individually, and of the advice of Father Taafe, the tenants would separately agree to terms and abandon the evicted tenants to their fate. He was, therefore, induced to address the tenants at Tullyallen on April 8. His speech must be considered as an impassioned defence of the Plan of Campaign, and an appeal to the tenants to stand by one another, and not to give way singly.

'When I recommended,' he said, 'the Plan of Campaign as a policy to the tenantry of Ireland, I did it deliberately - I did it because I believe it was a policy that would make the fate of the traitor an unhappy one. What has been the curse of Ireland in the past, when time after time the leaders of the people have endeavoured to lead the poor tenantry out of the land of bondage? What has been the curse of previous movements? It has been the traitor, the man who, in the very hour when victory is at hand, who in the hour of the thickest of the fight turned his back on his comrades and basely betrayed the cause which he was pledged by every principle of honesty and manhood to sustain. I came to the conclusion that if we could not place before our people some policy, we could not hope to do what was also a dear object to my heart - namely, to win our people from the methods which they used to adopt towards traitors. What used they to do towards traitors in the olden times? They sued to shoot them. Well, I wanted to turn away our people from that course. It is a course natural to desperate men; a course of outrage and of vengeance. It is a course which naturally occurs to men when they see they are betrayed; but it is a course which will not lead to victory, and I wanted to place before the people of Ireland, a Christian, a civilised, and a moral plan, by which, if they adhered to it bravely, they would put down the infamous system of race-renting and treachery to which the people of Ireland have been so long subjected.'

He then pointed out the many cases where combinations had been successful, and especially those of Lord de Freyne's and Sir Henry Burke's tenants, where the landlords had ultimately conceded almost all that the tenants had asked for, and had reinstated that evicted tenants and had paid all the costs of legal proceedings. He went into details of the Massereene case and gave illustrations of the way in which costs had been piled up by Messrs Dudgeon and Emerson, whom he described as belonging to the very worst class of agents in Ireland. He ended by a strong appeal to the tenants to stand by one another. 'If there be any men amongst the Massereene tenants who feel weak or inclined to yield, let me tell them this, that the only danger they have to dread is the danger of yielding. If they yield they will be ruined men; they will be put to great costs and expenses; the landlord will never again have mercy upon them; he will know they are beaten, and from any part of the Irish race they will get neither support nor sympathy. I have come here to tell them that the whole power of an organisation will be at their backs; and I say without the slightest hesitation, and in the plainest way, that any man who takes their farms and any man who goes back and takes advantage of the position to get possession of their property, that his life won't be a happy one ... Is the life of a pick-pocket or cheat a happy one? I say that the man who does an act which makes every honest neighbour [illegible], his life will not and ought not to be happy wherever an honest man be. ... The man who turns his back upon the people who have entered into a fight of this character will be looked upon, and justly looked upon, by all his neighbours as a traitor and dishonest man.' (This report taken from notes of the police reporter read at the trial, part of which is illegible).

There are passages in this speech which have seemed to some people as dangerously near to threats of physical violence against those who should be traitors will suffer in the estimation of their neighbours, and will be considered no better than pickpockets or blacklegs; and even if another construction be possible, it is always right and fair to adopt that which is the most moderate.

Having regard to the state of the dispute between Lord Massereene and his tenants, to the offers made by Messrs Dudgeon and Emerson, and to the pressure brought to bear from all quarters on the tenants to induce them to give way and to abandon the evicted tenants to their fate, the speech must be regarded as a passionate appeal to them to stand by the evicted tenants, on whom the burthen of the fight had fallen, and not to come to terms except by common agreement.

In this sense the speech was understood by the tenants, as was evidenced by the resolution forwarded to Messrs Dudgeon and Co. by Father McKee, which has already been quoted. For my own part, knowing, as I now do, all the facts of the case, and after hearing all that could be alleged on behalf of Lord Massereene by his agents, and without committing myself to all the language of Mr Dillon, I have no hesitation in saying that I should have advised the tenants to stand by one another, and not come to terms with their landlord unless all the evicted tenants were reinstated, and no vindictive exceptions were made in the settlement. My conviction is that the same view would be taken by any independent inquirer, or by any jury, to whom the facts should be submitted, or who should be conversant with the district.

As in the case of public meetings, so also with respect to speeches, the jury is, under our Constitution, the real palladium of the rights of the public. It rests with the jury to decide whether a speech infringes the law; and it is impossible to withdraw from a jury could have been empanelled in Ireland, even in Ulster, which would have convicted Mr Dillon for such a speech. I doubt whether any jury in the United Kingdom would do so. There is conclusive proof of this proposition, as regards Ireland, in the action of the Government. At the time Mr Dillon made this speech, the county of Louth was not proclaimed, and he could, therefore, be tried only before a jury. The county has always had a reputation for the independence and integrity of its juries. It would have been easy for the Crown to empanel a jury there exclusively composed of Protestants without any sympathy with the Nationalist Party. The Government, however, felt that it was hopeless to expect a verdict even from such a jury. With the object of withdrawing the case from a jury and securing a conviction, they proclaimed the county of Louth four days after the Tullyallen speech, for the express and only purpose of relegating Mr Dillon's case to their complacent agents, the resident magistrates. There was no crime whatever in Lough, and no justification, therefore, for proclaiming it under the Coercion Act. A more flagrant case of ex post facto proceedings with the object of securing a conviction against a public man could not be conceived.

For the purpose of the case two resident magistrates, who could be relied upon, were brought from a distance, one of them fresh with the honour of having convicted Father McFadden; they naturally did the work expected of them. Mr Dillon was charged and tried for two distinct offences arising out of his speech - the one for unlawfully taking part in a criminal conspiracy to compel and induce certain tenants not to fulfil their legal obligations, and to

refuse to pay and not to pay to the owners of such farms the rents which they were lawfully bound to pay; the other for inciting other persons to take part in an unlawful conspiracy known as the Plan of Campaign. The magistrates convicted him of both these offences, and sentenced him in each case to six months' imprisonment without hard labour, the sentences to run concurrently, and they gave as a reason for giving the fullest sentence in their power 'the influence which the accused is well known to exert over masses of his fellow-countrymen.'

From these sentences there was an appeal to the County Court judge of the district, Mr Kisbey, a gentleman who, before his recent appointment at the Bench, had been a most bitter political partisan of the Orange type. If anything could add to the scandal of the proceedings, it is that a man whom three-fourths of the people of Ireland look upon as their most trusted leader, and adore as their benefactor and friend, should be tried without a jury by Mr Kisbey.

At the trial at Dundalk, Mr Dillon conducted his own defence. The evidence against him was confined to a report of his own speech at Tullyallen, a speech of similar tenor at the same meeting by Mr Gill, MP, who, strange to say, was not himself prosecuted, and a previous speech of Mr Dillon delivered in November 1886, before the passing of the Coercion Act, and for which he had been prosecuted before a jury and not found guilty. Not a title of evidence was given of a conspiracy. Mr Dillon defended himself in a speech of remarkable eloquence and power - a speech which was unfortunately not reported in the English papers as it deserved to be. The judge confirmed the sentences in both cases. He refused to make his order in such a manner, by referring to the depositions, as to enable the accused to appeal to the higher tribunals on the point of law whether the evidence disclosed any crime punishable by law, although it was pointed out to him that it was within his power to do so, and had been the constant practice till within the last few months. He insisted upon the warrant for the imprisonment of Mr Dillon being made out at once, instead of waiting for the signature of the magistrates who originally convicted, as had also been the practice till lately - a course which would have afforded Mr Dillon a short interval, before going to prison, in which to arrange his affairs.

The proceedings throughout the whole trial showed a fixed determination on the part of the Crown and the judge to press the law to the utmost, to secure the conviction and imprisonment of their victim, and to treat him with the utmost severity.

The climax, however, of the whole case was the committal of such a man to imprisonment as a common criminal. The speech of Mr Dillon, even if within the law of conspiracy, was spoken with no criminal intent; it was purely political in the highest sense of the term; it was uttered with a sense of duty and with a belief in the justice of his case, which placed it altogether outside the intent and scope of the criminal law. To four-fifths of the Irish people, to a great majority of the people of Scotland and Wales, and to a very large section, perhaps even a majority, of the English people the speech was justifiable and praiseworthy, or at least excusable and defensible under the circumstances. No one even of Mr Dillon's political opponents could hold that such a speech rendered him in any sense dishonourable or infamous, as the commission of an ordinary crime would do; it is certain that he will be treated with the same respect in the House of Commons, and in any society he finds himself, as if he had never been convicted. To treat such a man as a criminal, to subject him to the indignities of a gaol on the level with felons and pickpockets, to invest him with the prison garb, to run the immense risk of destroying his health, is a wanton outrage on the feelings of a large part, and possibly of a majority, of the people of the United Kingdom.'

It can have no possible effect in deterring others from the like acts, but the very opposite. It must inspire others to do the utmost which a sense of duty impels them to. All past history tells us that such a policy defeats its own purpose. There is not a civilised country in the world, except our own, where experience has not resulted in the treatment of political offences in a totally different spirit, and with penalties having no comparison with those accorded to crime in its ordinary sense.

A review of the dispute between the Massereene tenants and their landlord or co-owner, ending in its climax, the imprisonment of Mr Dillon, shows a striking similitude in all its main features to that of the Clanricarde tenants; in both cases the landlords refused to act on the advice of their agents or to make reasonable abatements of rent, such as other good landlords were freely making at that time, and parted with their agents in consequence of their having given this advice; in both cases they refused to recognise any common action on the part of their tenants, or even to negotiate with them as a body; in both cases this unwise action of the landlords was followed by strict combination on the part of the tenants and their refusal to pay full rents without a reasonable abatement; in both cases evictions were then carried out by the landlords, supported by the forces of the Crown and the penal powers of the Coercion Act, and every possible effort has been made, by harassing proceedings in the law courts,

to break down the combination; in both cases the demands of the tenants have since been fully justified by the action of the Legislature in sanctioning the reduction of judicial rents, and by the Land Commissioners in awarding reductions of rents equalling or little less than those demanded by the tenants; in both cases the landlords have lately shown, by their offers to concede large abatements of arrears of rent accruing since the disputes arose, that they now admit that they were wrong in the first instance in refusing to listen to the demands of their tenants; in both cases there have been added to the difficulties of settlement the legal costs which have been piled up, and the position of the evicted tenants, who, it is now practically admitted, were unjustly evicted.

In both cases the Government has interfered to prevent and prohibit the free expression of opinion in public meetings, and to prosecute and send to prison as criminals those who have spoken words of sympathy for the tenants, and who have bid them stand by one another, and not to abandon the evicted tenants, who have suffered for them.