

**THE MAKING OF THE IRISH  
NATION: AND THE FIRST-  
FRUITS OF FEDERATION**

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649641949

The Making of the Irish Nation: And the First-Fruits of Federation by J. A. Partridge

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Edited by Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd.  
Cover @ 2017

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**J. A. PARTRIDGE**

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THE MAKING  
OF THE IRISH NATION:

AND

THE FIRST-FRUITS OF FEDERATION.

"Major rerum nascitur ordo."

BY

J. A. PARTRIDGE

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"DEMOCRACY: ITS FACTORS AND CONDITIONS," "FROM FEUDAL TO FEDERAL," "THE POLICY  
OF ENGLAND IN RELATION TO INDIA AND THE EAST," ETC., ETC.

London

T FISHER UNWIN

26 PATERNOSTER SQUARE

1886

To the

TWO NATIONS

ENGLAND AND IRELAND

*(THE ONE THE ELDER, THE OTHER THE MORE POWERFUL),*

CONSTITUTING NOW IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN  
CANADA, AUSTRALIA, AND THE COLONIES,

ONE EMPIRE;

AND TO THE ETERNAL MEMORIES OF MOLYNEUX, SWIFT,

FLOOD, CURRAN, GRATTAN, BURKE, FOX, SHERIDAN,

SHEIL, O'CONNELL, AND MANY OTHERS,

THE MAKERS AND MARTYRS OF

IRELAND, THIS VOLUME IS

CONSECRATED.

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*PREFACE.*



"Sometimes, it is true, a rare individual has appeared among us, raising a degraded country from the condition of a province to the rank and consequence of a people worthy to be the ally of a mighty empire, forming the league that bound her to Great Britain, on the firm and honourable basis of equal liberty and a common fate, standing and falling with the British Empire."—CURRAN.

"One word upon the legislative independence of Ireland—that which is now called a 'Repeal of the Union.' It is said to be a severance of the empire, a separation of the two countries. Illustrious lady, these statements are made by men who know them to be unfounded; an Irish legislative independence would, on the contrary, be the strongest and most durable connection between your Majesty's Irish and your British dominions. It would, by conciliating your Irish subjects, and attending to their wants and wishes, render the separation of Ireland from the lawful dominion of your Crown utterly impossible."—O'CONNELL'S *Memoir Addressed to the Queen*.

"I think I can trace all the calamities of this country to the single source of our not having had steadily before our eyes a general, comprehensive, well-connected, and well-proportioned view of the whole of our dominions, and a just sense of their true bearings and relations. If we make ourselves too little for the sphere of our duty; if, on the contrary, we do not stretch and expand our minds to the compass of their object, be well assured that everything about us will dwindle by degrees, until at length our concerns are shrunk to the dimensions of our minds. The Parliament of Great Britain sits at the head of her extensive empire in two capacities—one, as the local legislature of this island, providing, &c.; the other, and I think her nobler capacity, in what I call her imperial character, in which, as from the throne of heaven, she superintends all the several inferior legislatures, and guides and controls them all, without annihilating any."—BURKE.

## PREFACE.

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"Without examining details, the whole of liberal Europe and America is loud in admiration of the initiative taken by the illustrious statesman."—EMILE DE LAVELEYE.

"She follows her physical destination, and obeys the dispensations of providence when she protests like that sea, against the two situations, both equally unnatural—separation and union. She feels her Constitution to be her great stake in the empire, and the empire the great security of her Constitution. If British ministers take away the Constitution, they withdraw at once a great pillar of liberty and empire."—GRATTAN.

"Should England not change her conduct, Ireland may still for a long period belong to her; but not always; and the loss of that country is the death-day, not only of her greatness, but her very existence."—NIEBUHR.

"High politics are like the pyramids, only two sorts of animals reach the top—reptiles and eagles."—D'ALEMBERT.

WE are in a transition state. Yesterday, we were an oligarchic republic (tempered by queen, chaos, and revolution); to-day, we are a democratic republic (a pyramid, resting for the most part on its base); to-morrow, we shall be members of an imperial democratic confederated empire, the most stupendous manifestation of order, economy, and power, yet possible on this planet; and whilst all things are getting forged and fitted to their places, men come up to see and wonder at this great sight, a mighty people, a royal nation, an imperial confederacy, depending not on its creatures, but on itself, nor intending ever again, for all or any of them, to run again the dread inane cycle of blood, ruin, and reaction.

It is all coming, because come it must. The fact is, we are at the fag end of a slave fight. We have let our overseers, Pitt, Peel, and Co., carry on, since 1782, the

"hell harrowing" of Ireland, because in 1782 she happened to have, not a captain, but only orators and a parliament; and because we can't understand till it is licked into us, that any one but ourselves—and Polands and Italys a long way off—have rights. We want Home Rule in England. We can't make England, or Ireland, or the empire, without making Ireland, and if we don't begin soon it may be too late. Manhood rules here now, and rules for manhood and empire, not for property, slave-drivers, or things; and besides all that, the Puritans are waking up, and they are the real blood royal of England.

On the whole, our situation to-day is not unlike that of America, when making up its mind to put down the slave trade and to unite the empire—sketched so well by Wendell Phillips:

"I divide you into four sections. The first is the ordinary mass, rushing from mere enthusiasm to battle. Behind that class stands another, whose only idea in this controversy is Sovereignty and the flag. Next to it stands the third element, the people—the broad surface of the people, who have no time for technicalities, who never studied law, who never had time to read further into the Constitution than the first two lines, 'Establish justice and secure liberty.' They have waited long enough; they have eaten dirt enough; they have apologized for bankrupt statesmen enough; they have quieted their consciences enough; and now they have got their hand on the neck of a rebellious aristocracy, and in the name of the people mean to strangle it.

"That I believe is the body of the people itself. Side by side with them stands a fourth class—small, but active—the abolitionists, who thank God that He has let them see His salvation before they die."

With us, the slaves and the slave-drivers are not in the same country. With us, the "rebellious aristocracy," and "the bankrupt statesmen," have hardly yet gone under; but "the people have waited long enough, eaten dirt enough, apologized enough, and quieted their consciences enough."