

tary celibates for the glory of God and the honor of their family "Old maids" you have heard them called. Be it so. Nothing can quench the halo of glory that shall forever play around a name over and against which such deeds may be recorded.

But back of that the pioneer's obligation to woman began where debt and duty begin with us all, at the source of earthly love: Motherhood. It must have been the mother's spirit that animated the household to its sacrifices, and the mother's hand that guided home industries to the common end. How much self-educated men owe to their mothers! And how much does the world owe them for the gift of their sons! Abraham Lincoln was a self-educated man, but it was his mother who first gave him the impulse toward education and the first training; for she taught him the rudiments of writing, and encouraged him to persevere against opposition and discouragement in his purpose. Alas! one of the first efforts of his faltering pen was writing a letter to an itinerant preacher, an old friend of his mother, to come and deliver a sermon at her grave. Many a pioneer mother, like Lincoln's, did not live to see her sons attain the object of her holy ambition, but survived long enough to make that purpose sure. Of such a mother children and children's children can say, as Cowper said of his mother:

My boast is not that I deduce my birth
From loins enthroned and rulers of the earth;
But higher far my proud pretensions rise—
The son of parents passed into the skies.

The life of the pioneer mother lives in that of her children. It was denied to her to know on earth how far beyond her highest hopes God had answered her prayers and rewarded her self-denial; but in that world where mother and children have long been united surely she has learned it all. Her spirit is not dead, but throbs today in the bosoms that feel, and speaks in the words that utter, the high and virtuous and beneficent achievements of her descendants. Out of the past century her hand has been reached—the hand that rocked the cradle in the rude log cabin—and has laid its potency on this vast assembly to draw us to this Congress, whose purpose is to honor and perpetuate the memory of the pioneers of our ancestral stock. Yes, her work lives here, and shall traverse the ages, interblended with the work of her children.

This record is not solitary; it is the type of a changeless law. On that imperishable tablet where Honor's hand inscribes the deathless names of the just and wise and good, the highest and fairest there are only MOTHER, written large.

THE CHANGES OF A CENTURY: OR, ULSTER AS IT WAS AND AS IT IS.

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FROUDE's "English in Ireland" presents a vivid picture of the Ireland of last century; and the work on "Ulster as It Is," by Thomas MacKnight, gives a good sketch of the present condition of our brethren in the North of Ireland. I am in possession of two useful supplements to these works, one being the manuscript notebook of Rev. James Harper, a North of Ireland clergyman of last century, who came near its close to end his life at Lexington, Va. This notebook was presented to me at our Congress of last year, and will be deposited in the library of Princeton College. The other is a manuscript written at my request by an Irish gentleman, whose name I am not at liberty to publish, but who is recognized for his patriotism and wisdom in all the great movements in modern Ulster. I shall offer his paper in full to the forthcoming volume, and meanwhile I take advantage of its valuable information in attempting to compare the Ulster of our day with that of the "good old times."

The Harper manuscript contains many personal memoranda: a table of shorthand, notes of purchases and their prices, notes of his engagements at first in teaching and afterwards in preaching, of his hiring servants, thus engaging Betty Sampson from November 1, 1779, to May 1, 1780, for the wages £0 18s 0d (\$4.50) for the half year; and Ned O'Brallaghan, whose wages for the summer half year were on a more liberal scale, being £1 10s 7½d; whilst the labor of William Mar for the winter was to be remunerated by 4d per day.

Much of the book is occupied with copies of very interesting letters, especially from his elder brother, Hugh Harper. The original home where Hugh resided seems to have been at Mollusk, a rural place a few miles north of Belfast, near the bounds of Carnmoney congregation. In my childhood I cherished the kind friendship of the Harpers, who lived somewhere in the same region. Arranging the memoranda of the book chronologically, I find that its author antedated myself by exactly a century, having a not very dissimilar experience, and, like myself, winding up as an emigrant

to the New World. First, we have, bearing date May 17, 1754, a certificate from the Rev. John Thompson, of Carnmoney, that "James Harper, a single person, hath resided several years in this congregation, behaving himself soberly and Christianly, and the time he taught school here was to the advantage of those that were under his care." This testimonial raises a difficulty. Rev. John Thompson, of Carnmoney, was an eminent man; but his ministry is set down as having begun in 1767, thirteen years after this testimonial.*

After a few years of employment as a teacher James Harper became a Presbyterian minister. No college in Ireland being open to a man of his faith, he studied mathematics, Greek Testament, and other Greek and Latin books, and other subjects privately; and became minister of Knockloughrim Presbyterian (Secession or Burgher) Church. The Irish Burgher Presbytery of Derry was established as a secession movement in 1777, and included four ministers: Mr. Harper being one, Rev. Joseph Ker, of Ballygony, another, and two others farther away (some of these congregations starting earlier as Seceders). Sandholes and Boveedy were afterwards added, as stated in the manuscript. The first of the congregations named was within two miles of Castle Dawson, my birthplace; and I was ordained to the pastorate of the second almost exactly a century after Mr. Harper seems to have begun his ministry (about 1761). His notes speak of his attending Presbytery and assisting at communion in my old church of Ballygony; and at every turn I find him going over the well known pathways in which I used to follow him. The whole presents a photograph with pen and ink of the Ulster Scotch-Irish of last century, so like in fundamentals what they still are; and yet their surroundings and methods have greatly changed.

The letters copied in the notebook are quite impressive for their spirit of prayerfulness and for their faith in an ever present Providence. Much reference is made to attending church, to communion seasons, to profitable sermons, to the prevalence of sin, and the need of humiliation. Though Missions and Sunday schools and the other great Christian movements of our day were unknown, the establishment of secession churches, after the principles of the Erskines, was a powerful spiritual movement; and if you want to know how the Christians of that day thought, read the set of queries to be put

*I find, however, that there were two ministers of the same name in Carnmoney; and it was the first of these who wrote the testimonial.

to young communicants written in the manuscript. Three of these are: "Do you approve and see the necessity of a testimony for truth lifted by seceders? Do you carefully avoid punning about Scripture texts? Do you use spells or charms of any kind, or have you recourse to these for the cure of yourselves or cattle when diseased?" Then follow a series of searching questions about personal piety. Another glimpse is in the list of his books, some of which Mr. Harper occasionally lent among his friends. Besides Latin and Greek grammars, lexicons, and authors, he had Watts's "Logic," Owen on the "One Hundred and Thirtieth Psalm" and on "Communion," Boston on "The Covenant," "Gospel Sonnets," Brown's "Metaphors," McEwen on "The Types," Erskine's "Sermons," Nisbet on "Ecclesiastes," Welwood's "Glimpse of Glory," "Pilgrim's Progress," "Confession of Faith;" books which contain the marrow of true divinity. Another indication is the constitution of a praying society in Alexander Dobbin's in March, 1763. I knew of such a society coming down from old times, and I regarded its chief supporter, old Mattie Drennan, as one of the brightest Christians of my experience.

In our own century Ulster has been the blessed scene of great religious movements, which have transformed its character. In the great Methodist movement of last century Mother Heck was one of us. We will only refer to the political changes which affect all Ireland, and have removed every badge of religious ascendancy, as Catholic emancipation in 1829, then the tithe commutation act, and lastly disestablishment and disendowment of the Episcopalian and Presbyterian Churches respectively. The other movements were the union of the Presbyterian branches into the one general assembly (1840), the establishment of Home and Foreign Missions, the great revival of 1859, a year of grace, which has been succeeded by a series of awakenings rich with spiritual fruit. My friend writes, "There is no religious disability whatever before the law affecting any Irishman. Religious equality before the law was thoroughly established by the disestablishment and disendowment of 1869." He adds that, whilst these changes have not entirely removed social or sectarian barriers between the several sects, they have done this as between Presbyterians and Methodists and other non-Episcopal denominations, and have proved with all a stimulus to religious activity.

A curious picture of the times is given in the Harper book by the memoranda of buying whisky, also sixpence half-penny for one.

half pound of tobacco, and a few other tobacco entries. Froude informs us that the Irish Parliament attempted in 1771 to check intemperance by limiting the drinking shops, which were then ruining the Irish peasantry and the workmen; but the English Government rejected the bill because they were unwilling to spare the tax levied upon distilleries. The Harper MS. gives such items in its early entries, as:

Cash for drink, Coagh.....	0 0 6
And again frequently.....	3½
To liquor in Stewartstown.....	3
To pumps, stockings, and whisky.....	8 2½

At later dates whisky was bought in larger quantities for the use of the reverend clergyman and his guests. Thus in 1771 several quarts are bought at 10½d a quart, and kegs of whisky at seven shillings each; and in June, 1773, eleven quarts of spirits were purchased, and once more eleven quarts; then one and a-half gallons of proof whisky at four shillings and two pence per gallon; also single bottles. And in 1781 about fifteen gallons are provided for home consumption. Afterwards we have the more pleasing sight of entries for purchase of tea and loaf sugar (some of the tea had perhaps turned back from its voyage toward Boston; and on it we may be sure the Irish were compelled to pay stamp duty or taxes, especially as we find it charged at the high figure of five shillings and two pence per pound). Froude tells us that the Irish Parliament then had a quarrel over the sugar with the British Government. The Irish wanted to levy a protective duty on the British loaf sugar, but this the English refused to sanction.

This whisky question long continued to be the bane of Ireland; and one of the bright spots of our history is where the good priest Father Theobald Mathew (1838) led on a great crusade in which Protestants and Roman Catholics joined hands in seeking to secure sobriety for the whole country. Alas! that this work did not go on in the same spirit among all Irishmen; but among our kinsmen in Ulster there has been progress. My friend writes that in that province there is an extremely active temperance sentiment, and remarks that "it is a curious thing that in Belfast, at all events, by far the greatest proportion of the retail liquor trade is in the hands of Roman Catholics."

On the subject of education the Scotch-Irish of that day were under political disabilities; no primary schools save such as were supported by private subscriptions; the middle schools that once

belonged to them had been plundered from them by an unjust Irish Protestant Parliament, and the only college of that day in Ireland kept its doors closed against all who did not join the dominant sect. Now all this has been changed; even some of the stolen schools have been restored as an act of justice by the Imperial Parliament; and an excellent system of primary, intermediate, and higher educational institutions has been provided. My friend, in speaking of this, refers to attempts to render the national education sectarian; but states that "both the Gladstonian Chief Secretary and the Unionist Chief Secretary stood firm on this subject (for Ireland) and refused to tamper with our present system, which forbids that any child should be taught any religion of which his parent does not approve." The stimulus given by the provisions for intermediate and also for university education has been felt by Roman Catholics as well as Protestants; but as the Roman Catholic authorities still oppose the Royal University (of which, however, many of their people are taking advantage), "there is a tendency in the present government to meet them in this respect."

The Harper manuscript contains, so early as February 24, 1760, a letter referring to public troubles as chastisements from God; especially mentioning "the threatened stroke. If it is over, it has been almost confined to the town of Carrickfergus." This stroke was the capture and sacking of Carrickfergus by a French fleet in November, 1759; which fleet was soon afterwards itself captured by the British, and its admiral (Thurot) killed near the Isle of Man. A worse cloud than the fear of invasion was the public hardship because of oppressive laws against which the people had to struggle, preventing the woolen trade and otherwise repressing Irish industry. A letter is copied from William Carmichael, written in 1756, when Harper was very young, and advising him to continue as he was till times grew somewhat easier, and is full of kind encouragement. James's elder brother Hugh writes in 1757:

Since father-in-law's death we have had some contentions, but I have bargained with Squire Rowley's agent for fifteen acres of land. And John Kelly and John Parker, being dissatisfied with agent's procedure, set off to Dublin this morning to get it overturned by the landlord.

With what result we know not; but here we have the system of rack-renting, and imposing renewal fines, and of oppression by agents of absentee landlords and of evictions, which Froude describes as the source of bitterness, and as carried across the ocean to create a feeling of antipathy against Britain among the Scotch-

Irish of America; a system of oppression which continued up to our own times, until it was first arrested by Mr. Gladstone, and now it promises to be forever abolished.

In these hardships Ireland being close at hand was unable to fight; and had to suffer to the last. Two movements were made indeed for deliverance, the volunteer movement, of 1780, and the rebellion of 1798. Mr. Harper's MS. betrays the fact that its author was beginning to take an interest in politics; thus in 1778 he became a subscriber to the *Belfast Newsletter*, which would inform him of the struggle of the American colonies; and in July, 1781, he paid Mr. Forrester for the use of the Volunteer Company £4 17s 0½d, a very large subscription from a man in his condition. After the failure of Grattan's Irish Parliament came the fearful uprising of the Rebellion in 1798. This ended in failure so soon as the Ulster people learned that in the south it had developed into a warfare for exterminating the Protestants. But prior to that news the most steady people of Ulster were in sympathy with it or actively engaged. William, the eldest son of Rev. James Harper, was implicated in it, and for this his property was confiscated, and I think he made good his escape to America, as the MS. has an entry of his marriage in 1806, apparently written in America. Maghera was a local center of the trouble near Harper's place, and an attempt was made to prove that the old clergyman himself was concerned in the rebellion. He was tried by court-martial at Maghera for high treason, and was acquitted, after which he left the country, sailing to America, and in his old age going to Lexington, in Virginia, where he died in 1803. His younger son, called by his own name, and also a clergyman, followed him to Virginia, where he died in 1815. My wife, whose ancestors belonged to their neighborhood in County Derry, informs me that in her childhood she heard much of Maghera as a hotbed of rebellion, and that one of the leaders, named Church, turned traitor and betrayed the others. She says that in our own old neighborhood her great-grandfather and Mr. Newton, of Coagh, were the only men who took the oath of allegiance. Her granduncles were all enrolled among the United Irishmen; and all the ladies of that section were United "Irishmen," wearing green scarfs bearing the harp without the crown, in which disloyal garb they attended Coagh Presbyterian Meetinghouse. Her mother's uncle, having been betrayed for the sake of a reward by an old dependent to whom the family had shown kindness, sought refuge in my own old meetinghouse

of Ballygony, where he lay concealed for six weeks, till he succeeded in making his escape to America. Dr. McCook's ancestors were implicated and fled the country.

These memories and traditions are perhaps more powerful among the old Scotch-Irish immigrants of America than in Ireland itself, as our brethren in America fancy that the Britain of to-day is the old despotic, intolerant kingdom of George III. But however terrible Britain may now appear to her enemies, she has learned better ways in dealing with her own remaining colonies, and with her children at home. She grants autonomy to her colonies, and is endeavoring to train even the Hindoos to the arts of self-government. She paid a hundred millions of dollars for purchasing freedom for her West Indian slaves, a bargain which America might at one time have prudently imitated, even if it had cost us a thousand millions. She has secured fair election laws, unlearning her old prejudices against Americanisms, and copying and improving our American ballot with most complete safeguards. She has opened her ports to the trade of the world, and has complete civil service reform. She and America have both the same spirit as leaders in freedom and in civilizing the nations; and there is small reason to doubt that this Venezuela trouble will end in a plan which will render European encroachment upon small American states forever impossible.

Our Scotch-Irish Society in the United States bears its only allegiance, under God, to the star-spangled banner, and we want not to be half British, but entirely American; but we dearly love the friends and scenes that we have left behind us; we love the old flag of England all the more because it has ceased to be a symbol of civil and religious injustice, and is now known to symbolize civil equality, complete civil reform, and political liberty everywhere over the whole world.

As to the effect of the ballot in Ulster, my friend says that it has broken down the power of the "office"—*sc.*, the tyranny of landlords, agents, and bailiffs, which we remember so well; and he repeats what Roman Catholic judges have said in condemning the abominable interference of priests at the polls.

The effect of the changes in agriculture amounts to a revolution, and this was brought about by the British Parliament as a result of peaceable agitation against inveterate abuses. There is no more possibility of rack-renting, and a process is now working that promises to convert all the occupiers into owners of their farms:

the government will lend a tenant farmer money to buy out his holding, the immediate effect being to reduce his rent twenty-five per cent, and to secure the farm, free of rent, to his children in less than fifty years. Thus Gladstone and the Conservatives, from opposite sides in Parliament, have united to restore the old Jewish institution of the jubilee in Ireland. Even in the south of the island this system is stimulating people to greater industry and providence.

The focus of Irish trade and manufactures is Belfast, which in half a century has advanced in population from seventy thousand to three hundred thousand, and which now in property valuation is the chief city of Ireland, and in commerce and inland revenue ranks third in the United Kingdom, being surpassed only by London and Liverpool. The beauty of its surroundings, and of its spacious streets and fine buildings, always surprises strangers. Mac-Knight reports the colloquies overheard by him in the early morning between Glasgow excursionist workmen, who had just landed in Highstreet by the steamer. One says to his fellow, "Belfast is very like Glasgow, man;" and the reply comes, "I think it looks finer." Mr. Harper's manuscript has foreshadowings of coming prosperity in notes about farm work and marketing. While most of the farm work was on potatoes and oats, we find under date 1795 a significant entry: By the premium on flax, £0 7s 0½d; and in 1791, "Sold flax to James Kennedy, £1 14s 1½d;" also in 1796, "Sold flax, Widow Nelson, in pecks, £4 11s 0d;" followed by six similar sales to James Kennedy, William Brown, and others. These entries are for large sums, including a great deal of marketing about cattle and other farm produce; but they are on loose sheets, coming up to 1797 (the eve of the rebellion), and one entry, "5th June, 1795, settled an acct. with Willy, and he owes me £1 12s 2½d," suggests that it was not the reverend and venerable father, but the adventurous son, whose commercial dealings are here recorded; all of which were terminated in the following year by the confiscation of the son's property by his treason and flight to America. A loose slip bearing date "February 4th, 1806," is a receipt of money "from Mr. William Harper, eight pounds five shillings and five pence in full of all acts to this Date. James Long," which seems to belong to his American history. After these times the linen trade became the great staple of Ulster, and especially of Belfast and neighboring parts, and so continued until recently: in the older days by hand looms, more recently with machinery and

steam. Thus has been produced a contrast between that section and the rest of Ireland similar to that between Lower Canada and Massachusetts, saving that in Ireland the advantages of good soil and fine climate are with the south, and Ulster was always disparaged as a cold and bleak part of the island. It is not better water for flax that favored Ulster, any more than it was better water for whisky that helped Islay, or better water for straw that helped Dunstable. Such arguments have no scientific soundness. But the difference is connected with the varying characters of the people for enterprise, for steady industry, and for business integrity.

Of the present state of business my friend writes that the northeastern parts of Ulster, having all the advantages of British fiscal arrangements, and the people being of the same race as the English and Scotch, have planted industries and commerce which are thriving and prosperous. In addition to the linen trade they have now large iron shipbuilding interests in Belfast, and these yards seem to keep busy when those in England and Scotland are complaining of want of work.

The determined attitude taken by Ulster in opposition to Home Rule, as contrasted with their participation in the rebellion of 1798, finds its explanation in the conviction that the attitude of the British Government has changed for the better, while any independent government which the majority of the Irish voters would be able to establish would be a change greatly for the worse. They have observed the methods of the Parnellites and anti-Parnellites under circumstances which should have elicited self-denial, caution, and true patriotism; they have observed the sort of statesmanship exhibited by some of our Irishmen in the great cities of America; after they have, by long and peaceful struggles, shaken off the tyranny of landlordism over their votes as well as their property, and the more galling tyranny of ecclesiasticism over their consciences, they are determined not to permit the reestablishment of a worse ascendancy by a majority who have shown no sympathy with the spirit or prosperity of the northern province. Their intense loyalty to England's crown and constitution, as now represented, is the strongest argument for this determined stand. My friend, who thoroughly understands the situation, believes that Home Rule is now, and for a long time to come, a dead issue.* He says that the

*It should be explained that personally I have not taken sides either for or against Home Rule, as I believe that it is my duty as an American citizen not to intermeddle in the politics of other countries.

English Home Rule party is very sick of the question. It found at the last general election that the English people would not tolerate that an Irishman should first settle his own affairs, and then come over to England and have a casting vote in English affairs; and he hints that even the Irish Home Rule representatives, though probably they will keep up their cry, are beginning to appreciate the situation, and that, as they are already deserting their English friends in favor of sectarian education in England, they are not likely to be irreconcilable on behalf of the one issue. Some grievances still require attention on behalf of the Ulster people, but there is a prospect of early attention to these. The obvious comment on all this is that the strength of the British system of our time is found to lie in what must always be the greatest strength of governments, not piddling with small matters, but remedying great wrongs without waiting for the display of public disorder. Both political parties have done this, though the Liberal party has been usually foremost in admitting that there were wrongs to be remedied, and in attempting a cure, while it has sometimes been left to the Tories to overcome the stubbornness of the House of Lords, and successfully complete the good work which their rivals began.

I append the valuable paper, written at my request by an Irish gentleman, on the present social, material, political, and religious condition of Ulster. The writer's statements carry weight in the old country, but his name is withheld, partly in deference to his modesty, and partly because he wishes the statement of opinion to be impersonal.

NOTES ON STATE OF ULSTER AND IRELAND.

In reply to queries:

I. Agriculture. The North of Ireland is suffering the same depression as in other parts of the United Kingdom, owing to competition of foreign nations. The Ulster farmer has got some relief in the shape of reduction of rent through the operation of the land courts. These courts settle rents for periods of fifteen years, and the Ulster tenant receives reductions by force of law, which in England and Scotland depend upon the good will of the landlord. There is considerable movement in Ireland in the direction of farmers purchasing their own lands, and the government is giving facil-

ties towards this, in the shape of advances of purchase money, to be repaid, at a low rate of interest. The operation of this gives the farmer an immediate relief in the reduction of his rent. For example, if a farmer pays £100 of rent, and purchases his holding at eighteen years' rental, he borrows £1,800 from the government at the rate of 4 per cent per annum, at once reducing his rent from £100 to £72. Part of the 4 per cent is applied to a sinking fund by means of which his payments cease at the end of forty-nine years, and he becomes the absolute owner of the farm. Whenever the farmer purchases his holding he immediately, whatever his disposition toward agitation may have been previously, becomes a law-abiding citizen and a power for law and order in the country. In the South of Ireland farmers have adopted coöperative methods in establishing creameries and also in buying jointly their seeds and manures from wholesale dealers at wholesale prices. The districts which adopt these methods are finding them very effective in enabling them to meet foreign competition.

II. You are aware that a vast proportion of the business, manufactures, and commerce of Ireland is to be found in the northeast portion of Ulster, and Ireland being subject to exactly the same laws as England and Scotland, Ulstermen have all the advantage of British fiscal arrangements, and the people being of the same race as the English and Scotch, have planted industries and commerce which are thriving and prosperous. In addition to the linen trade, we have now large iron shipbuilding interests in Belfast, and these yards seem to keep busy when those in England and Scotland are complaining of want of work. The prosperity of these industries is well illustrated by the growth of the population of Belfast, which in 1840 was somewhere about 70,000, and is to-day between 280,000 and 300,000.

III. The people of Ulster are remarkably law-abiding, and the agitation even of tenant farmers as to their alleged grievances, is conducted in the most orderly and constitutional way. The average of crime, both ordinary and agrarian, is very low; in fact, it may be said there is no agrarian crime in Ulster. What is known as party spirit—*i. e.*, hatred between Protestants and Roman Catholics—has undoubtedly mitigated greatly within my memory, and the 12th of July, which is the Orange anniversary, is now regarded very largely as a public holiday, and it is only in remote country districts that opposing parties come into collision. In the struggle for the union during the last ten years, the Orange leaders have been