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Salar Contract

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LONDON, SATURDAY, APR. 17, 1886.

HOME RULE

The Sun of Freedom Bursts Forth as the Clouds of Oppression Roll By.

IRELAND'S GREAT DAY AT LAST

The Grand Old Man Unfolds Her New Constitution

appeal gave rise to his famous work, entitled "The Case of Ireland," which ex-April 19th, 1780 - April 8th, 1886 cited the hostility of the English House of Commons, and was burned by the hands Grattan and Gladstone. of the common hangman! The Irish The most memorable day in British House of Lords then asserted their rights, annals has come and gone—a day of glory passed resolutions and protested against for England, a day of triumph, redemp-tion and resurrection for Ireland. Well the English proceedings; thus matters remained until 1703, when came on the indeed does the 8th day of April, in the case of the Earl and Countess of Meath year of grace 18 6, deserve place in the tear-worn and blood stained annals of against the Lord Ward, who were dispossessed of their lands by a pretended order Ireland, beside that memorable 19th of of the House of Lords in England, on April, 1780, when the immortal Grattan which the Irish House of Peers adopted rose to move that "the kings' most excellthe former resolutions, asserting their rights, and restored possession to the Earl ent majesty, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent and Countess. 1703, the appeal of Maurto make laws to bind Irelandice Annesley was entertained in England. that day of hope, whereon this and the decree of the Irish House of Lords illustrious apostle of liberty pro was reversed; and the English House of was reversed; and the English House of claimed that had he lived when the Lords had recourse to the authority of 9th of William took away the woolen the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland to manufacture, or when the 6th of George enforce their order; the Sheriff refused the First declared Ireland dependent, and obedience; the Irish House of Lords prosubject to laws to be enacted by the Parliatected the Sheriff, and agreed to a reprement of England, he should have made a entation to the King on the subject. covenant with his own conscience to seize This produced the arbitrary act of the the First moment of rescuing his country 6th of George the First, which declared, from the ignominy of such acts of power; that Ireland was a subordinate and dependor had he a son, he should have to him ent kingdom; that the King, Lords, and administered an oath, that he would con-Commons of England had power to make sider himself a person separate and set laws to bind Ireland; that the House of apart for the discharge of so important a Lords of Ireland had no jurisdiction, and duty : that day of resurrection, whereon | that all proceedings before that Court were he warned the Irish Commons that which woid. Under this act, and to such injusthey might hope to dezzle with illumina- tice, the Irish nation were compelled to and sick n with addresses, the submit, until the spirit of the present day public imagination would never rest, nor arose, and that commanding power which her heart be well at case, never! so long the armed volunteers gave to the country, as the Parliament of England exercised or encouraged the people to rise unanimously claimed legislation over Ireland. "So against this usurped and tyrannical long," said Grattan, "as this shall be the authority. The efforts of the nation to case, that very free trade, otherwise a obtain a free-trade, the compliance of the perpetual attachment, will be the cause of D state D P. D. State D P. S new discontent; it will create a pride to British act passed in consequence thereof, feel the indignity of bondsge; it will which allowed the trade between Ireland furnish a strength to bite your chain, and and the British colonies and plantations the liberty withheld will poison the good in America and the West Indies, and the communicated." Vainly he told British settlements on the coast of Africa; them they would endeavor to keep had raised the hopes of the Irish people. back the question of right, the liberty of the people. The passion was The resolutions and proceedings of the volunteers, and the answers to their too natural, the sentiment too irresistible addresses by the patriotic members, had -the question came on out of its own still further roused the people to a sense vitality—the laws must be reinstated. of their rights and their condition, and "There is," he thundered forth, "no obthe hour was approaching which was to jection to this resolution except fear; I witness the restoration of their liberty." have examined your fears; I pronounce Under these circumstances of British them to be frivolous. I might deny that yranny and is justice and Irish hope and the British nation was attached to the Irish determination, did Grattan demand idea of binding Ireland. I might deny the independence of the Irish Parliament, that England was a tyrant at heart, and His redeemed and regenerated Parliament I might call to witness the odium of North lived for eighteen years only, when by and the popularity of Chatham, her supbloodshed without parallel since the Casars, port of Holland, her contributions and by corruption of the most unblushing to Corsica, and the charters con- and unheard-of character, Ireland was tributed to Ireland, but ministers robbed of her independent legislature, have traduced E gland to debase and from the rank of an imperial kingdom Ireland. If England is a tyrant it degraded into that of an abject Province.

is you have made her so; it is the slave But neither the Ireland of that day,

that makes the tyrant, and then murmurs drenched with blood, nor the patriot of

the immortal fire shall outlast the organ though a noble, a judicious and a capaci-

that day, overwhelmed with serrow, lost all

Ireland's supreme anguish and desolation.

Grattan declared that though the constitu-

tion might be for a time lost, the char-

might find at length that it is not so easy

to put down forever an ancient and re-

ever great, or by corruption however

repair her golden beams and with re-

doubled heat animate the country. The

cry of loyalty would not long continue

against the principles of liberty; loyalty,

was corruption, not loyalty. With prophetic

mot die with the prophet, but survive What was Ireland's condition when connection would not in the end avail Grattan moved for Irish legislative against the principles of liberty. Connection

at the master he himself has constituted."

No wish had he, declared this gifted advo-

cate of freedom, but to breathe in his own

native island, in common with his feilow.

subjects, the air of liberty, -no ambition

animated him but that of breaking Ire-

land's chains, and contemplating her

glory. Never could he be satisfied so

long as the meanest cottager in Ireland

had a link of the British chain clanking to

his rags, he might benaked, but he would

not be in irons. "The time is at hand,

the spirit is gone forth, the declaration.

is planted; and though greatness should

apostatize, yet the cause will live; and

though the public speaker should die, yet

which conveyed it, and the breath of lib-

erty, like the word of the holy man, will

independence. "Ireland's right to make be denominated a wise and a profound her own laws was," says Daniel Owen Mad-den, "first affected by the act of the 10th policy, "but connection without an Trick isment, is connection without its own principle, without analogy of condition, without the pride of honor that should attend it, is innovation, is peril, is subj 1of Henry VIL in a parliament held at Drogheds before the then Deputy, Sir Edward Poynings. It was then enacted that no Parliament should be holden in Ireland, until the Lord-lieu-tenant and Privy Council should certify to stion-not connection." The cry of deaffection would not, he proclaimed, in the end, avail against the principles of liberty. "Identification is a solid and the King, under the great seal of Ireland, the causes, considerations, and acts that were to pass; that the same should be affirmed by the King and council in Engmperial maxim, necessary for the preservation of freedom, necessary for that of empire; but without union of hearts, with affirmed by the King and councular land, and his license to summon a parliament be obtained under the great seal of England. This was further explained by tinction, is dishonor, is conquest, not identification." With these truths prothe 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary, was by any change or alteration in the form or tenor of such acts to be passed after years age, and demonstrated by experience, Mr. Gladstone, England's greatest must have been deeply they were returned from England, was ence, Mr. Gladstone, England's greatest prohibited. Thus, by these laws the English privy council got the power to alter moved when, on Thursday, the 8th of or suppress, and the Irish parliament were deprived of the power to originate, alter, April last, in the Commons House of Parlisment of the United Kingdom of Great or amend. By these ac's were the legisla-tive rights of Ireland invaded : her judi-Britain and Ire'and, he said : I could wish that it had been cial rights, however, remained untouched, till, in 1688, a petition and appeal was lodged with the House of Lords of Eng-land, from the English society of the new

plantation of Ulster, complaining of the Irish House of Lords, who had decided in

a case between them and the Bishop of Derry. Upon this the English House of Lords passed an order declaring, that this

appeal was coram non judice. To this order

fourteen reasons and answers were written by the celebrated Molyneux, and the

I could wish that it had been possible to expound to the House the whole policy and intentions of the Government with reference to Ireland. Although the questions of reform in the tenure of land and Irish government are so closely and inseparably connected, it is yet impossible to undertake the task of elucidating

BOTH QUESTIONS TOGETHER. I do not know of any previous task laid upon me involving so diversified an exposition. In contemplating the magnitude of this task, I am filled with painful mistrust, but that mistrust is absorbed in a feeling or the responsibility that will be upon me if I should fail to bring home to the public mind the magnitude and the various aspects of the question. We should

NO LONGER PENCE or skirmish with this question. (Loud cheers). We should come to close quarters with it—(cheers)—we should get at the root of it; we should take means not merely intended for the wants of to-day or to morrow, but should look into the distant future. We have arrived at a stage in our political

TRANSACTIONS WITH IRELAND en the two roads part one from the other, not soon probably to meet again. The ii ne is come when it is incumbent on the duty and the honor of Parliament to come to some decisive resolution on this matter. Our intention is therefore, to propose to the Commons that which, IF HAPPILY ACCEPTED.

vill, we think, liberate Parliament fro will, we think, hoerate Parliament from the restraints under which, of late years, it has ineffectually struggled to perform the business of the county, and will restore British legislation to its natural, ancient, unimpeded course, and, above all, establish harmonious relations between Great Britain and Ireland—(hear, hear) on a footing of

THOSE FREE INSTITUTIONS

which Englishmen, Scotchmen, and ishmen alike are unalterably attached. Irishmen alike are unalterably attached."
(Loud cheers, prolonged by the Home Rule members). After reviewing the condition and crime existing in Ireland since 1823, Mr. Gladstone described the coercive legislation enforced during the same period as not exceptional but habitual. He compared Ireland during all this period to a man trying to find sutenance in medicine only meant for cure. Coercion, however, had, he said, proved no cure.

SERIOUS DISSATISFACTION continued to prevail in Ireland, and if England and Scotland had suffered similar hardships, he believed the people of those e of British Parliament with that claim; the grievances. (Parnelite cheers.)

for the past 53 years, only two of which had been wholly free from repressive legis-lation. Coercion, unless stern and un-bending, and under an autocratic Government, must always fail. Such coercion England should never resort to until every other means had failed. What was the

THE WHOLE MISCHIEF. was the fact that the law was discredited in Ireland. It came to the Irish people with a foreign aspect, and their alternative to coercion was to strip the law of its foreign character and invest it with a domestic character. (Loud Irish cheers.) Ireland, though represented in Parliament numerically equal with Eugland or Scotland, was really not in the same position politically. England

Scotland, was really not in the same posi-tion politically. England
MADE HER OWN LAWS,
Scotland had been encouraged to make her own laws as effectually as if she had her own laws as effectually as if she had eix times her present representation. The consequence was that the mainspring of the law in England and Scotland was felt to be the Euglish or Scotch. The mainspring of the law in Ireland was not felt by the people of Ireland to be Irish; he therefore deemed it little

herefore deemed it little

LESS THAN MOCKERY
to hold that the state of the law which he to not that the state of the law which he had described conduced to the real unity of this great, noble, world wide Empire. "Something must be done," continued Mr. Gladstone, "something is imperatively demanded from us to restore in Ireland the first conditions of civil life; the hope. In the very moment of his own and FREE COURSE OF LAW, the liberty of every individual in the exer-

acter of the country could not be lost-that the ministers of England cise of every legal right, their confidence in the law, apart from which no country can be called a civilized country." What, then, was the problem before him? It was this:—How to reconcile spectable nation, either by abilities howirresistible. Liberty, he hoped, might yet

was this:—How to reconcile
IMPERIAL UNITY
with diversity of Legislatures. Mr. Grattan held that these purposes were reconcilable—more than that, he demanded a severance of the Parliaments with a view to the continuity and everlasting unity of the Empire. Was that an audacious paradox? Other countries had

adox? Other countries had
SOLVED THE PROBLEM,
and under much more difficult circumstances. We ourselves might be said to
have solved it with respect to Ireland
during the time that Ireland had a separate
Parliament. Did it destroy the unity of the
British Empire? (Cheers) Mr. Gladstone then pointed to the case of Norway ous principle, was not in the British Isles distinct from liberty, but, when so distinct force Grattan affirmed that the cry of the

and Sweeden, which countries were, he said, united upon a footing of strict
LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE

and co-equality. Then there was, he added, the case of Austria and Hungary, and with regard to those countries he asked whether the condition of Austria at the present moment was not more perfectly solid, secure, and harmonious thun it was prior to the existing condition between that country and Hungary. It could not be questioned that its condition was one of

tion was one of

SOLIDITY AND SAFETY,
compared with that of the time when
Hungary was making war upon her. The
claim of Ireland to make laws for herself
was never denied, continued Mr. Gladetone, until the reign of George II. The
Parliament of Grattan was as independent
in point of authority asit could be. They
(the Government) were not about to propose the repeal of the Union. It was
impossible to propose the repeal of the
Union until they had settled what was the
essence of the Union. He defined the
essence of the Union to be the fact that,
whereas

there were two separate and independent Parliamenta, after the Union there was but one. To speak of the diamemberment of the Empire, was in this century a misnomer and an absurdity. The fault of the administrative system of Ireland was that its spring and source of action was unjust. (Cheera.) The Government, therefore, felt that the esttlement of the question was to be found by establishing a Parliament in Dublin—

tion was to be found by establishing
A PARLIAMENT IN DUBLIN—
(Irish cheer.)—for the conduct of business of both a legislative and administrative nature. The political economy of the three countries must be reconciled. There should be an equitable distribution of Imperial burdens; next, there must be reasonable safe guards for the minority, and why could not this minority in Ireland take care of itself? He had no doubt about its ability to do that, when we have

PRESENT CRITICAL PERIOD, sen disarmed of the jealousies with and oeen disarmed of the jealousies with which any change was approached. But for the present there were three classes of people whom they were bound to consider:—Firstly, the class connected with the land; secondly, the civil servants and officers of the Government in Ireland; thirdly, the Protestant minority. The thirdly, the Protestant minority. The speaker could not admit the claim of

THE PROTESTANT MINORITY
in Ulster or elsewhere to rule on question
which were for the whole of Ireland which were for the whole of Ireland. Several schemes for the separate govern-ment of Ulster had been submitted to him. One was that Ulster Province should be excluded from the operations of the present Bill. Another was that

a SEPARATE AUTONOMY
should be provided for Ulster, and a third
suggested that certain rights should be
reserved and placed under provide had suggested that certain rights should be reserved and placed under provincial councils. None of these proposals had appeared to the Government to be so completely justified by its merits, or by the weight of public opinion in its favour, as to warrant the Government in including it in their Bill. However, they deserved fair consideration, and the free discussion that would follow the introduction of the present Bill might

LEAD TO THE DISCOVERY
of one plan which had a predominating amount of support, and the Government would do their utmost to adopt the plan that seemed likely to give general satisfaction. Referring to the great settlement of 1782, Mr. Gladstone said: "It was not a real settlement, and why? Was it Ireland that prevented a real settlement being made? (Irish cheers.) No! it was

A MISTAKEN POLICY
of England, listening to the pernicious voice and claims of ascendancy. (Hear)
The Irish Parliament labored under great disadvantages. Yet it had in it a spark of the spinit of freedom, and it emancipated the Roman Catholics in Ireland when the Roman Catholics in England were still unemancipated. It received Lord Fitz-

the Roman Catholics in England were still unemancipated. It received Lord Fitz-william with open arms, and when after a brief career he was recalled to England the Iriah Parliament registered

the Irish Parliament registered
IT IS CONFIDENCE IN HIM
by passing a re-olution desiring that he
should still administer the Government.
Lord Fitzwilliam had promoted the admission of Roman Catholics into the Irish
Parliament, and there was a spirit in that
Parliament which, if it had had free scope,
would have done noble work, and probably would have solved all the Irish problems and have saved this Government
infinite trouble." He would now pass to
the plan the plan HOW TO GIVE IRELAND

How to GIVE IRELAND

a Legis!ature to deal with Irish as distinguished from Imperial affairs. (Hear) He was confronted at the outset with what he felt to be a formidable dilemma. Ireland was to have a domestic Legislature for Irish affairs. That was his postulate from which he set out. Were the Irish members and the Irish representative peers in either House to continue to form part of the representative assemblies? The speaker thought it would be perfectly clear that if Ireland was to have a domestic Legislature the Irish peers and the Irish representatives could not come to Parliament to control England's and Scotland's affairs. (Cheers). Then with regard to the question. the question.
WHETHER IRISH REPRESENTATIVES

whether irish representatives should come to the House of Commons for the settlement of Imperial affairs, he thought that could not be done. He had, therefore, arrived at the conclusion that Irish members and Irish peers ought not to sit in the palace of Westminster. (Oh! Oh!! and cheers.) If Irish members were not to sit in the House of Commons, Irish peers ought not to peers ought not to

House of Parliament. (Hear, hear, and Oh!) How were the Irish people to be taxed if they had legislators in both countries? He believed that Great Britain would never impose upon Ireland taxa-tion without representation, and added, "If we were to have taxation without representation, then there would come another question which would raise a practical difficulty, that is, are we to give up

THE FISCAL UNITY

of the Empire?" He did not think that by giving up the fiscal unity of the Empire they were giving up the unity of the Empire. He, however, atood upon the substantial ground that to give up the fiscal unity of the Empire would be a public

inconvenience and misfortune. It would

MISFORTUNE FOR GREAT BRITAIN
and a greater misfortune for Ireland. He
conceived that one escape from that dilemma would be such an arrangement as
would give the Imperial Government authority to levy Customs duties and such Excise
duties as were immediately connected with
the Customs. The conditions of such an
arrangement were: firstly, that the general
power of taxation over and above these
particular duties should pass unequivocally into the hands of a domestic Legislature in Ireland; secondly, that the proceeds of the MISFORTUNE FOR GREAT BRITAIN

ceeds of the

CUSPOMS AND EXCISE
should be held for the benefit of Ireland and for the discharge of the obligations of Ireland, and the payment of the balance after these obligations were discharged should be entered into the Irish Exchequer and before the free disposal of the Irish legislative body. The Government Bill provided for this, and the Bill then provided that the representatives of Ireland should no longer sit in the House of Commons or the Irish peers in the House of Lords, but at the same time they would have the right of addressing the Crown, and so possess all and so possess all
THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

they had now. (Oh! and cheers.) It would therefore relieve Irish members from attendance at Westminster. Mr. G'adstone said he had several reasons why this should be the case, even if it was possible for them to attend, as they had a Parliament of their own, and it would be very difficult to have two classes of mem-bers in the British House—one class who

connected with the business of the country and another which could only vote on special and particular questions which were brought before Parliament. Again, it would be very difficult for gentlemen in Ireland to decide who should go to Westminster or who should remain in Ireland, and at the same time to minimize the start of th and at the same time to maintain the fiscal unity of the nation. There is another

fiscal unity of the nation. There is another point with regard to the Powers of the Legislature.

Two courses might have been taken—one was to endow this legislative body with particular legislative power; the other was to except from the sphere of its action those subjects which the Government thought quality to be received and to thought ought to be excepted, and to leave to it every other power. The latter plan had been alopted. The administrative power would pass with the legislative power. The duration of the proposed legislative body should

NOT EXCEED FIVE YEARS.

The functions which it was proposed to withdraw from the cognizance of the legislative body were three grand and principal functions, viz., everything which related to the Crown; all that which nelonged to the defence—the army, the navy, he entire organization of the armed forces, and our foreign and Colonial relations. It would tions. It would

tions. It would

NOT BE COMPETENT
to pass laws for the establishment or endowment of any particular religion.
(Cheers). As to trade and navigation, it would be a misfortune to Ireland to be separated from England; the Irish Parliament would have nothing to do with coinage, or the creation of legal tender. The subject of the postoffice would be left to the judgment of Parliament, though the Government inclined to the view that it would be more convenient to leave postoffice matters in the hands of

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL. THE POSTMASTER GENERAL.

Quarantine and one or two other subjects were left in the same category. The next subject he had to approach was that of the composition of the proposed legislative body. The Bill proposed to introduce two orders who would sit and deliberate together, with the right of voting separately on any occasion and on the demand of either body, which could be able to interpose a veto upon any measure for a limited time, either until the dissolution limited time, either until the die

FOR THREE YEARS.

The orders would be constituted as fol-The orders would be constituted as follows:—First, there were the 28 representative peers who could not continue to sit in the House of Lords after the representatives of the Irish people left the House of Commons. They would have the option of sitting as a portion of the first order in the Irish Parliament with the power of sitting for life. Some people thought that the option was not likely to be largely used, but the speaker was not of that number. (Hear, hear.) He proposed that with the 28

FEERS NOW IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, there should sit 75 representatives elected

PEERS NOW IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, there should sit 75 representatives elected by the Irish people. With regard to the powers of election, the constituency would be composed of occupiers of the value of £25 and upwards, and they would be elected for ten years. The property qualification of these representatives would be £200 annual value, or a capital value of £4,000. Mr. Gladstone then said he proposed that the 101 Irish members in the House of Commons should be members of the Irish Parliament, and whilst the first order of the legislative body would consist of one hundred and three members, the second order would consist of two hundred and six. It was proposed to

BETAIN THE VICEROY, but he would not be the representative of a party or quit office with the outgoing Government. The Queen would be empowered to delegate to him any prerogatives she now enjoyed or would enjoy. The religious disability now existing which makes Roman Catholics ineligible to the office would be removed. With RETAIN THE VICEROY,

which makes Roman Catholics ineligible to the office would be removed. With regard to the judges who had been concerned in the administration of the criminal law in Ireland, Her Majesty might, if she saw cause, by Order in council

ANTEDATE THE PENSIONS of those particular judges. In future the judges would be appointed by the Irish Government, be paid out of the consolidated fund, and be removable only on the joint address of the two orders. The constabulary would remain under the present authority. The charge for the constabulary was now £1,500,000 per annum, and the speaker felt confident the charge would be reduced, but for the present he proposed to

reference to its final position from the ultimate control of the Irish legislative body. The speaker had no jealousy upon that subject, as the care of providing for the ordinary security of life and property was the first duty of

perty was the first duty of

A LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

With respect to the Civil Service the Government did not think their case was the same as that of the constabulary, and the transfer of the Civil Service te the legislative body would effect a great economy. He therefore thought it would be wise to authorize the civil servants now serving to claim the pensions that would be due to them upon the abolition of their offices provided they served two years in order

TO PREVENT INCONVENIENCE

TO PREVENT INCONVENIENCE from a rapid transition of the service, and at the close of that time both parties should be free to negotiate afresh. That was all, Mr. Gladstone stated, that he had to say on the subject of the new Irish Constitution. The proportion of the Imperial burdens which he had to propose that Ireland should bear was as one to fourteen. He thought the new Irish Parliament ought to start with a balance to its credit, but the only fund that it would have if left alone would be the solitary £20,000 from the Irish Church fund. He knew no way of providing THE MECESSARY MONEY TO PREVENT INCONVENIENCE

fund. He knew no way of providing
THE MECESSARY MONEY
except by carving it out of this year's Budget, and he proposed that in the future
ireland should pay one fifteenth towards
the Imperial expenditure. He went on to
speak of how much Ireland would gain
by exporting spirits to Great Britain, and
how much Great Britain would lose to
Ireland by the flow of money from one to
the other. As the result of careful enquiry, he stated with confidence, not as an
actual demonstration, but as a matter of
certainty with regard to the far greater
portion, that the
IRISH RECEIPIS WOULD GAIN

portion, that the
IRISH RECEIPTS WOULD dAIN
from Great Britain a sum that would
amount to no less a total than £1,400,000
per annum. He then entered into an
elaborate calculation of the total income
and expenditure of Ireland, in the course
of which he stated that the total charge to
Ireland as an Imperial contribution would
be £3,247,000 per annum. He stated as
an intense of the
INTENSE DEMORALIZATION INTENSE DEMORALIZATION

of the present Irish administration, that while the postoffice in England showed a while the postomes in England showed a large surplus, in Ireland it just paid its expenses. He estimated the total expenditure of Ireland, including a payment as a sinking fund for the Irish portion of the national debt at £7,946,000 per annum. Against that there was a total income of £8.350 000 pra £8,350,000 or a

of £ 404,000. "It has naturally been said in England and Scotland," continued Mr. Gladstone, "that for a great many years past we have been struggling to pass good laws for Ireland, and that we have sacrificed our time, neglected our interests, and paid our money, and we have done all this in the endeavour to give Ireland good laws. That is quite true with regard to the general course of legislation. Many of those laws have been passed under an influence which I can hardly describe other than as the SUBPLUS TO THE GOOD other than as the

other than as the

INFLUENCE OF FEAR."

With regard to the history of the land question, no man could know that until he had followed it from year to year, beginning with the Devon Commission, the appointment of which, in the speaker's opinion, did the highest honour to the memory of Sir Robert Peel—(cheers)—and then to examine the mode in which the whole labour of the Commission had been frustrated by the domination

OF SELFISH INTERPSES

OF SELFISH INTERESTS.
(Parnellite cheers) He did not deny the good intentions of the British Parliament to pass good laws for Ireland, but, he said, in order to work out the purposes of Government there is something more in this world occasionally required than the passing of good laws. (Hear hear.) It is sometimes necessary, not only that good good intentions of the British Parli sometimes necessary, not only that good laws should be passed, but also that they

BY THE PROPER PERSONS. BY THE PROPER PERSONS.

The passing of many good laws is not enough in cases where the strong instincts of the people, distinct marks of character, situation, and history require, not only that these laws should be good, but that they should proceed from congenial and native sources, and that besides being good laws, they should be

good laws, they should be
THEIR OWN LAWS.
(Irish cheers.) "At times I doubted
whether this necessity had been fully
developed, and especially with respect to
Ireland. If doubt could be entertained
before the last general election, they cannot now be entertained. The principle I
have laid down, I am not laying down for
Ireland exceptionally. It is the very
principle upon which within my recollection, to the immense advantage of the tion, to the immense advantage of the country, Parliament has not only altered but

REVOLUTIONIZED OUR METHOD of government. When I held office at the Colonial Office, fifty years ago, the Colonies were governed from Downing street. The result was that Home Government was always in conflict with counties which had legislative Assemblies. We had continual shocks with the Colonies then. But all that has been changed. The British Parliament tried to pass good laws for the Colonies, but the Colonies said, 'We don't want your good laws, we want our REVOLUTIONIZED OUR METHOD

own food Laws,'
and Parliament at length admitted the
reasonableness of this principle. This
principle has now come home to us from
across the sea, and the House has now to
consider whether it is applicable to the
case of Ireland. * * * * We now stand
face to face with what is termed 'Irish
nationality.' yenting itself is all. nationality,' venting itself in a demand for the general self government in Irish not in Imperial affairs." In conclusion, Mr. Gladstone said:—"I hold that there is such a thing as local patriotism, which in itself is

dated fund, and be removable only on the joint address of the two orders. The constabulary would remain under the present authority. The charge for the constabulary was now £1,500,000 per annum, and the speaker felt confident the charge would be reduced, but for the present he proposed to RELIEVE THE IRISH

legislative body of all expenditure from the constabulary in excess of £1,000,000 per annum. The Government had no desire to exempt the peace of Ireland in

Irishman is still more profoundly Irish, but it does not follow that because his local patriotism is strong he should be incapable of an Imperial patriotism. There are two modes of presenting the subject which I have argued. One of them is the present what we now recommend as good, and the other is to present it as a choice of evils and the least among the varied evils with which as a possibility we are confronted. Well, I have argued the matter as if it had been

A CHOICE OF EVILS,

matter as if it had been

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I have recognized as facts and as entitled to attention jealousies which I myself do not share or teel. I have argued it on that ground as the only ground on which it can be recommended, not only to a mixed auditory, but to the public mind of the country that cannot give minute investigation to all portions of this complicated question. I do not know whether it may appear too bold, but in my own heart I

question. I do not know whether it may appear too bold, but in my own heart I cherish the hope that this is not merely a choice of the lesser evil, but that it may be proved to be ere long

A GOOD IN ITSELF.

(Loud cheers.) There is, I know, an answer to this, and what is the answer? The answer is only found in the view which rests upon a basis of despair, of absolute condemnation of Ireland and Irishmen as exceptions to those beneficial provisions which have made, in general Europeans, in particular Englishmen and Americans, capable of self-government; that an Irishman is a lusus nature; that justice, common sense, moderation.

NATURAL PROSPERITY

NATURAL PROSPERITY
have no meaning for him; that all that
he can understand and all that he can apprehend is strife, perpetual dissension.

Now, Sir, I am not going to argue in this

House whether this view, this monstrous

view—(Irish cheers)—is a correct one, I

say the Irishman is as capable of loyalty as another man—(renewed Irish cheers)—but if his loyalty has been checked, why it is because the laws by which he is governed do not present themselves to him as they do to us in England or Scotland with

I have no right to say that Ireland through her constitutionally elected members will accept the measure I propose. I hope they will, but I have no right to assume it; nor have I any power to enforce it upon the people of England and Scotland, but I rely on the patriotism and the sagacity of this House; on a

FREE AND FULL DISCUSSION. FREE AND FULL DISCUSSION, and, more than all, upon the just and generous sentiments of the two British nations. And, looking forward, I ask the House, believing that no trivial motive could have driven us to assist in the work we have undertaken (work which we be-lieve will restore Parliament to its free and unimpeded course)—I ask them to

WASTE OF THE PUBLIC TREASURE under the present system of government and administration in Ireland, which is not waste only, but waste which demoralizes waste only, but waste which demoralizes while it exhausts—I ask them to show to Europe and America that we, too, can face the political problems which America had to face twenty years ago, and which many countries in Europe have been called on to face, and have not feared to deal with. I ask that we shall practice as we have very often preached, and that in our own case we should BE FIRM AND FEARLESS

BE FIRM AND FEARLESS
in applying the doctrines we have often inculcated on others, that the concession of local self-government is not the way to sap and impair, but to strengthen and consolidate unity. I ask that we should learn to rely learn to a procession. consolidate unity. I ask that we should learn to rely less on mere written stipulations and more on those better stipulations written on the heart and mind of man. I ask that we should apply to Ireland the happy experience we have gained in England and Scotland, where a course of generations has now taught us, not as a dream or a theory, but as a matter of practice and of life, that the best and surest foundation we can find to build on is the foundation afforded by the affections and conditions and conditions and conditions and conditions are supplied to the standard of the conditions and conditions and conditions and conditions and more on those better stipulations. The QUE dation we can find to build on is the foun-dation afforded by the affections and con-victions and will of man, and that it is thus by the decree of the Almighty that, far more than by any other method, we may be enabled to secure at once the social happiness, the power, and the permanence of the Empire."

Such is Mr. Gladstone's plan for the

restoration of Ireland's legislative independence, and the removal of her longstanding grievances, a plan not indeed without defects, but a plan, with all its shortcomings, broad, original, honest and comprehensive. Critics are now busy studying and condemning it in detail, but the structure of Mr. Gladstone's genius and statesmanship will survive their petty assaults and their impotent animadversions. By the removal of redundancies here and there, and the better adjustment of its parts, this grand edifics of constitutional reform will settle, solidify, and endure. On one point we wish to place ourselves on record, however much as we may in this regard differ from profound jurists and eminent churchmen. We hold that that which some point out as the radical defect of the Gladstonian Irish constitution namely, the removal of Irish representation from Westminster, is really its radical strength. The Parliament of Ireland, as proposed by Mr. Gladstone, will be in many respects an imperial Parliament, co-ordinate as a Parliament with the Parliament of Great Britain. Given Irish representation at Westminster, and the Irish Parliament sinks to the level of a state or provincial assembly, without the power or the prestige of an imperial legislature. Furthermore, the presence of an Irish delegation at Westminster could not, in our view, fail to excite contention and conflict as to the rights and jurisdiction of the two Parliaments respectively. An Irish Parliament without Irish representation at Westminster secures for Ireland legislative | mortified independence without national inferior-It secures for Ireland full and otal control of Irish affairs, without of sermon the interference or predominance of an alien Parliament even in Congregat

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