

because everything else has always been sacrificed to the building up of an alien established church. The inhabitants agree entirely upon the legitimate objects for which government is wanted, but the church question prevents their cordial co-operation—for instance, with the following views in Mr Butt's appeal to the constituency of Cork I entirely concur, these being the antipodes of Peel's economical views, but as he seems a church bigot or not independent enough to defy the church, I could not vote for him any more than he could vote for me, who am liberal enough to think that Christian churches the best for each individual which each thinks best, and to infinitely prefer a good Roman Catholic to a bad Protestant. Mr Butt says—"I have formed decided and deliberate convictions, that to secure the labouring population the greatest amount of comfort, and to the country the greatest amount of production, protection to native industry is indispensable. I acted on these views nine years ago, when I took part in a voluntary movement to sustain our native manufactures. I have seen no reason to change my opinions, and I am therefore opposed, especially in the case of Irish interests, to the indiscriminate application of what are termed principles of Free Trade. I am convinced, that for a country like Ireland, a protection to all home industry is essential to its progress in prosperity. At the time of the union, and for many years after, there were flourishing manufactures and an employed and happy population, in many of the districts of your county and city, that are now steeped in poverty. Why? because an Irish parliament had imposed protecting duties upon these manufactures, which afterwards were taken away. I will vote for the fostering of home industry and reasonable protection. I will vote for it for all branches of industry alike—for the sailor in his vessel, for the agriculturist in his farm, and for the artisan at his loom. I have seen with indignation this noble island reduced to misery and decay—I have seen with more indignation the lives of thousands of Irishmen sacrificed to the damnable doctrines of a false political economy."

The fact is that in our politics in Great Britain and Ireland, no less than in the European countries in revolt, we are being taught that there is a government of the affairs of this world superior to that of statesmen. We see that a wrong principle cannot possibly be carried out, because its own operation cuts its own throat. We see that if the late commercial machinery we have set up in this country will not operate practical philanthropy, it can, (like the continental royalists), only exist till the evils it occasions become intolerable. The most charitable view that can be taken of Sir R. Peel is to suppose that he knew how degraded the operation of his monetary law had made the masses in this country, so that our population would never have "seen" the truth till they "felt" it, and could never have been persuaded that cheapness is only a blessing on condition that the labourer is able to pay for his labour (the only thing he has to pay with), or, in other words, is fully employed by the growers of the breadstuffs he eats, if he be a manufacturing artisan, or by the furnishers of his clothing and implements, if he be an agricultural labourer. Thus (we may suppose it just possible), that Peel may have thought that political discontent and convulsion might temporarily be staved off by his course—thus giving make-shift government another chance. If he could have, in 1846, foreseen the continental revolutions of 1848, his case would be all the better; but to attribute any far-sightedness to the puny statesmen we now have, would, in my opinion, be very absurd. Our Free Trade, however, has had its "mission" in leaving bad subjects without grounds of agitation; we may allow this, and yet see that our so-called Free Trade must still have its natural and necessary results. If (as I suppose it must) it diminishes employment, it will sooner, or later, cause wide-spread starvation, not in one, but in every class, and this, without any disloyalty to the sovereign, must end either in revolution, or in the repudiation of government by theory, or political economy. I showed all this to Lord George Bentinck early in 1846, in Cavendish Square. My words were nearly as follows. These I remember the better that I afterwards inserted them in a statement of views considered by me essential to the triumph of a Native Industry party—"Even if your Lordship and Mr Disraeli, and all the members of both houses of Parliament, and all the people of the country at their back, were to go over to the Whigs as Sir R. Peel has done, all would not suffice to carry out irrevocable free trade. My objection to the measures of 1846, it should be borne in mind, is, not that they are, but that they are not, free trade—only free imports—freedom, in fact, to foreign, but not to British labour. But that the Protectionists can come into power now seems quite out of the question. The thorough reformation of the Irish Ecclesiastical system, must be a prelude to our trusting a class of men who, though distinguished for their personal honour, are equally distinguished for their Church Toryism. The Church will no longer be permitted to rule this country in the name of the Government. The reformation of the Irish Church is imperatively called for, as a prelude to the unprejudiced discussion of the question of labour, or of the full employment of the country's industry, that great interest which now must alone be legislated for, as seen to involve the stability of all that we hold sacred—the happiness of the people, the Crown, and the national credit; but it is also required as a prelude to the necessary social ameliorations in Ireland, the condition of which country is a disgrace to the empire. The other Established Churches may be defended as matters of circumstance, but the Irish one, as now constituted, cannot. Some good men within it have been able to do a little good, in spite of the degrading system of which they are a part. But let us compare this with the good that might have been done in Ireland, and shudder when we think of the heart-burnings and animosities which their exclusive system has created, generally ending in the foulest butcheries by Christians of their fellow-Christians. The whole revenues of the Irish Church will probably have to be devoted to the endowment of a great Irish Poor Law, charity being the only religious duty in which the former and present possessors of them conscientiously agree (the State guaranteeing an equitable provision for the present incumbents for life); of course, if we could get the whole or half for Ragged Schools, so much the better. Religious inequality banished from Ireland, the law may, and will be vindicated; for murder will then have none of those thousand excuses, which the present ramified system of oppression is daily creating. The foregoing seems our duty, even if we could not expect in our day, to see the blessings of even a good system of law appreciated by a nation of men so dead to every feeling of national independence, as to have quietly submitted so long to have a church so unlike Ireland in its extravagance, and otherwise so palpably unsuited to the country, forced on them, even if it were the best church on earth. I would, however, feel very confident, that an immediately good effect would flow, from the generous treatment on our part, of a population individually so warm-hearted. Indeed, I think there is every reason, from the characters borne by Irishmen abroad, to believe, that, if in Ireland we invest them with all the privileges of British subjects, they will be prepared and forward to perform all their duties with alacrity. In such case, how soon the scene would change! Ireland becoming an outlet for British manufacturing labour, such as no foreign country can present, and in everything the ornament and boast of the empire, instead of, as at present, its cause of shame." Lord George Bentinck knew that I had struck the first blow for Lord Metcalfe in Upper Canada, when colonial public opinion ran as strong in favour of his retired ministers (the same to whom Lord Elgin has succumbed) as British public opinion was made to appear to be in favour of Corn Law repeal; but his Lordship was also aware that I had in similar language to the foregoing, always pointed out to Lord Metcalfe, that (though we were certain to triumph at the moment, our cause being neither more nor less than that of British connection) the true friends of Great Britain could not possibly have a permanent triumph, because church questions split them up. The ministry who deserted Lord Metcalfe, in the vain attempt to coerce that great man, and to make the British Government the mere tool of a parliamentary omnipotence in Canada, were supported afterwards, not because they (or most of them) were rebels, but because, even as rebels, they were preferred to Church Tories; and, I believe that both Canada and Ireland have to endure anti-British Government, and have in a word been brought into the state they now are (very similar to each other, in many respects,) because statesmen cannot be found independent enough to do away with Ecclesiastical inequalities. Lord George Bentinck, however, instead of putting down the English Church in Ireland, would have endowed the Catholics, and, had he got power at once, his career would have been a short and a not very popular one, probably doing more harm than good to the cause of British industry, as associating it with Church Toryism; but my anticipation was that he would have left public life (for a while, at least,) as abruptly as he entered it. My fond hope, however, was that he would have been called for by public opinion some years afterwards, and that, in the mean time, he would have got convinced (as I explained in the subjoined sketch,) that all must be sacrificed to the safety of a protestant throne, and thus have been prepared to head the Labour-power against the Money-power of the country, as the leader of a new party of Social Economists.

* DEATH OF LORD GEORGE BENTINCK.—THE EXPECTED HEAD OF A NATIVE INDUSTRY PARTY. [The following is the sketch alluded to above as it appeared at the time in the *Glasgow Examiner*.]

"In Lord George Bentinck, second son of the present Duke of Portland, and nephew of the distinguished nobleman who lately represented the city of Glasgow, the country has lost its most promising statesman, and a perfectly honest man. Humanly speaking, no man could be a greater loss to the empire at this moment, for the great drawback to his lordship, his morbid attachment to Lord Stanley, could not, in such a mind—the very soul of honour—have outlived the conviction that his noble and much admired friend has only the talents of a parliamentary gladiator, wanting the judgment which entitles a man to be called in the true sense a statesman. Lord George's popularity, joined to Lord Stanley's influence, would probably have given them the reins of government for a short period as successors to the present ministry; but soon Lord Stanley's incapacity as a general or chief would have become as much a matter of notoriety, as is his unfitness for the business of a department of the government. It was at this point we expected Lord George Bentinck to become emphatically the MAN OF THE PEOPLE. Into his abler and better hands—such was our fond hope—the government must have come, for before Peel can again have a party he must have principles, and the Whigs' incapacity in finance prevents us requiring to look farther for reasons why they are only fitted for an opposition, not for a government. And Lord George Bentinck—as the honest man we believe him to have been—must, in the country's extremity, have risen with the circum-