MONDAY MORNING, MAY 7, 1882.

A DOUBLE NATIONAL MURDER. By the butchery of Lord Cavend Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Under Secretary Burke, the Irish question, pr minent enough already, God knows, been forced to a terribly sudden head.

Two men, the harbingers of conciliation are fiendishly buchered ! The Gladstone government is imperilled

and a ministerial crisis made imminent! Ireland is in a condition of anarchystate of suppressed treason that may any moment blaze into open rebellion and flagrant outrage!

England is stirred to its very centre with indignation, and the cry is for ven-All the world is startled by the melan

choly situation thus presented! And the Irish appear before the rest mankind as ungenerous, unthankful and treacherous. The cry was for the amelioration of the condition of that unhappy land. This the Gladstone government undertook to bring about. But at every turn they have met with treachery. Coercon may have been a mistake; so may ve been the imprisonment of the Irish ders; but the land act was a great ref, m measure and instead of treachery and assassination it was entitled to a fair

circumstances remains to be seen. The English nation, roused as it has not been

measures wrong?

rule will, for a time, be estranged.

MURDERS AND EVICTIONS. It appears that during the first three

months of the current year 734 famed in Ireland. During all this time, too, as well as before and after, murders and outrages little short of murder were going on. A large military force has been main. tained in Ireland for the purpose of preventing or punishing murder, which was sary to be done. Unfortunately the other part, which was neglected, and the half which was done, has failed, largely because the other half was left undone. The coercion act should from the first have had attached to it a clause enacting that while it remained in force no eviction should be made without the express permission of the government, granted for each particular case. Extraordinary measures for putting for putting a stop to evictions. It app intolerable that, while the government was straining itself in the effort to put out fire, individual landlords should have been alpowder upon the flames. Ever since the present trouble commenced Ireland has regard to the relations between landlord and tenant. In one district landlords did not dare to ask for rent, and seemed to things so much their own way that they were able to evict poor tenants by wholesale, for not paying exorbitant rent on improvements which the tenants themselves had made. Here it was double rent; there it was no rent at all. The government, having taken upon itself the task of pacifying Ireland, should not for an instant have permitted any individual landlord to defeat its efforts by his irresponsible and dangerous tampering with evictions. The enforcement of individual rights, even if they be unimpeachable, must and should be suspended if it puts the country in peril. The safety of the people-of the state or commonwealth-is above the law. It may be said that it is all very fine to talk this that the use of extraordinary measures to put down murder was only half of the right months ago. Had the government laid its

a different story to tell to-day. THE DANGER OF HALF MEASURES.

see, also, the terrible danger of half measmost fitting man to carry the new policy into effect. If it were resolved to adopt Chamberlain's policy, then the man himself should have been charged with the execution of the decree. It may be objected that serious difficulties are frequently settled by compromise, which is true. Compromise is sometimes, effective in commercial matters, in lawsuits, in diplomacy, and which if pressed on them for the same even in war; in the latter case. however, only after the ordeal of battle has pretty well settled which way the compromise must go. But compromise attempted with armed and excited men, who think themselves only at the beginning of the battle instead of at the end of it, is generally disastrous.

changes he submitted to the fiercer the clamour became for more still. After the event it became plain enough to everybody that there never was any safety for him except in one of two extreme courses lib, dis his land.

Sambo De king of Bingay berry big, and maybe he beat Sambo. But he not be king. It de coast, even with. It is an except in one of two extreme courses lib, dis his land.

sively failed, for proof of which take the take the risk." People will be forced to ask, was For- blood and iron; but, not being such a man, never will he committed a capital blunder when he put Parnell in prison. A minister prepared

And much of that world-wide sympathy at twenty-fours' notice to declare all Ireland with Irishmen in their efforts to secure home in a state of siege and under martial law disposed to argue and to conciliate, the step was fatal, as the speedy and awful result ilies, consisting of 3892 persons, were evictit shows. Mr. Gladstone's capacity for Canadian diplomacy has been but a that came when he tried to retrace intellectual problems of government is match him in this respect is very small. But he is emphatically not the man to deal

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

who despise Parnell's arguments as much | could we not maintain our independence by as they do Gladstone's, and who think the concession as well or better ourselves? down murder should have been reasonably supplemented with extraordinary measures worth minding. To what extent are the merican people responsible for it, through their persistent petting and coddling of tenians, and of such firebrand orators as permitted to live. In another they had scarcely matched in the world's record of centuries.

CANADIAN INDEPENDENCE

s never confined to public affairs. Its influence pervades the citizens. The populace, looking to their leaders for example, and seeing but a paltry one, follow the though industry is safe an I money is made, has confused the land till the woman often goes afield while the man cooks the dinner at home, and keeps the children in such this to which we are probably verging (for order as their limited respect will permit. the mutual jealousy of Britain and the way now, after the event. But the position A most extraordinary instance of this inversion of idea is given us by the Ottawa Citipolicy, lacking the stoppage of evictions at of the advocates of independence, in which the editor, without apparently knowing anyheavy hand upon both murder and eviction takes it upon him to declare that they at the same time, there might have been would suffer any humiliation before resenting an affront from the States. How strangely inverted must a mind be, which declares a bold course that most likely to

Britannia-Indeed. Should have thought policy, he should have gone the full length this piece of your shawl over my head: And and put Chamberlain in his place, as the most fitting man to carry the new policy There's nothing to be afraid of. Britannia—(casting glance of contempt over her shoulder)—Perhaps not. But

there is something to be ashamed of. Perhaps he now sees whether independence or dependence looks most spirited or most respectable. We are asked, here in Canada, descendants of a courageous people, reasons would have been rejected with scorn, I will not only say by a Grecian, or Roman, or a modern European independent province, but even by the smallest and most insignificant negro tribe. There is a scene in one of the African tragedies of the sesses a militia of six hundred thousand

The various half measures and changes of of humanity, and the advocates of depend. would have to be, for nothing would please policy which he tried were all failures.

ence will find it so. As long as they bring the States better than to assist to main the States better than to assist the States better than the States better the Stat continued effort, must it be written in history that his Irish policy has so far proved
the continuance of dependence, they will
a terrible failure! Certainly the thing
be listened to. But if they keep crying,
looks that way very much at present. The looks that way very much at present. The You must stay with Britain, lest the imprisonment of Parnell was a serious step Yankees catch you alone and thrash you? as they would state it in Germany, rise the

as Cromwell, Napoleon, or Bismarck, it is nonsensical in the extreme. In fact, it ferecious Jacobins, whose thirst for blood a it." "Oh, I don't know why, but they even threats of interference, would pour in, thousand lives sacrificed could not quench, would. We should be gob-gob-gobbled !" and peace would be made, What the government will do under the slunk away to their holes and remained as What can one say. It is not natural; it

mum as mice. And fancy Bismark chang- has never been so; if it were, there would hostilities would excite Canadian feeling. ing the ministry of an important office of be but one big country in the world by In the case of an American war under con since the Crimean war, will insist on a stern, almost a vengeful, policy, and the condition of Ireland will be worse than and iron "does not do business which their larger neighbors, for one reason be to enforce the calling out, arming and iron "does not do business which their larger neighbors, for one reason be to enforce the calling out, arming and in that way. Gladstone is not a man of or another, have not appropriated, and drilling of every Canadian militia man Let me try, as far as possible, to give a tyraanical. Every description of invective common sense view of this terrible Ameri-

can invasion, immediately to happen on taneously at all. In the next, if difficulties compromise, we would but do what Britain has always done in our name. Her dealing with what we may call pacitic or history of concessions, and if Britain can intellectual problems of government is gigantic; the number of statesmen, either the States with pieces of Canadian property, ancient or modern, that can be named to we might as well do that ourselves, and probably could do it to more advantage. Maine was largely Canadian. Britain gave indeed an essential part of what was neces- with murderers in arms. For that particu- it to the States. The Oregon line was Calar business quite another man is wanted. nadian. Britain gave it to the States. The Fenians in 1866 and afterwards ravag-Besides the actual murderers, who are to ed our territory and killed many of our be held responsible for the Phoenix park citizens. When was such an outrage, butchery? Will the responsibility come without compensation, submitted to beupon Parnell and his associates in any dee fore? Did Britain get us any compensagree, or will it fall upon a class of men | tion? No. Did she demand it? No. Now,

esitate a very long time before putting herself in the ridiculous-and what would assuredly be called throughout the world Yankee Robinson? We may very soon the cowardly-position of going to war have information precise enough to fix with a weak people like the Canadians. pendent would cause people to believe that somewhere or other the ultimate responsisomewhere or other the ultimate responsihilder in this matter large and the same unforeseen contingency arise it would not be talked bility in this particular case. But to talk tingency arise, it would not be appeared to be most unequally divided with of the deed having been done by "cranks" such a war as she would wage like Guiteau is utter nonsense,; nobody is against British Canada. In the latter silly enough to believe it. It is clearly a case, half a million men would march case of murder from political motives, and on Montreal, while armies of probably not brances of conscription and eviction, would think themselves fortunate if they were as such its circumstances of atrocity are less than two hundred thousand each would move against the Northwest, the Niagara frontier and Quebec. Such a war would ensue as would compel Britain to conscript men by the half million as the European BY R. W. PHIPPS. countries do, and would turn Canala from Halifax to Vancouver into a desolate waste of ruined farms, blackened rafters and long corpse-pits (such as you may now see in the States where the rebellion dead were buried speech on a fiscal measure without telling hundreds of acres in extent) where shall track. Communities could be named in repose forever the most active, most ener-Europe where, bolstered into babyhood by getic young men our land now can show. the guarantees of surrounding nations, Think of the million of young fellows-you and I can remember many of them-now yet there is that in their security which under that border U. S. soil, a few years ago in the pride of strength and health, the us in numbers, wealth, and more than all victims of a war which was as avoidable as

and growing British Northwest). thing of the persons of whom he is writing, the independence of Canada. America has How is it to be avoided? By declaring great reason, by all her traditions, all her truction, with far more enthusiasm on our feelings, to use any and every means to side, than with the help of any aid Britain, ronto. prevent the establishment of a great European and monarchical power on this conti-It may occur to some people that the be advocated by timid people. Let me most assuredly spend her last man and terrible event of Saturday in Dublin is put it in metaphor, and try to make the last dollar. Nor will she wait something to point the moral of Lincoln's relative courage plainer to the Citizen. till we are strong before making the something to point the moral of Lincold's oft quoted remark as to the danger of swapping horses while crossing a stream.

Mr. Gladstone suddenly changes his policy hind Britannia's petticoats.

Citizen boy—Please ma'am, if I come out the movements of states are in consequence of charges in balanced forces. There the words a strong party anximit of the movements of states are in consequence of charges in balanced forces. There is the picture in the movements of states are in consequence of charges in balanced forces. and his Irish secretary together, and instead of peace and conciliation the result is murder, most diabolical and atrocious. The illustration is to this effect certainly, but it is something more besides. We are to peace their armed forces have attacked us ures in times of civil war or the next thing to it. When Gladstone decided to withdraw Forster and change the decided to withdraw Forster and change the control of the con this fails, because the peace party is the strongest. But the addition of the North-

States will not remain without bloody out-

no escape for Canada. Let us remember, too, how foolishly this is likely to be managed in England. When we consider what statements have been made at public meetings in London by Cauadian statesmen, there is good reason to suppose that the British might almost risk hostilities under the belief that Canada was going to do the fighting for them. of at the end of it, is generally disastrous.

Louis the sixteenth lost his head, in more ways than one, in the vain effort to compromise with the French revolution. Every country he is very strong. He wants you the use of the rifle. Indeed, I am

west development will turn the scale sharp-

ly and heavily. Once this is done, let any

international difficulty arise, and there

While dred thousand or so to protect the Dover coast, especially if the tunnel is proceeded with.

On the other hand, what would be the

revolutionists with cannon and musketry. bring down the house. It is the instinct if America was forced into it, (which she have said, the ban and the arriere-ban, or, for a statesman like Mr. Gladstone, and in his circumstances, to take. It has decicry, Well, it would be more reputable to probably act as Britain did with herself in probably act is Britain did with herself in fact that it has been abandoned under com- Then, on the face, the declared necessity 1812, or with the Boers lately, send a force pulsion of events. Taken by such a man of a large country, absorbing a small one appropriate to the occasion, fight a couple of campaigns, and by that time-if the rewould have been a success—that is, in all advancers do not attempt to support it by human probability. Cromwell even when a single fact. They cannot. Try them successful, as it might well be, for the supreme suffered from annoyances aimed All you will discover is their profound anger of a young and independent nation at him in an underhand way, but nobody fright, and of course in that state they is a terrible thing, as many a battle-field, dared openly to dispute his authority. cannot argue. Say, "The States do not here and in Europe, has taught great When Napoleon, then called "a little Cor- seize the smaller lands." "Oh, but they empires which thought their well-paid and sican officer," was selected to meet the mob | would ours." "But there are reasons why | well appointed armies would tread the unof murderers in Paris, the struggle was a they should not seize ours; most of them trained battalions into dust-by that time brief one, and the mob aforesaid troubled would dislike the addition, though they the feeling of the world would be aroused him no more. From that time forward might rather have it than let Britain keep in our favor-offers of mediation-nay,

Consider, too, how differently such This would be regarded as compulsory and would be levelled against the enforcing troops. We would hear the cry in al in a state of siege and under martial law might have ventured the step, and been successful; but with a man like Gladstone. did arise, and we chose to settle them by theatre any way." Then there would be declarations that they would not give theatre any way." Then there would use declarations that they would not give Canadians fair play: and that in active Tenders will be received by registered post dressed to the City Engineer up to 3 o'cl. ck p of the 16th inst., for the construction of CED BLOCK ROADWAYS on the following streets: services they would shove them in the front as they did the Ghoorkas, or as the Americans are said to have done with the black recruits. A mutinous and discontent. black recruits. A mutinous and discontentblack recruits. A mutinous and discontented feeling would arise, and would be
constantly fed when the Canadian beheld
the destruction of his country, and knew
that his British allies would only have the destruction of his country, and knew that his British allies would only have to leave it to be at their ease at home, while to him would be left a life-time of poverty. He would say, 'If it was for Canada there would be some honor in the thing, but now Britain will got all to control to the lowest or any tender. thing, but now Britain will get all the Committee toom JOHN TURNER, Chairman Com. on Work credit and Canada all the thumps. Besides, there is no chance." It would not

> On the other hand, what if Canada declared her independence as there is good throughout the world that the young and growing Dominion of Canada was indeof, her possibilities canvassed, and many an ocean steamer full freighted with Euro pean settlers would lift anchor for Canada have sailed for any monarchical, depen dency. Canada would advance with rush. For, whatever were the utlimate effect, be sure that at first the States would express great official delight, and proffer most elaborate congratulations. And, with in the Canadian cabinet who could make a the Yankees that they "meant to take it out of their pockets," we might very well pre serve the good will and cordial co-operation of the States. And, if, strengthened as a few years o

independent existence would strengthen in public spirit, under, too, the direction of better men (for I do not think Canadian cons ituencies would, under independence. endure two or three irresponsible wire break, particularly when we hold before pullers in what are called nominating comsion of idea is given us by the Ottawa Cuttzen of last week in an attack on the courage
the States the irritating spectacle of a great
from, as they do now)—it word. I say, so strengthen us that we could, I do not say defend ourselves successfully-that is ruled above-but with far less risk of des-

> under present circumstances, could give us. AMUSEMENTS. GRAND OPERA HOUSE. O. B. SHEPPARD, - - - Manager. POSITIVELY FOR ONE WEEK ONLY-PROF. CROMWELL'S

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