

of the Treaty of Limerick, and the result of the violation of that treaty was that the Celtic gentry went over to France and Spain and the armies of the continent, and won, and their descendants have won, the very highest places in diplomacy and in the career of arms. The great French general, whose name is so dear to France, Marshal McMahon, is the descendant of one of these men who thus went out of the country after that unhappy transaction; and I remember—and it will probably interest those gentlemen from Lower Canada whom I see around me, to learn—that when, during the Franco-Germanic war, I had the pleasure of seeing Marshal McMahon, his face strongly reminded me of the face of an Irish gentleman. He had all the facial characteristics of an Irishman. The result was that the more Celtic portion of the people were deprived of their natural leaders. The legislation of Mr. Gladstone, as I have said, was beneficent legislation, but it must be confessed that it has not had a chance. When that legislation was passed, as much was given to Ireland as some of her strongest friends who had fought unselfishly for that country had hoped for; and if that legislation had had a chance, if the people had, under it, set about their work with patience, industry, and steadiness, if they had availed themselves of an instrument, which, I believe, they had, under these Acts, to become landed proprietors, there is not the slightest doubt that there would be a very much more prosperous state of things in Ireland than exists at present. But if the statistics are looked at, it will be found a great mistake to suppose that Ireland has receded. On the contrary, she has, and is progressing. Although she has had some bad years, there is no doubt that in the past quarter of a century she has made steady progress; but on the heels of the Gladstone legislation, what happened? There sprang up another agitation, as the result of which the people are being educated into carrying on a kind of war; they are being educated to make struggling and agitating a necessity to their existence; and if you were to give them Home Rule, how do you suppose these people would become at once denuded of their habits, and settle down into ways of peaceful and quiet industry? So that, with regard to the agitation that is going on at present, it is desirable that it should be stopped by rendering it unnecessary. I said I am in favor of local government for Ireland—I mean a system of local government which would leave her connection with the Empire intact, and I believe that a local government which would give an opportunity to her aspiring spirits to have the direction of their country's local affairs—a local government such as our Provinces have here—would, I believe, terminate this agitation. Nor would there be any difficulty in now ceding local government to Ireland. That government would have been granted to her long ago, if some of her leaders, who have brought themselves into prominence on this Home Rule question, had not used language that alarmed, not only Englishmen and Scotchmen, but the best friends of Ireland the world over. Had they shown themselves perfectly loyal to the Empire in word and action, there is not an Englishman, from one end of England to the other, who would not have been ready to do all in his power to secure to Ireland local self-government. Let me say one word about the schemes of independence that I sometimes see sketched. For dark decades Ireland's soil has been wet with blood and tears; she has had a fearful baptism of sorrow for centuries, but no bloody era through which she has passed would be equal to the disastrous results that would follow any attempt to bring about independence in that country. What is meant by this phrase Home Rule?—because my hon. friend who moved the motion did not explain to us either the meaning of Home Rule or his plan. Is it meant that the people are to be governed by their own representatives in the country to which they belong—in the country for which their forefathers fought and toiled, and in which their

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forefathers distinguished themselves? If so, Ireland has Home Rule at present. I consider that Ireland is governed by a Parliament that is her own Parliament, as much as it is the Parliament of England or Scotland. I consider that the Empire belongs as much to Irishmen as it does to Englishmen or Scotchmen. England is an old country, so is Ireland, so is Scotland, but the British Empire is but of yesterday. Go back a couple of hundred years, and where is the British Empire? The British Empire has been built during the past two centuries by Irishmen, Scotchmen and Englishmen, and if you go to India and the battle-fields of the continent, you will find Irishmen fighting side by side with Englishmen and Scotchmen, and not distinguishing themselves less than their brothers in arms. You will find them in every walk of life, active and fruitful—as statesmen, as literary men, as barristers, as mechanics, as laborers. In every walk of life you find the Irishman doing his part in building up the Empire during these two centuries. There is not a quarry from which a stone has been taken to build up that grandiose structure, where you will not find Irishmen working side by side with Englishmen and Scotchmen; there is not a stone in the majestic edifices of the British Empire in which there is not the mark of an Irish chisel. The man who would try to make an Irishman feel that he is an alien in the British Empire is either an ignoramus or a scoundrel. Therefore, if you want Home Rule you cannot want it in contradistinction to alien rule, because you have Home Rule already, and for that reason I prefer the phrase local government. Now, pursuing the line of thought that I was on a moment ago, let me take the words Celt and Saxon. I saw in a newspaper I was reading awhile ago the phrase "The Saxons must go." Why, if you were to go into Ireland at the present minute, and try to find out the Saxons in order to get rid of them, it would be a very difficult piece of work; it would be a piece of work very much like Shylock had to perform when he was told to take his pound of flesh; it would be a very difficult job indeed, just as difficult a job as it would be if you were to go into England in order to get rid of the Celts in England. England is largely Celtic. Long before the recent infusions, England, as Matthew Arnold points out, was largely Celtic; and in Ireland, as Froude says, the races are so mixed—Saxon, Norman, Dane, and so on—that it is very hard indeed to find a pure Celt. So there is no ethnological base for those hatreds that are sought to be fanned as between Saxon and Celt. So early as the fourteenth century, there was a statute of Kilkenny passed forbidding Englishmen, English settlers, that is, Norman settlers, to assume Irish names. Therefore, names are no guide. A name may show that a man must infallibly have other blood than that of a Celt in him—as for instance, we have the name of the distinguished leader of the Opposition. That is not an Irish name; it is a Norman name. But many Irishmen who have Irish names, really Celtic names, are actually the descendants of men who assumed those names and became, according to a Latin proverb, more Irish than the Irish themselves. Then, religion is no test, although I saw that a late mayor of Dublin put out the banner "Faith and Fatherland." Of course, if that is put out, they ought to expel Mr. Parnell right away, and they will have to get rid of the Floods and the Grattans and the Currans, and a great number of their distinguished men. But I want to emphasise this still more. Tipperary is supposed to be the most characteristically Irish county in Ireland. What are the facts? The fact is that Tipperary was colonised by Cromwell's Ironsides. How are they Catholic to-day? I will tell you. The miserable and abominable way in which the English Church was exploited—men taking orders in it and not doing any duties in connection therewith—left that county as it left other parts of Ireland, to the charge entirely of the more zealous Catholic priest, and the more zealous Catholic priest took an interest in education, and, in the course