

THE TRUE WITNESS

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WEDNESDAY AUGUST 10, 1897

If nothing but gore will satisfy General Boulanger, why doesn't M. Ferry borrow a Prussian from Bismarck to fight him?

A MARITIME province contemporary says, "It is time that we outgrow our formulas. Correct. Let us pull down the Customs House formula. It is about the worst and ought to be the first outgrown."

"RENEGADE AND TURNCOAT" are the endearing terms applied by the Ottawa Citizen to the Toronto Mail. The latter will never be able to return the compliment, so long as Government pap holds out.

It is currently reported that a certain lumbering firm on the Ottawa found a limit to their expectations by supporting Mr. Ferguson in South Renfrew.

WHILE Canada has given the United States a million of her people, we have in return only McGargle and a few other boodlers. This is not Reciprocity.

It was stated at the annual meeting of the Scottish Reformation Society in Edinburgh that the Catholic population in Scotland numbered 342,000, and that it is steadily on the increase, mainly through the immigration of Irish persons.

THE esteemed Citizen objects to THE Post ranking Mr. McShane as a statesman. Does it require that he should make a midnight raid on a government contractor's purse, and learn the arts of bogus contracting, to entitle him to a position on the Citizen's roll of statesmen?

THE Afghan boundary was settled the other day, we were assured. Yet we read in the despatches of further Russian advances in Afghanistan. Somebody must be pulling up the stakes, or perhaps the Russian outposts have lost their way.

A CORRESPONDENT wants to know if Unrestricted Reciprocity will include a free exchange of boodlers between Canada and the United States. We hope so. We have a first-class article in this country that we would be glad to dispose of any time.

It is astonishing how many Ottawa civil servants spent a portion of their holidays in South Renfrew. As a summer resort for this particular class the riding has had a popularity as sudden as it is extraordinary. Of course the election contest had nothing to do with it.

AGAIN the voracious Ottawa Citizen informs us that the terrible Mackintosh flogged the Hon. Peter Mitchell at Arranpior. Let us see. Is this not the same Mackintosh who gave John L. Sullivan such a fearful licking somewhere, eat a crocodile, and made a triumphant march with a brass band to the foot of the poll in Russia?

In the Crimes act being enforced in Ireland, the cable despatches are careful to keep us in ignorance of the fact. Possibly the Government is waiting till the Land bill passes, when evictions can be consummated by the penny post to apply the screws. Meantime the clouds are gathering.

ENGLISH by-elections show that the reaction in favor of Mr. Gladstone not only continues but is increasing in force and volume. The "Unionist" faction is going to pieces fast, and the process of disintegration has been considerably facilitated by Chamberlain's treachery to Lord Randolph Churchill.

TORY snobbery and ill-breeding find a fine sphere for display in the English House of Commons. What these backstairs require is a thorough good whipping. A cowhide is the only argument that should be applied to them.

The Globe asks if the Geological Survey can not give some information concerning natural gas. We would like to know when the Geological Survey ever gave any information on any subject since the advent of the present chief. Like the Statistical Department at Ottawa, it is a huge expensive humbug. Several

times Mr. Holton has shown it up in Parliament, and the Minister of the Interior promised renovation and reform, but the old machine jogs along in the old ruts just as costly and as worthless as ever.

OTTAWA COUNTY has long been notorious for electioneering rascalities perpetrated in the interest of Tory candidates. We are glad to learn that these frauds are likely to meet with condign correction. Care will also be taken at the coming election to freeze out the manipulators who have so often violated the laws of printers and returning officers.

WESTERN journals are discussing the probable retirement of the Hon. Mr. Pardee from the Ontario Government on account of ill-health. Should this occur, the loss to the Ontario Ministry will be severe, for Mr. Pardee is admittedly one of the ablest of Mr. Mowat's colleagues. Mr. Gibson, of Hamilton, is mentioned as a likely successor to Mr. Pardee.

ONLY the other day England astonished the world by a display of naval strength unparalleled in history. But the first attempt to display the efficiency of those great armaments has shown their unreliability. In the manoeuvres off the mouth of the Thames, some of the guns burst, killing a number of men, and proving that after all these great engines of warfare, constructed at such vast expense, may be next to useless in actual warfare.

A New York despatch contains an alleged proclamation by the Irish National Legion. This is an institution never heard of till now, and the whole thing looks very like a forgery. But supposing it to be bona fide, there is no language so strong to denounce such stupid folly. The Government of the United States is strong enough to take care of the honor and interests of its citizens, and should the alleged piratical movement be attempted, it must and will be crushed without loss of time. Such folly can only injure the cause it assumes to defend.

LANSDOWNE is billed to take up his residence at the Citadel, Quebec, on the 10th inst. His Ex. is thus to have a jolly good time at the expense of the Canadian people. We read in the Irish papers of the misery to which a large number of the 500 tenants evicted by him at Luggacurran have been reduced in the struggle for existence consequent on the ruthless manner in which this cold-blooded tyrant drove them from their homes. Quebec will doubtless feel honored by the presence of the Evictor of Luggacurran.

THE executive committee of the Central Farmers' Institute of Ontario has requested the twenty-two local institutes which have declared in favor of Unrestricted Reciprocity to organize a systematic canvass among the farmers in their district to ascertain their views on the question. Those who are favorable will be asked to sign a pledge, binding themselves to lay aside ordinary political differences and make the attainment of Unrestricted Reciprocity their primary object by casting their ballots only for such candidates as will adopt it as their platform. The number of signatures thus obtained will be a practical test of the popularity of the movement.

A REMARKABLE instance of the extent to which English landlords have suffered by agricultural depression is shown in the case of one English landlord, bearing a North of England title, holding extensive property, who has lost over £10,000 a year by the fall in agricultural values. He has five thousand acres on his hands, and he can find no tenant for them. However, luckily for him, a cultured ancestor stored up at the family seat one of the best collections of pictures and antiques in England. A large quantity, if not all, of these will be shortly brought to the hammer to make up for the almost complete disappearance of his rent roll.

THE approaching duel between M. Jules Ferry and Gen. Boulanger appears superbly ridiculous to outsiders. If one public man cannot criticise the conduct of another public man without being called upon to hold up his iron and wink, there is an end to that free, candid discussion which is the essence of liberty. What satisfaction either can obtain by shooting at each other is difficult to understand. In any case their country runs the risk of losing one or two valuable lives. However, as French duels are notoriously harmless affairs, we may be permitted to indulge the hope that both will obtain ample satisfaction without either suffering loss of blood or prestige.

THE contingent of Irishmen by occupation who infested South Renfrew of late were a queer lot. An Ottawa despatch to the Toronto Globe tells the following story:—

The Government having abolished the office of Minister of Inland Revenue, with a view of getting rid of Mr. Costigan, it looks as if the latter were organizing a cabal against his leaders. At a meeting at Shawanook, in South Renfrew, on Saturday night, the worthy M. F. O'Donoghue appeared as one of the speakers on behalf of the Government. On being asked to state his opinion and experience of the Tory leader, O'Donoghue said that he had no regard for Sir John Macdonald, as he believed him to be a scoundrel and a trickster, but he was working for Mr. Costigan.

From this we should fancy that Mr. Costigan aspires to the position of boss of the Irish vote, and has surrounded himself with a body-guard for his own support and defence.

THE Herald has not been well informed in regard to Dr. Laberge's position on the founding question. We believe our contemporary is acting in good faith, but it has fallen into error in the matter. The medical health officer could not have been indifferent to the manner in which foundlings were treated, and at the same time expose it as he did to a reporter of this paper. The Herald again repeats our interview with the medical health officer on the subject, but it is wrong in stating that Dr. Laberge said that there was "too much fuss" being raised over his disclosures three weeks before he had made them. Our contemporary contradicts itself in the most open manner. It says:—

"Here is a copy of Montreal's Medical Health Officer's account of the slaughter of the foundlings. It is his interview with a reporter of the Post, published in that paper July 4. This

was little more than three weeks before he declared that "too much fuss" was being raised over the disclosures made by himself and corroborated by others."

But the Star's alleged interview, on which the whole attack is based, did not take place, by the Herald's own showing, until July 28, and that was certainly not three weeks before July 4.

If the doctor did say to a Star reporter that there was "too much fuss," which we have reason to doubt, he very likely was thinking of the savage attack of the Witness on the Grey Nuns, and the exaggerated reproduction in that paper of what THE POST gave an unprejudiced account. The Herald ought to make further enquiries, and we are sure it will find that the Star's cowardly attack and misrepresentation of an honest and capable officer is actuated by the personal spite of its proprietor.

MOST persons who have given attention to the immigration question will applaud the action of the British Government in declining to have anything to do with the schemes lately proposed for transferring people to Canada from the Old Country. Unaided immigration is the best immigration. These likely to come to this country with assistance are pretty sure to consist of persons who have failed, or are otherwise undesirable, whereas those who come of their own accord are, as a general rule, active, pushing, enterprising. Such were the men who made America what it is, and we don't want any other sort.

THE MacLeod Gazette of the 2nd inst. tackles Sir John Macdonald for making the statement in Parliament last session that "the reason why men would not re-enlist in the mounted police force was because they could not stand the work." Our contemporary then gives the true reasons:—"There is not one man in a hundred that leaves on this account. Some of the real reasons are as follows: Because the pay was reduced and at the same time the land grant was taken away; because no matter how good the service done they never got credit for it; because during the rebellion to belong to the police was to be rebuffed and insulted by Middleton and his gang; because every pilgrim volunteer who came here and enjoyed one huge picnic was fitted and honored and had medals and land given to him, while the force which had been doing the real work for years was ignored, and their services during the rebellion passed without notice; because there is an evident desire to get rid of the old timers, both officers and men. Pshaw! Can't stand the work! In the old days the work was a thousand times harder, and men re-engaged freely enough then. Why can't they tell the truth about things in the House of Commons?"

CANADIAN FLUNKYISM.

The landlord of Luggacurran and lovers of kinghoods and baronetcies among Canadian politicians are severely handled by the London Weekly Dispatch. In its last issue it contains the following pointed and pungent remarks touching the servile flunkyness of Canadian politicians of the Tory stripe:—

"Whatever other results may flow from Mr. William O'Brien's visit to the Canadian Dominion, one thing he has done: he has revealed to us the immense strides which flunkyness has made among the people of Ontario. Verily our royalties are wise in their generation. The judicious distribution of baronetcies and knight-hoods among prominent Canadian politicians have acted like leaven in permeating the stock-jobbing, log-rolling, villa-adorned classes in Toronto and Ottawa with the spirit of the toad. Actually they are now able, these people, to simulate 'loyalty' towards a Fitzmaurice—thinnest-blooded of blue aristocrats—a man mean enough first to promise relief to his tenants, and then, on the orders of babbling Balfour and his insolent squad, to fling them out of the homes they themselves had built, to perish by the wayside. Nice object he of slavish demonstration of 'loyalty.' Bravo, noble Canadians! p. reverse and earn the contempt of the world. After these displays of servility, your political leaders cannot be put off with less surely than a few jutelee peesages."

THE TORY-WHIG ALLIANCE.

Lord Hartington's announcement that he contemplates entering the Cabinet is not surprising. The Whig party, or rather the rump of what was once the Whig party, has long been in practice in sympathy with the Tories, and its utility also in union with them has long been foreseen and prophesied. Personally Lord Hartington is neither a brilliant statesman nor a capable party leader. He is simply a man of ordinary talents and average character, the former sharpened by his having been brought up to the parliamentary profession, the latter wholly formed by the traditions and associations of his class. To compare him with Salisbury is small flattery, but he certainly is not superior to the Premier in any respect. Still, his accession to the Cabinet would strengthen the Government in personal, but not otherwise. He has already brought to it all the strength of the Whig element in Parliament and the country.

To the Liberal party this final coalition of Whigs and Tories will be a decided advantage. Besides removing an element of insatiable greed and very doubtful honesty, it will give the coup de grace to the Liberal-Union faction, and bring about a solidification of parties on their true lines. It will virtually amount to a freeze-out of Chamberlain and his gang of bogus Liberals, who will either have to turn Tories out and out or become a mere group of impotents. The change cannot alter the Irish situation to any appreciable extent, save to strengthen the alliance between the Irish people and the English Democracy. It is safe to predict that the working and agricultural classes will not follow the her of a Dukedom into the Tory fold. Still more unlikely are they to split their allegiance under so shabby and shoddy a leader as Joseph Chamberlain.

All things considered, it is, perhaps, for the best that Hartington should take this step. The people will then know exactly whom head his Whigs are. It is all nonsense to suppose that he and his following will liberalize and make Tory Government more progressive. They join it as reactionaries, and the tide on which they ride will carry them to the rear, not to the front, of the Tory party. Evidently there is no return for them. With the Democratic party, now consolidating under Mr. Gladstone, they can never unite, so that a clearer, more

intelligible undertaking of the position and aims of government and opposition must result. But Lord Hartington may any day be relegated to the House of Lords. His father, the Duke of Devonshire, is an octogenarian, for whose continued existence on earth the Tories are beseeching Heaven with prayers. However, all will admit the fitness, as well as the necessity, of his joining the Cabinet. Gladstone will then get rid of the Whigs, who never were sincere Liberals, and a great drag upon the party of reform will be removed.

MR. LAURIER AT SOMERSET.

The wisdom and calmness with which Mr. Laurier discussed the political situation at the Somerset demonstration show that the Liberals in parliament made no mistake in selecting him to lead them in this peculiar juncture of affairs. This is not the time to force political controversy. In the calm that proverbially precedes the storm it is wise to keep quiet, and imitate good seamen who put their vessel in the best possible order to meet the tempest when it bursts.

Mr. Laurier, as the first Canadian of French descent who has been elevated to the position of a leader of a great party in the Dominion, has a difficult role to play. The efforts that have been made by the Tory press of Ontario during the past couple of years to decry and cast suspicion on the French Canadians and the institutions to which they are attached, unworthy and untrue as they were, have doubtless had some effect in some quarters. To overcome this is the first part of the onerous task Mr. Laurier has assumed. This may account for the caution with which he touched upon those questions now agitating the public, but which have yet to be discussed in Parliament. No doubt his speech will be read with avidity in the other Provinces, especially Ontario; but even the Mail will have some difficulty in finding fault with it, unless, indeed, its moderation may offer a peg for unfriendly criticism.

The new leader is evidently perfectly cognizant of the elements of the coming conflict, but he has wisely refrained from opening the campaign at the present time. Events are ripening fast enough to suit him and his party. The Macdonaldist policy, maintained and enforced by the most reckless system of corruption that ever disgraced a country, is bringing about its natural result. The economical difficulties which have been created are intensifying every day and must come to a head at an early date.

Meantime Mr. Laurier's speech will assure the country that Liberal principles will guide his counsels, that nothing revolutionary is in contemplation, and that the struggle for good government will be continued with unabated vigor. His declaration that "it is time to put an end to this fatal policy of retaliation, which can assuredly be done without disturbing our national dignity or impairing our national honor," is one which will meet with a hearty response all over the country.

THE MERCIER GOVERNMENT.

Quebec Tories resemble nothing so much as a pack of hungry wolves. The exceeding brutality of the personal attacks on Mr. Mercier by the Tory press, the vulpine fury of such political starlings as lately inveted Laprairie, prove, if proof were necessary, that political principle has less influence with them than dis-appointment at being deprived of the sweets of office and hatred of the men who have driven them from the Government crib. The Quebec treasury was a fruitful source of revenue to the gent who preside over the columns of Le Minerve and Le Monde, and we all know how the taste for this sort of blood ruins the appetite of such politicians for healthy food earned by honest industry. Some extravagance of language on their part was therefore to be expected. Even howlings and cavorting might be forgiven under circumstances so exasperating. These are but human expressions, human passion under the provocation caused by deprivation of accustomed gratifications. But the line must be drawn somewhere, and Mr. Mercier has very properly marked the limit, in the arrest of the editors of Le Monde for criminal libel in accusing him of gross misconduct in public.

There are times and occasions when public men justly incur severe censure in the press when they desert or betray a cause in which the deepest emotions of our nature are enlisted. In the excitement and passion of such times, extravagance of language by journalists is pardonable. But when there is nothing save the ordinary disputation between parties over matters of administration in an election contest, there is no excuse for personal libel, unless losing one's temper may be so considered.

But the trouble with our local opposition is Mr. Mercier's extraordinary success, a success largely owing to the manner in which he has corrected the follies, mistakes and corruptions of his Conservative predecessors in the government of the Province. When any set of politicians make the mistake of imagining themselves possessed of a sort of right divine to govern they are apt to bring upon themselves the retributions of defeat and expulsion from office. But when they refuse to accept the situation, and indulge in the fury of disappointment, they forfeit respect and invoke punishment still more severe.

The people of the province deliberately placed the conduct of their affairs in the hands of the party led by Mr. Mercier. The manner in which he has administered the trust has won a confirmation of public confidence, and it may now be said that he is more firmly seated in the Government than any of his predecessors. Fair minded men everywhere acknowledge the consummate tact and ability with which he manages provincial affairs, and the general voice declares that he should have all needful opportunity to carry out a policy which is admittedly beneficial to all classes. The task of governing a province is split up and divided into diverse elements of full of difficulties, and, while free criticism is always to be desired and encouraged, we must, in common with all those who do not let their party feelings carry them away, deprecate the vindictiveness of the assaults that have been made upon Mr. Mercier.

But he had a splendid reply for his enemies on Saturday evening, when the returns from Laprairie assured him of the confidence of the electors. He was in a position to assure his hearers that not only had his majority in the Assembly increased with the certainty of further increasing, but he would next session have a majority in the Legislative Council. At

the same time, with the true spirit of a Liberal and a Reformer, he declared that when he had that majority he would use the power it conferred to make it impossible for the Council to contravene the wishes of the people as expressed by their responsible representatives in the Legislative Assembly. We all know the unconstitutional use the Tories made of the council to overthrow the popular government of Mr. Joly. It is, therefore, gratifying to all upholders of the constitution to know that the principles of popular government will be placed beyond the destructive reach of any clique that may attempt a like coup d'etat in the future.

Mr. Mercier's language was that of a man who knew his strength and felt his power. And his declaration that both would be exerted to secure popular control over the legislature is a proof of his fidelity to the principles he has advocated in opposition.

Provincial politics sorely needed the changes brought about by the advent to power of a man of Mr. Mercier's ability and strength of character, and his expressed determination to cleanse the Legislature of the presence of notorious corruptionists shows him equal to the task of rescuing the province from the evils which have so long oppressed it. Political parties, like armies, fight all the better when led by men who know how to win battles. Mr. Mercier is one of this sort of men, and is bound to march from victory to victory, with a grateful, applauding people at his back.

THE TORY COLLAPSE.

Feeble men endowed with power are almost invariably the most cruel tyrants and often proceed to measures of ferocity which stronger men would never employ. Who can tell how much the horrors of the Reign of Terror in France were owing to the physical weakness and personal cowardice of Robespierre and his associates. The most ferocious of Roman emperors were the most a'ject of cowardice, and delicate women have often been most merciless in their scourges. The present Tory Government of England offers another proof of this apparent rule in human character. Called upon, at a great crisis in affairs, to deal with a question of the greatest importance, the Salisbury Cabinet demonstrated its feebleness and incapacity by resorting to a measure of the most extreme harshness. A wise minister at the head of a strong government would never dream of destroying the common law when neither rebellion nor revolution threatened the country. On the contrary he would be careful to strengthen those institutions whose soundness and efficacy had been proved by centuries of experience.

But under the political conditions now prevailing in England, a government feeble as that of Lord Salisbury's might succeed, to some measurable extent, were its policy of severity towards Ireland consistent throughout. This is where its failure is most conspicuous. Two more incompatible pieces of legislation could not be imagined than the Crimes bill and the Land Bill. One hopeless middle size to result is already seen by the people, and the pronounced reaction in the constituencies towards Mr. Gladstone shows how greatly public confidence in the Government has been shaken. The British democracy is not slow to perceive in the Tory-Whig alliance for the imposition of repressive legislation on Ireland a sure indication of what the same combination would attempt in England, and taken alarm accordingly. It is extremely difficult to bring a people confirmed for generations in the belief in institutions of popular liberty, to think that a wise and just policy which declares those liberties shall cease forever in one of the three kingdoms. The idea will not go down with the masses of Englishmen. It is against their nature and convictions, and though it may suit the notions of the landlord class, the great body of the people see in it a very open invitation to those liberties which they regard as their inalienable birthright. Hence the feeling among the people that a government which cannot govern according to approved British methods, is unfit to govern. Already the Tory policy is assured of failure; a few months are all that are required to demonstrate the fact. Then the collapse must come. The Whig lamb will lie down inside the Tory lion, while Smith, Balfour, Chamberlain and others of that ilk will become, like old fashion plates, objects of an amusement and derision to succeeding generations.

PROGRESS OF HOME RULE.

The number of Home Rule schemes constantly proposed and discussed in England show how the public mind is settling down to the conviction that legislative autonomy for Ireland is something that must be conceded before very long. The landlords, backed by the Tories, have played their last card, and the coolness with which it is regarded by Liberals and Nationalists show that its effect has been fully discounted. Meantime something like a panic has taken place in the ranks of the Unionists. Recent elections have shown them to have lost their hold on the electors, and their Tory allies are not slow to estimate the value of an alliance that ceases to be effective when brought to the test of an election. We may, therefore, be pretty sure that the Government will do all in their power to stave off a dissolution, but the fact that it is being ground daily in the country weakens and must finally paralyze it. Indeed, when we think of the nature of the alliance, how it must constantly tend to the destruction of the Liberal-Unionists by squeezing them out in every contest, it would not be astonishing to see the reaction towards Mr. Gladstone in the country initiated in Parliament. Members have their personal ambitions, and those who have to appeal to Liberal constituencies will hardly care to sacrifice themselves for a ministry which refuses to trust them while depending on them for its existence. Having passed an act which they are afraid to enforce, because they find themselves confronted with a people unswayable in their union and perfect submission to the advice of their leaders, who cannot be silenced or overcome, Salisbury and his colleagues are gradually going down under the weight of public contempt. Filled with the desire and, presumably, possessed of the power to crush the spirit of the Irish nation, they find themselves unable to move without the danger of having to encounter a recoil that would complete their overthrow. The

reason for this is that the great bulk of the Irish nation is beyond their reach, while with its money and influence it can thwart them at every turn and beat them on their own ground. This is what makes the Irish question so perplexing to the Tory mind, which will not acknowledge the power, sagacity and unflinching determination of those who have assumed the task of compelling England to do justice to Ireland.

It is amusing to read in the cable reports that the Liberal Unionists held a conference for the purpose of discussing means for checking the Gladstonian reaction. Still more amusing, but gratifying withal, is it to learn that "the speakers agreed in attributing their defeat partly to the enthusiasm and energy of the Home Rulers in assisting the Gladstonian candidates and partly to the want of united action on the part of Liberal Unionists and Conservatives. Mr. Chamberlain pointed to the example of the Parnellites sending a contingent to every contest to influence 'the electors.'"

We are further informed, as if in confirmation of the fact that Irish oratory is a powerful factor in English election contests, that "in the impending election in Norwich Mr. Dillon, T. P. O'Connor and several others are going to 'stump' for the Gladstonian candidate, and the Unionists must send militant members also."

Thus it is that the Irish have not only to be fought in Ireland, but they must be met on the stump in England, where it is admitted they have been able to turn the tide of public opinion in favor of the Gladstonian candidates. This is a high compliment to Irish ability to come from the enemies of Ireland, but it shows that the Irish have a grip on England, and in the changed conditions of the conflict can carry the war into the heart of the enemy's country and compel recognition within the very citadels of his political power. All this goes to show how worse than hopeless is the attempt to govern Ireland contrary to the wishes of the Irish people.

THE VICTORY IN GLASGOW.

Sir George O. Trevelyan, addressing the electors of Glasgow after his triumphant election last Tuesday evening, said that his victory made it next to impossible for the Government to proclaim the Irish National League. The election, he declared, largely settled the Irish question. Henceforth Ireland must be treated in a spirit of conciliation, kindness and confidence. We also learn from the despatches that the Glasgow victory is felt in Conservative circles to be the severest blow the Unionist cause has yet experienced. Each side attached supreme importance to the election as the first fought since the general election between a Gladstonian and a Liberal-Unionist, the other contestants having been between Conservatives and Gladstonians.

There can be no doubt whatever but that Sir George Trevelyan put the right interpretation on his election. It was a most emphatic condemnation by one of the most important and intelligent constituencies in the nation of the Liberal-Unionist faction, and may be taken as a proof of the reconsolidation of the Liberal party, among the people, under the leadership of Mr. Gladstone, in support of his Irish policy.

A feature of this contest, which gives great additional significance to the result, was the fact that Sir George Trevelyan was one of the members of Mr. Gladstone's cabinet who deserted him when he introduced his Home Rule Bill, a member of the famous Round Table conference, and the latest convert back to the Gladstonian programme. His repudiation of the Radical-Unionist cabal roused against him all the concentrated hatred of that faction, as well as the fury of the Tories, who saw in his return to Mr. Gladstone a death blow to their hopes of permanently dividing the Liberal party. Even John Bright, whose servility may be an excuse for his abandonment of the principles of justice and freedom, the advocacy of which was the glory of his prime, threw the weight of his name and influence against his old friend and colleague. He wrote to the electors, urging them not to vote for Trevelyan, and the measure of his influence may be seen in the defeat of the Unionist candidate.

Well may the friends of Ireland rejoice at this crowning victory in a long series of Liberal successes; at a time, too, when a government which depends for existence on the support of the faction so signally and ignominiously beaten in Glasgow threatens the permanent destruction of Irish liberties. Lord Salisbury may be infused with the spirit of Pitt in his policy towards Ireland, and imagine he has found a new Castlereagh in Balfour, but even were Pitt himself alive and on the scene to-day, he would find, with all his genius and recklessness in the employment of means for his purposes, that his policy was no longer possible. The icy, repulsive minister who carried the Union had an unreformed parliament to deal with, while the democracy was weak, ignorant, unrepresented. Catholic emancipation was not mooted, and principles of government, now universally admitted, were regarded as the most unwholesome of Radical heresies. His paltry imitators of to-day, the Salisburys, Smiths and Balfours, forget these things. As well might they propose the reintroduction of the rack and thumb-screw as legal instruments of justice as to attempt the abolition of popular liberties. The world has advanced too far; England herself has become too radical to permit the imitation in Ireland of Russian methods in Poland.

But the terror that fills the Tory heart at the prospect of Home Rule being granted to Ireland springs from the fear that the Irish would retaliate upon them for the centuries of misery they have been made to suffer. The spirit of Norman brutality touched with fear of the enemies' vengeance, which prompted many a bloody massacre and hideous murder, still survives and finds expression in such legislation as the Crimes Bill and such conduct as Tory members display in Parliament towards the Irish representatives. But against that spirit is rising the grander and greater spirit of modern democracy. Its voice has been heard in recent elections and with crushing effect it sends its mandate from Glasgow. Ireland is no longer fighting single-handed against her oppressors. Her allies are the masses of Englishmen and Scotchmen against a class whose hereditary purpose has been to fasten the rule of an oligarchy upon the necks of the people. Everywhere we see the Liberal press emphasizing the fact that the battle for the establishment of British liberty on the broadest foundations of popular rights is