

influences of a Protestant and progressive community. In this age of scientific industry the industrial prospects of Ireland would decline with her national education. At the same time, grants of public money would be made on charitable pretexts to monasteries and religious brotherhoods and sisterhoods, as they were in New York during the period of Irish rule. Finally, complete endowment and establishment, virtual if not formal, would come, and Ireland would be restored to the dominion of the Papacy and of reaction. The British colony in Ulster, with all its noble energies and hopes, would be, not restored to the dominion of the Papacy, but added, for it has never formed part of any Celtic and Catholic nationality; it has always been an illustrious portion of the great nationality embracing the Three Kingdoms, from which it is now to be torn. Is this a consummation to which any Liberal can be called upon by his duty to his party to contribute? Mr. Gladstone seems, at this political crisis, very anxious to identify himself with the Scotch; he has assigned to them, I believe, by an inscription on a monument, the honour of having given birth to his family; nor does he want the nerve to tell them by way of compliment that they and their Irish colony are guiltless, and that England alone is guilty of harsh treatment of the Irish Catholics. Will the Scotch Presbyterians like to be made parties to the establishment of Roman Catholicism in Ireland? Will the English Nonconformists, who are following Mr. Gladstone in the belief that, as he renounces disestablishment, it will be his next move?

Resolutions, commonly called the Costigan Resolutions, were passed by the Canadian Parliament, about the time of the Phoenix Park murders, in favour of the extension of Canadian self-government to Ireland; an absurd proposal, since Canada is everything which Ireland is not—a colonial dependency separated from Great Britain by the ocean, and so friendly that no measure of self-government or powers of any kind that can be granted her will ever make her a thorn in the side of the Imperial country. But the resolutions, though they gave much pain to loyal British-Canadians, were, on the part of the majority—probably the great majority—of those who voted for them, simply a tribute of political servility to the Irish vote. For the Irish vote, wielded by the priesthood, is our political scourge. It is too evidently becoming yours also, and you will not get rid of it by breaking the Union; it will remain in your cities, a perpetual temptation to ignoble politicians, a perpetual weapon in the hands of your enemies on the other side of the Irish Channel. You can escape from its degrading domination only by laying aside the factions which make you subservient to it, and showing it once for all that it shall not reign here.

Let Mr. Gladstone remember that twice his Irish-American sympathisers have invaded Canada, and that twice Canada has shown how hollow is the bugbear of Fenian power by which some of his colleagues are now trying to scare the British people into a surrender of the national integrity to the conspiracy which has its centres and the main sources of its supplies in New York and Chicago. Canadians, after this, are not likely to see with joy the creation of a Fenian power in Ireland whose influence would give fresh life to the worst political elements on our side of the Atlantic.

The genuine feeling of British-Canadians was expressed, as I am persuaded, at a meeting which was held the other day at Toronto to aid the Loyalists of Ireland in their struggle against dismemberment, and which was crowded and enthusiastic, thousands being turned away from the doors. We met not to protest against the extension of any measure of decentralization and self-government to Ireland in common with the other two kingdoms and without prejudice to the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament. That against which we met to protest was the rupture of the Legislative Union. This, and its inevitable sequel, the carving of a hostile Irish Republic out of the flank of the United Kingdom, would, as we believe, be fatal to the power and greatness which are the common heritage of our whole race. Nor do we deem it narrow or selfish to desire that ruin shall not be brought on the mother of free nations and the guiding light of ordered progress. If, in the deliberate judgment of the nation, morality and justice require the sacrifice, we shall bow our heads in resignation. If it is entailed by faction, weak fears, and personal ambition, we shall bow our heads in shame. We shall bow our heads in shame unutterable, and be unable ever again to look a foreigner in the face if Mr. Gladstone or any one else succeeds in persuading you to commit so foul, so dastardly, and at the same time so suicidal a crime as the abandonment of the Loyalists of Ireland.

Of American opinion I speak, of course, with less confidence than of Canadian opinion. On the lips of the Irish enemies of Great Britain in the United States the yell of triumph is suspended only till Mr. Gladstone shall have done his work. The protectionists abet, as a matter of course, any hostility to Great Britain, which with them means 20 per cent. more on pig iron. The politicians have Irish constituents and the journals have Irish subscribers. But of the native Americans unconnected with

politics, few or none, as I believe, sympathise with Irish secessionism, at least if they understand the case and know that the laws are the same for the Irish, so long as they are law-abiding, as for the English, that Ireland has her full representation in the United Parliament, and that her sons share, without restriction, all the honours and advantages of the Empire. They have the political character of the Irish always before their eyes, if they are inhabitants of the great cities, to their sorrow, and they know that it is the same everywhere, and is not the consequence of British misrule. If the declamation of secessionist orators, such as Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Morley, and Lord Dalhousie, against England's conduct towards the Irish, reach them, they know what faction is, and that under its influence politicians will often traduce as well as betray the country. Against Mr. Gladstone's doctrine of secession they have protested sword in hand. Perhaps they may look forward with some pleasure to the extensive migration of Irish adventurers from the United States back to Ireland, which will take place as soon as the Irish Parliament is set up. To atone to Ireland for wrongs done, or supposed to have been done, centuries ago, you cut her off from a progressive civilization, and hand her over to the dominion of superstition or political brigandage; at the same time empowering, and not only empowering but inciting, the more savage portion of her population, the portion which commits or sympathises with outrages such as would disgrace the Red Indian, to overpower and crush out of existence that portion in which reside her hopes of a higher civilization as well as of true liberty.

One thing, however, you ought to know—that friendly as the present Government of the United States and the bulk of the native Americans may be, when the Irish Parliament declares Ireland independent and seeks recognition at the hands of the United States, the Government will hardly be able to resist the pressure of the politicians and of the Irish vote. You will then, as the reward of your attempt to avoid trouble by capitulation, have your choice between submission to dismemberment at the hands of a foreign power, and a foreign combined with a civil war.

Nor is dissolution, when once it begins, likely to end with the loss of Ireland. Already, in the *North American Review*, Hindoo disaffection follows Irish example, and appeals to American sympathy for revolt against British rule. Mr. Gladstone's secessionist principles apply at least as much to the case of India as to that of Ireland, and he can hardly say that Hindoo opinion is less worthy of attention than that of the Irish peasantry under the coercion of the Terrorist League. The swarm of political filibusters which your weakness has called forth and fostered may presently turn its enterprising efforts in that direction also. India in its turn may be lost, the Indian market may be closed, and those who are ready to let their country descend from her place among the nations so long as the rate of wages is not lowered, will find that the rate of wages is not independent of the place of their country among the nations.

Mr. Gladstone may depend upon it, I believe, that he and his policy receive from the other side of the Atlantic little applause which ought not to excite misgiving in the breast of a British Minister, while they receive not a little which ought to fill the breast of a British Minister with shame.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

REPEAL IN NOVA SCOTIA.

THE resolutions on this subject brought before the Nova Scotia Legislature, and passed by such a decided majority, may appear very surprising to any one not thoroughly conversant with affairs in the Lower Provinces; but those who understand how things have been progressing down there ever since Confederation came in force will not be greatly startled to learn that the present Liberal Government finishes its term of service by such a radical action, which in many respects perfectly harmonizes with the course pursued by them ever since their coming into power. The terms which they have been able to secure from the Dominion authorities in no case proved satisfactory; and with every fresh and ungranted demand, the difference of opinion between the rulers at Ottawa and those at Halifax grew wider and more definite in character. Now, when an appeal to the constituencies is the next thing in order, Mr. Fielding suddenly startles his opponents by introducing this most emphatic expression of disapproval not only with the Macdonald Government, but also of Canada as a nation. During the spirited debate provoked by this proposition, a Liberal orator declared that Confederation had proved a most complete failure; and when it came to the vote, only one member on his side of the House disagreed with the statement, while one Conservative went with the Provincial Secretary. Throughout Nova Scotia the Liberal Party may be considered as practically united in favouring this extreme stand, and the Premier has probably taken the wisest course to bring out a full vote alike of those supporting