

mind deprecates the formulation of any Conservative policy at all, and exhorts the Tories to ground their claims on the administrative superiority which it fondly imagines them to possess. The Marquis has secured his prize by methods which have hitherto not been those of British statesmen, but have been supposed to be those of American demagogues of the lowest grade. He now fears to grasp it without an assurance of assistance from those out of whose hands he has filched it, after denouncing them as everything that was vile; and herein he shows once more how excellent a thing it is to be legally entitled to write "Most Noble" before your name without reference to the ethical facts of the case. Yet it would seem that a Marquisate and a great estate might have enabled Lord Salisbury to take a different course; that, to say nothing of morality, he might have played a more far-sighted game, and by keeping his ambition under the control of his patriotism and his honour have won for himself a measure of public respect and confidence which in the end would have given him power on his own principles, in his own right, and without the humiliating need of suing to his much-abused adversaries for protection against his casual allies.

THE exultation of the Parnellites at their victory over Mr. Gladstone finds a natural echo in the editorials of the *New York Nation*. The *Nation* appears to chuckle over the ill treatment of "the good old man," which, it says, is deemed by Mr. Parnell necessary to the success of the Irish cause. We see how great the Irish cause is since it can so far supersede the rules of common generosity as to warrant its adherents not only in forming a most unnatural coalition for the purpose of overthrowing the Minister who had risked everything to befriend it, but in pursuing him with savage hootings and overwhelming him with insults. There is, it must be allowed, a noble sacrifice of personal dignity to patriotism on the part of Irish members when they jump on the benches to yell and howl at the fallen Minister who gave Ireland religious equality and passed the Land Act. The *Nation* in setting forth Mr. Parnell's personal merits and sufferings in the cause is careful to specify that he is a gentleman, by which, we hope, it does not intend to cast any reflection on the members of his political suite. To the feelings of a gentleman it must always be inexpressibly painful to be compelled to assume the appearance of the most ignoble ingratitude. That the Irish "have won their fight" is true if the object of their fight was the temporary restoration of their hereditary enemies to power; but the final result of their strategy yet remains to be seen. They have not, nor are they likely to have, any military force at their command which would stand against a single brigade of troops; all that they can do is to obstruct public business and wreck Governments by playing off faction against faction in the House of Commons; and this game can be carried on only till patriotism and public indignation, or the sense of public peril, prevails over the fury of faction. As soon as the Parnellites have irritated or alarmed the nation up to a certain point, they will be crushed like an eggshell under a triphammer, and perhaps the end of all their triumphs may be the completion of Cromwell's policy and the final deliverance of Anglo-Saxon civilization from the danger of their unappeasable hatred. In the meantime let us call the attention of the *Nation* to the fact pointed out by itself, that coercion is not limited to the Provinces under the arbitrary rule of Lord Spencer. Boston having of late become full of what the *Nation* discreetly styles "the foreign element," the Legislature of Massachusetts has found it necessary to interfere and to take the City Police, which it seems had become totally corrupted and disorganized, out of the hands of the City Government; a proceeding in which it closely imitates the despotism of Dublin Castle. The State Legislature of New York has acted in the same way towards the City of New York and practically for the same reason. How insufferable is the tyranny of England! As the *Nation* did us the honour some time ago to warn the people in England against believing what we said, and to couple the warning with a courteous mention of the name of one of our contributors, we suppose we shall not be out of order in reminding our English readers that the feelings expressed by the *Nation* itself are those of a New York Irishman, not those of a native American. The attitude of native Americans, so far as we can see, is one of respectful sympathy for Mr. Gladstone.

THE pretence of the *Nation* that Obstruction, and not only Obstruction but behaviour such as that in which Parnellite members indulge, was necessary to gain the attention of Parliament for Irish grievances is, as we have shown before, utterly baseless. For the last half century at least the Irish question has constantly engaged the most anxious thought of British statesmen. "Ireland," said Peel, "is my difficulty;" and Minister after Minister has echoed that ejaculation. The Statute Book is full of enactments relating to Irish Land, Irish Education, and other matters pertaining to Ireland. In 1868 the general election and the fate of the

Government turned on the question of the Irish Church. Almost the whole of one Session and great part of another under the late Administration were devoted to the Irish Land question, without diminishing in the least degree the rancour and offensiveness of the Parnellites. The Minister who has not only paid most attention but sacrificed most to the Irish cause is the special object of their vituperation. Those who have most obstinately opposed Irish reforms on the contrary receive their support. For many years the Irish members held the balance of power, and might, like the Scotch members, have practically regulated their own local affairs, though they would not have been allowed to take Ireland out of the Union. Once more we ask, What is the reform which the Irish delegation has pressed with anything like earnestness or unanimity upon Parliament, and which Parliament has refused to consider? Is it the abolition of the Irish Viceroyalty, that monstrous engine of tyranny which Mr. Justin McCarthy compares to the Austrian Governorship of Venetia? In 1850 Lord John Russell carried by a majority of 225 a bill for the abolition of the Viceroyalty and the appointment of an Irish Secretary of State; but the bill was dropped, as Mr. Richard Pigott, the Home Ruler, now reminds us, in consequence of the hostility of the Irish representatives. If the Irish delegation prefers "bushwhacking" to pressing reforms, surely the House of Commons is not to blame. Not only have the Parnellites not pressed reforms; they have done their best to kill them; what they want is not reform, which would produce contentment, but the continuance of disaffection. Their aim is to take Ireland out of the Union and make it a kingdom for themselves. With nothing short of this will they be satisfied; and they will gain their end if faction finally prevails over patriotism in the breasts of British statesmen and the British people have totally lost all that has made them a great nation.

WHEN the English Government fell a Radical motion was standing in the name of Mr. John Morley against the renewal of the Crimes Act. It was no doubt brought forward in concert, virtual if not actual, with those workings of Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke within the Cabinet which are supposed to have given Mr. Gladstone so much trouble as to cause him to ride for a fall, though that supposition is contradicted both by all that we know of his character, in its weakness as well as in its strength, and by his behaviour since the event. Exceptional crime having ceased, so ran the resolution, it was time that exceptional legislation should cease also. Unfortunately, that evidence which alone is trustworthy tends to prove that on the continuance of the legislation depends the cessation of the crime. Let the Act lapse, and in Lord Spencer's opinion the series of murders and outrages which has been arrested by it will recommence. Husbands will again be butchered before the faces of their wives, sons before the faces of their mothers, helpless cattle will be mutilated, life will be rendered miserable by threatening letters, and the souls of the Irish peasantry will be more steeped in savagery than ever. But what is this to a politician, especially if he is a philosopher and a philanthropist? Sir Charles Dilke says that there is more crime in London than in Ireland. Has he been informed of the existence in London of a secret organization on a large scale which keeps up a reign of terror and murders those who disobey its commands? What analogy can there be between a medley calendar of offences unconnected with each other, such as is presented by a great metropolis, and the systematic assassinations of the Land League? Sir Charles might almost as well compare the case of shoplifting to that of foreign invasion. To call the Crimes Act coercion is a capital misnomer. It coerces murderers and perpetrators of outrage just as the ordinary law coerces them; with only this difference, that under the Act they cannot intimidate the tribunal, whereas under the ordinary law in Ireland they do. But to all honest and law-abiding citizens it brings deliverance from the murderous coercion which would otherwise be exercised over them by the agents of the Land League. It is redemption from a Parnellite reign of terror. The coercion of Mr. Parnell and his satellites is the liberty of the citizen. When the elections come this will be the sole security for the freedom of votes which would otherwise be cast in peril of the voter's life. There is no tyrant on earth like an Irish demagogue. But the Radicals want the Irish Vote; that aspiration, and the disguises which it assumes, are sufficiently familiar to us here. It is a satisfaction to know that the power to which these men are selling themselves and the integrity of their country is not less perfidious than it is disloyal; and that the measure of gratitude which will be meted to them in the end will be the same which has been meted to Mr. Gladstone.

LORD SALISBURY at last finds courage to take the position for which he has long been not only fighting but intriguing; for no term but intrigue can fitly designate the connection which he has formed through Lord Randolph Churchill with the Parnellites. He goes into power neither