

For lease of life or length of days,
Each man an inspiration feels,

The hardest paths are lightly trod,
Griefs overcome and sorrows stilled
When faith his fainting heart has filled
With trust in an eternal God.

Safe in His hands the world may rest,
Whose tender love is over all,
We know, whatever fortune fall,
That all is ordered for the best.

And though in by-gone ages they
At other altars may have knelt,
The God that with our fathers dwelt
Remains the same with us to-day.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

ULSTER AND HOME RULE.

To the Editor of The Week :

Sir,—I observe that in your criticism of my letter of 4th inst. on the subject of Irish Home Rule you make no attempt to answer my arguments as to the iniquity of placing the Protestants of Ulster and elsewhere under the rule of a Parliament elected by Roman Catholic priests and dominated by the men who were the authors of the no-rent manifesto; of the wicked Plan of Campaign, and who were the institutors of the cruelties of boycotting, and responsible for all the hideous agrarian outrages and murders which stained and disgraced Ireland until the law, in the hands of Mr. Balfour, proved too strong for them. And moreover, they are the men who invited and obtained assistance from the Physical Force party in America, including the Clan-na-Gael, and abstained in order to procure that assistance from condemning or repudiating the action of that party. And still further they are the men who a few weeks ago in the Imperial Parliament voted for the release of the dynamite miscreants—which was refused by the Home Secretary, Mr. Asquith, on the ground that their crimes were so atrocious as to place them beyond the pale of pardon.

The foregoing shows fairly enough what governing Ireland according to Irish ideas would mean, and because I protest against allowing Ireland to be governed in such fashion, you seem to consider me almost guilty of a crime. Surely it is not unreasonable to suppose that when we have seen the Irish Nationalists act contrary to the fundamental principles upon which the security of life and property rests, in the face of considerable risk, they will hardly abstain from such practice when they will no longer have any dread of the law being set in motion against them.

Like Mr. Gladstone, you find it convenient to shut your eyes to the claims of Ulster, which has always been loyal and lawabiding, and to consider that the only voice which must be listened to is that of the ignorant and disaffected majority who have shown their bitter hatred of England in hundreds of different ways.

I deny that the responsibility of all this can justly be laid at the door of England. That England has misgoverned Ireland in days gone by no one will attempt to deny, but it must also be remembered that for at least thirty years English statesmen have been passing for Ireland legislation of so generous and unexampled a character as would not be thought of in any other Parliament under the sun. And passed too, oftentimes in spite of the opposition and obstruction of Irish members, who do not desire to see grievances removed but prefer they should remain, so that their stock in trade might not be taken from them. Where will you find any class of people to-day who enjoy the same privileges as the Irish tenant farmer?

The curse of Ireland has been the professional agitator who always has his own ends to serve. It is the spirit of unrest and the lawlessness which he engenders in the minds of the people by ranting about ancient wrongs and leading them to believe

that Home Rule will mean free land which has so much to do with the condition of Ireland to-day. And we know also that the church of the majority has a large measure of responsibility to bear in this matter.

The mass of the people are backward and unprogressive and you will see the same thing in most Roman Catholic communities, you will see it in the Province of Quebec, you will see it in Spain, and in Protestant communities as a general thing you will see the reverse.

If you wish to see what English rule has done for Ireland since the Union you must look to the North where the people are unfettered, where capital and energy have had fair play, and where industry, and not agitation, is the keynote of life. At the beginning of the century Belfast had only 19,000 inhabitants; now it has over 260,000. Then only 53,000 tons of shipping came into port, now there comes nearly 2,500,000. Then the customs duties collected amounted to £100,000; to-day they amounted to over £2,000,000, almost as much as the whole of Ireland would contribute to Imperial purposes under the Home Rule bill, and more than is collected at any other city in the United Kingdom, London and Liverpool alone excepted.

I do not know what my views towards England might be if I were by birth and training an Irish Catholic; but I hope I would have common sense enough to share the views of many loyal Roman Catholics in Ireland who have capital invested in the country and are as strongly opposed to Home Rule as any Protestant could be.

In reply to my assertion that Protestant ascendancy in Ireland no longer exists you ask who makes the laws and who administers them. I reply, the Imperial Parliament makes the laws in which Ireland is over represented by fully one-third and especially is this true of Catholic Ireland. Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Galway, Newry and Kilkenny, with less than 25,000 electors, have seven members. Belfast and Londonderry have between them over 41,000 electors and only five members. While the town of Birmingham with 77,000 electors has but seven members in the Imperial Parliament. In administering the law and in positions of trust and responsibility I frankly admit the Catholics have not their full share on the basis of population, and for obvious reasons. When two electors out of every nine are illiterate it would be unreasonable to expect that the Catholic population should be fully represented. And again the whole attitude of their representatives in Parliament and in Ireland has been such as to render it impossible for the Government to give them as great a share as would otherwise be theirs.

Again you ask how I, from the standpoint of the Irish Catholics, would like to depend for justice upon a Parliament dominated by my conquerors. As an Irishman it is my privilege to answer your question by asking another. If you were one of the Protestant minority how would you like to be legislated for by an Irish House of Commons chiefly elected by Catholics, in which Ulster would always be outvoted and at the mercy of their hereditary foes?

If Ireland were a homogeneous people the question of granting Home Rule would be shorn of many of its difficulties. But we know that in Ireland there are practically two nations separated from each other by the gulf of race and creed, and the memories of many a bitter struggle and controversy. Peace is preserved in Ireland only by the sheer weight of Imperial authority. Take away that authority and the two Irelands will at the first provocation be at each others' throats. In Ireland civil war was of constant occurrence until the Act of Union was passed, and since then over ninety years have passed without one. And more than that, every grievance under which Ireland laboured at the time of the Union has been redressed by the Imperial Parliament. Faith may well remove mountains when any one acquainted with Irish history can believe that a Home Rule bill will reverse the history of centuries and sweep away the barriers which at present hopelessly divide Protestant and Catholic Ireland. I

am free to confess that I do not think an Ulster Parliament could be trusted to legislate for the rest of Ireland with absolute justice. The Imperial Parliament at Westminster alone can be trusted to do justice to do justice to all classes of her Majesty's subjects.

What Ireland requires is a complete rest from agitation and a firm administration of the law. The Irish peasant has been taught that Home Rule means plunder and he is looking forward to what will be practically a confiscation of the land. He must be made to understand the futility of such hopes and the wisdom of becoming the owner of his farm under the generous provisions of the Ashbourne Act. And above all let the mission of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland be to educate and elevate the matter instead of taking a part in the agitation for what would only cause bloodshed in Ireland, and drive away the capital from the North, and which could not be of any possible benefit to Ireland unless it is intended as a step towards independence and even then how could independence benefit a poor country like Ireland?

I regret that I am unable to view Mr. Gladstone's rapid changes of opinion as charitably as perhaps I ought. I cannot forget that up to the time he was 77 years of age he was one of the most uncompromising opponents of Home Rule that England ever produced. When asked what were the inequalities between England and Ireland he declared that he knew of none "except that there are certain taxes levied on Englishmen and Scotchmen, but not on Ireland." And it was not until he discovered that the Liberal party was not a commanding majority and that Mr. Parnell was in a position to add 86 votes to it that he turned his back upon opinions of 53 years of public life and fell into the arms of Mr. Parnell.

ULSTER.

* THE CAMPAIGN OF WATERLOO.

The campaign of Waterloo is one of the most interesting and dramatic in history. It lasted only four days, during which time three hotly contested battles were fought. The last of these, which was of the most decisive character, was the final struggle, after nearly twenty years of war, of the greatest military genius of any age, who then for the first time met the most successful of his foes.

It is no wonder that such a campaign, with all its rapidly changing features and its tremendous result, should have been the theme of controversy, and the constant study of military critics. Scores of volumes have been written on it, and papers have dealt with it. Some of these have been fair and impartial but the majority more or less in their character partisan. This new work by Mr. Codman Ropes, is a most valuable contribution to the subject, for it is eminently judicial and impartial in its tone. It is difficult to see how a writer could treat a subject in a fairer spirit. Mr. Ropes has evidently studied the campaign with the greatest care and has consulted every authority that could be found at all relating to the events described. The author modestly calls the book a military history, it is more than that, it is a careful, critical study of the campaign, especially in its strategical features; and one which while interesting to the general reader, instructive to the scientific soldier.

On the night of the 14th June, Wellington's army lay scattered in cantonments from near Charleroi westwards through

The Campaign of Waterloo—a military history—also an Atlas of the Campaign of Waterloo.—By John Codman Ropes. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1892.