

and join the Confederate side because of Jackson's piety? Everyone knew there was something more than the private character of the leaders on each side involved. There was some other issue than that of the private worth of men who came to the front on each side. The Almighty had heard the cry of the slave and came down to deliver him. Every one, whether belonging to the northern army or southern army, knew that the struggle was respecting slavery, and that if a man deserted the northern army to join the south he was not only a traitor to his cause but a traitor to the great cause of freedom and modern civilisation. The hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) said that the people of Ireland are not oppressed, because they have in proportion to their population a larger measure of representation in the House of Commons than the people of England or Scotland. That is no doubt true, thanks to Mr. Gladstone's efforts. But we know right well that Lord Randolph Churchill, Lord Salisbury and others who now control the Government, complained that the franchise was given to 400,000 Irish people living in mud huts, who were thereby placed on a footing equal to those in better circumstances. We know right well that, notwithstanding there is a large representation, its members are overborne by those who have prejudices against them, who are not willing to concede them the rights which they believe to be essential to the peace, well-being and prosperity of Ireland. What part in the government of Ireland has any one of its leaders ever had; what part had any prominent Irishman seeking to bring about Irish reform ever had in the direction of affairs of the United Kingdom? We know that O'Connell, although the ablest man of his day from Ireland, was never invited to be a member of any Administration. We know that the vast majority of those who now rule the United Kingdom would no more think of inviting a member of the Home Rule party to become a member of the Government and assist in the direction of its affairs, than would the President of the United States think of inviting a freed man to become a member of his Cabinet. We know the outcry raised when Lord Melbourne made two or three Roman Catholics members of the Privy Council, although it was simply an honor; we know that his Government was materially shaken because certain gentlemen high in social position were made members of the Privy Council. There is a tide in the affairs of nations, as well as in those of individuals, which, taken at the flood, may lead to general prosperity and general contentment. Such opportunities have occurred in the history of Ireland more than once. Such an opportunity occurred at the time the Treaty of Limerick was negotiated. Such an opportunity occurred in Ireland again when the Union was brought about. If the people who had suffered for a century under misgovernment in Ireland, who had been degraded, persecuted, impoverished, and beggared, had been fairly dealt with at the time the Union was established on the plan which Mr. Burke and Mr. Pitt contemplated, there is no doubt that the Irish people would have been content. But, as far as Ireland was concerned, the Union was the only portion of that determination which was carried into effect. The moment the Union was carried every other necessary reform was neglected, and Castle government continued, as far as Ireland was concerned, during the eighty-seven years which have elapsed since the Union as it had continued during the one hundred and five years between the Treaty of Limerick and the Union. If the Union had been carried out upon the plans which had been originally contemplated by the statesmen who proposed it there is little room to doubt that the people of Ireland would have accepted the union with England, as the people of Scotland did their union with that country in the time of Queen Anne. But it was because those plans were not carried out, because the Government was still left in the hands of those who had before abused their authority,

Mr. MILLS.

because the minority—the persecuting and intolerant minority who had inflicted such greivous wrong on the country—were allowed to continue their course, that Ireland has been discontented with the Union, as she was discontented with the system of government which prevailed before the Union was established. I have stated that since the revolution there have been two opportunities—I might say three opportunities—for reconciling the Irish people with the other portions of the United Kingdom. The first of these was in the negotiations for the Treaty of Limerick. Under that treaty the Irish nobility were to have been restored to their rights, notwithstanding that the cause for which they had fought was lost, and the Irish disabilities, which were then few in number, were to have been removed. But the moment that General Sarsfield surrendered an intolerant faction insisted on the treaty being disregarded, and its provisions being limited to those who had been confined within the walls of Limerick. The men who were the natural leaders of the people were driven into exile; they sought the service which—denied to them at home—their bravery and their genius secured for them in Spain, France and Austria. The necessary bond by which the great mass of the people would have been united to the Government of the Empire was driven out, and the people were in a great measure left without leaders. We know the kind of intolerant legislation which existed at that time; we know the disabilities which were imposed. We know that there was legislation during the century which preceded the Union, such as that which is to be found on the Statute-book of no other country in Christendom. We know that there were laws forbidding Roman Catholics to be educated at home or abroad; laws providing that if property were lost at sea, during a war with any continental power, by any Protestant in any portion of Ireland, it should be made good to him by a tax imposed on the Roman Catholics in the county in which he lived. There were laws disfranchising the Roman Catholic population; laws forbidding any private gentleman to engage an Irish Catholic as a gamekeeper; laws forbidding Roman Catholics from practising as solicitors, barristers or medical men; laws prohibiting them from engaging in teaching. They were not even permitted to serve as private tutors, without a license from the Protestant Bishop of the diocese in which they resided. This was the kind of legislation which that minority that hon. gentlemen are so anxious to protect, inflicted on the Irish people during the century that the government was in their hands. It is true that during the seventeen years in which Grattan's Parliament, as it is called, existed, some remedial measures were proposed. It is true that Roman Catholic Irishmen and Non-conformists were allowed to hold certain civil and military offices. It is true that they were, in a better position for a time than they were before. But we know it was the influence of Lord Rockingham, Lord Grey, and other gentlemen pressing upon them for the time being, and controlling the placemen, as they were called, who numbered one hundred and twenty out of three hundred Irishmen, that enabled them to carry out these measures. We know that the moment that these Liberal statesmen were driven from office in England the old system was revived, even in Grattan's Parliament. We know the extraordinary persecutions that took place after the rebellion of 1798: how men were shot and hanged, pitch-capped and cropped; their scalps covered with powder which was then set fire to. We know that General Abercrombie declared that the soldiers who were let loose to butcher the Irish population were dangerous to everybody but the enemy. We know that Lord Cornwallis declared that even at his own table the murder of the peasant population was a common topic of conversation, and the principal pastime of the military. These men knew that they ran no risk in taking the