

equality with every native of Great Britain, should she be deemed so blind as to intend cutting them away from the greatest of all the marts in the world for human enterprise, energy and talent, and to doom them to be strangers among nearly 300,000,000 men with whom they have now a common citizenship? Why is she to be insensible to all the indications nature herself has given of the destiny of Ireland to be our partner in weal and woe, and why should she be ready to enter upon a desperate contest of strength with a people of six times her number, of twelve times her wealth, inferior to her in no single element of courage or tenacity? This people, to whom even justice itself has never yet enabled her to offer an effective military resistance, are now to be frightened out of their propriety lest Ireland should offer them violence, to tear herself away, unattracted to any foreign centre (for there is none), unwarmed by sympathy beyond her shores (for she would have none), unblest by Heaven, and quarrelling suicidally with all that could minister to her material or her political welfare? No; the truth is, and history proves it, England has been strong enough to be, even through a course of generations, unjust to Ireland; and now it is not want of strength that will put a stop to such injustice, but her better will, her better knowledge, the action of the nation substituted for the action of the few, and an improved and improving moral sense in public affairs. What reason here indicates, history proves; for never did separation become a substantive idea in Ireland until the one unhappy period when the warlike instincts of France coincided with that infatuation of the British Government which in Ireland raised tyranny and sanguinary oppression, as well as the basest corruption, to their climax. Only superlative iniquity led Ireland even for a moment to dream of separating. Even then, the remedy would have been worse than the disease. None but the few fanatics of crime dream now of such a thing; and they who imputed to the Irish nation treat it as a nation made up of men who are at once and equally traitors, knaves and fools."

So I say that those considerations which do most deeply affect us all, which affect us all, as I pointed out the other day, in our material condition, which affect our own relations to the power adjoining us, the maintenance of amity and cordiality which ought to be one of the highest objects, as long as it can be honorably obtained, of Canadian statesmanship, which affect us as citizens of the Empire in respect to which we are partners in its prosperity and sharers in its shame, those considerations do justify, nay, I will add that they demand, our action now in such sort as may further the cause which stands in such a critical position to-day. I believe that, if this ill-omened measure which we reprobate should become the law of the land, a period of difficulty and distress for Ireland and for all of us hardly exemplified before will supervene. Let us then do our feeble best to avert it. I believe that the postponement for any long period of a measure of Home Rule will make that measure much less valuable for the great and chief purpose for which we hope to see it accomplished, for the restoration of the bonds of affection, and concord, and amity, and friendship between the two islands; and, therefore, let us do what we can to avert the ill, let us do what in us lies to procure the good.

It being six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. Speaker: It affords me great pleasure to rise on this occasion and to say a few words to endorse the motion placed in your hands by my hon. friend for Montreal Centre (Mr. Curran). It affords me also very sincere pleasure, as it must afford pleasure to every friend of Home Rule, to be able to congratulate the House and the speakers who have preceded me upon the tone of the discussion up to the present time. With the exception of a few remarks the discussion has been of a character to strengthen the resolutions placed in your hands, without giving offence to persons in this House or out of it. To these resolutions the hon. member for Bruce (Mr. McNeill) has proposed an amendment, and that amendment which I cannot support, is, however, in one sense gratifying to me, because, while it halts at that portion of the resolutions which deal with the question of coercion, it reiterates the warm expression of the Parliament of Canada uttered on two former occasions in favor of Home Rule for Ireland. All through the discussion I have noticed that every speaker who opposed the resolutions based his objec-

Mr. BLAKE.

tions to that feature which deals with the question of coercion, but every one has taken advantage of the opportunity to express his warm sympathies with a measure of Home Rule for Ireland. The hon. leader of the Opposition has referred to this House as coming fresh from the country, and it is gratifying to all friends of the measure now under discussion to feel that so far as indications go to show, the representatives coming fresh from the people have, so far as they have spoken, expressed their warm approval of a measure of Home Rule for Ireland. As I have remarked, the amendment objects to that portion of the original motion which deals with the question of coercion; and for the alleged reason, as stated in the amendment, as well as by the hon. mover of the amendment in his speech, that we have not sufficient acquaintance with the facts upon which the Coercion Bill is based, that consequently we ought not to pronounce an opinion upon it, and that we are not in a position to deal intelligently with the question. Now I think that objection can be fairly met in this way: We have within our reach in the reading room and in the library, sufficient particulars of the Bill to enable us to form an idea of its probable effects. But even in the absence of such information, I hold that the motion now in your hands is a proper one, and is entitled to the support of every hon. member in this House. It is not upon the details of the measure that the House is called upon to pronounce an opinion. If I understand it we are called upon here to pronounce an opinion as to the principle of coercion itself, and for that purpose we need not go to the reading room nor the library, nor need we refer to papers to form an opinion upon that subject. All that is necessary to establish our right to pronounce against that measure, is to quote leading statesmen on both sides of the House in the British Parliament, who have over and over again declared that every system of coercion which has been tried for nearly a century in Ireland, has proved an utter and miserable failure. They have gone further, and have said that not only had they failed in the past, but they must miserably fail in the future, and that some other means must be found to pacify Ireland and to restore peace and harmony in that country. Now, we all regret that Mr. Gladstone failed in his efforts to carry the measure of Home Rule which he introduced into Parliament. I think very few people in this country, who have made themselves acquainted with the terms of that Bill, as introduced in the Imperial Parliament, could approve of it for many reasons. The most objectionable feature of the Bill was that part of it which provided that the Imperial Parliament should have the power of imposing taxation in Ireland without the Irish people having a voice or representative in the Parliament imposing that taxation. That was not the only objection to the exclusion of Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament. Besides, we know a portion of the English people look with suspicion upon any measure of Home Rule, because they say it is the entering wedge, that the ultimate desire of the Irish people is separation from the British Crown. This is an unfair argument to use against the advocates of Home Rule in this country, who are as loyal as those who differ from us on this subject. It is unfair to the people of this country who advocate Home Rule and who are loyal to the Mother Country and desire to maintain the integrity of the Empire with as much sincerity as do those who speak loudly against the principle of Home Rule. The exclusion of Irish representatives from the British Parliament was objectionable, because I consider that if the Bill had been carried in that shape one of the most important links calculated to bind Ireland to the Mother Country would have been severed. We, of course, understand that Mr. Gladstone did not directly commit himself to the clauses of the Bill as they then stood, and that his expectation was that the vote on the second reading was to affirm the principle of the Bill.