BY DION BOUCICAULT.

All the Catholic archbishops, bishops, and other high officials of the Church, were ordered to leave the country: if after their banishment they returned secretly, they were pronounced guilty of high treason, and hable to be hung, disembowelled, and quartered. Any person affordingshelter or protection to a dignitary of the Catholic Church was to suffer death

of the Catholic Church was to suffer death without benefit of clergy.

"It was a complete system, full of coherence and consistency," said Burke, well digested and well composed in all its parts; it was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for theoppression, impoverishment and degradation of a neoule, and the debasement in of a people, and the debasement in of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of

until very lately. The last of them, the infliction of the direct support of the Pro-testant clergy on the Roman Catholic population, was repealed within the last few years. The claws of England had to be torn away from the body of Ireland one by one. The servitude and abject subjection of the children of Erin to the British Pharnoh is so inborn, both domestically and politically, that the bold-est statesman and philosopher fears to ap-

proach English prejudice on this question. Having thus intrenched the Protestant ascendency as a garrison in Ireland, the office grab commenced. The patronage of the entire country and its revenue was of the entire country and its revenue was subdivided in the following manner: The English King was entitled to the first grab. English King was entitled to the first grad. His Ma esty was pleased to place his mis-tresses and their bastard children on the pension-list of the Irish establishment. They were made Irish peeresses.

Catherine Sedley, the mistress of James II., had five thousand a vear; Elizabeth Villiers, the mistress of William, an estate valued at a hundred and twenty thousand pounds; the Duchess of Kendal and the Countes of Darlington, two mistresses of George I., had five thousand pounds a year; Lady Walsingham, the bastard daughter of the Duchess of Kendal, fifteen hundred a year; Lady Howe, her daughter, received five hundred a year; Madame Walmoden, one of the Dutch mistresses of George II., had an Irish pension of three thousand a year; the sister of George II., Count Bersndoff, the Duke of St. Albans, the bastard son of Charles II., and a host of German favorites, were

quartered on the Irish pension list.
English politicians demanded their
share of Irish sinecures: Lord Palmerston,
as first remembrancer; Doddington, as clerk of the peers : Lord Burlington, as high treasurer, Arden, as under treasurer; Addison, as keeper of the records in Birmingham Tower,-received salaries vary-ing from two thousand to nine thousand

a year.

But the pensions before stated alone absorbed one-sixth of the Irish revenue. The king regarded his share of the revenue as a perquisite with which the Irish government had nothing to do. Encouraged by impunity he gave his mis-tress, the Duchess of Munster, a patent to coin and circulate two hundred thousand pounds' worth of copper coinage. She farmed it out to an ironmaster named Wood, who, by adulterating the coinage, Wood, who, by adulterating the coinage, obtained a profit of forty thousand pounds, to be divided between himself and the royal harlot. Wood's pence represented one-fifth of the circulation of the

country. an any one in his right judgment think the king will part with his unquestionable prerogative for such weak, objections? The king is touched more nearly, and feels his honor highly concerned in this affair."

The royal honor consisted in calling upon Ireland to pay for the extravagance of a prostitute, and, what was worse on this occasion, it was an old and ugly one.

VII. The offices and sinecures and professions of Ireland being reserved and dis-tributed, the English trading and working classes considered, and with some show of reason, that they were entitled to some grab. Ireland had developed an important woollen trade; the fleeces of her tant wooden trade; the necess of her sheep commanded the highest prices in the European markets. Woollen manu-facture happened to be, at this period, an important item in English produce: a law was therefore passed forbidding the ex-port of any woollen manufacture from port of any woollen manufacture from Ireland, and forbidding the sales of Irisl fleeces, excepting to England. There they were received at English prices, and Eng-lish-manufactured goods at English prices were returned to Ireland where s manufacture had been annihilated. considerable trade between Ireland and the colonies of New England had ari Another act of Parliament absolutely extinguished this trade. All exports from Ireland, and imports into Ireland, mus be shipped to England, and re-shipped in English bottoms. Ireland was forbidden to own sea-going ships, and restricted ther coast trade. Her agricultural produce, consisting of beef, pork, butter cheese, and bacon, had found profitable markets in Bristol, Liverpool, and oth Channel ports. The farmers of Engla procested against this competition in the home markets, so the trade was pro-hibited. Irish produce was forced bac-on its own markets, and the English gov erment availed itself of the love thus produced to victual the flat

me suspend the transfer of what is a the use of liquor was employed the property of the proper to pass such a bill involved a ross to the English excise.

You recollect that a Puritan and a

Presby erian settlement had been made in Ulster during the protectorate of Cromwell. The Protestant ascendency regarded these dissenters with almost as much hostility as they regarded the Catholics: penal laws were directed against them, and thousands were driven to emigrate,

direction. The manufacturing interests of the North, which at that time were in a of the North, which at that time were in a process of development, were nearly an-nihilated; and the hardy emigrants, taking with them not only the thew and sinew of their race, took also a fervent hatred of English oppression to the shores of New England, and largely contributed to the revolution by which American colonies obtained their independence. The dis-senters of the North were driven into alliance with the Roman Catholics. For once Ireland was united, and waited its

It arrived in the middle of the last cen tury, when Ezgland found herself in-volved in wars with Spain, France, and Holland. British arms met with defeat after defeat. She was unfortunate. To complicate matters, the American colonies revolted, and American privateers infested the Irish Channel where Paul Jones found the coast-trade of Great Britain a rich and easy prey. The English lion was bearded and insulted in every port on the Scotch and English shore. The game was too tempting, and Irish privateers sailing under American colors took a hand in it. Things began to look desperate. A foreign invasion of England, by way of Ireland, was imminent; and, in face of these disasters, it became necessary to aim a body of Irish volunteers to repel such an

attempt.

A force, variously estimated at from eighty to one hundred and fifty thousand.

England discovered her men, was raised. England discovered her mistake too late. The volunteers became United Irishmen: the apprehended invasion came from within, not from without. In presence of this demonstration the English Government and the Irish Parliament retreated in dismay. In the words of Hussey Burgh, addressed to the House of Commons, "England had sown House of Commons, "England had sown her penal laws as dragon's teeth, and they had sprung up as armed men." There was a patriot minority in the Irish Par liament at that period, similar to the Home Rule party of the present time they numbered a few score out of a House of three hundred members; but in front of these few stood Grattan, Flood, Bushe, Burgh,—and the Irish volunteers stood at

The attitude was curious. In 1704 the Irish Parliament had petitioned for a legis-lative union with Great Britain. The prayer had been rejected, because to lose Ireland as a perquisite, to abridge the pat-ronage she afforded, to make room for her as a sharer in England's commercial prosperity, was not to be thought of. But in 1780 a change had come over the state of affairs : England's commerce was broken foreign wars and colonial rebeldown by foreign wars and colonial rebel-lion. Her trade was prostrate, her na-tional debt becoming intolerable. The revenue of Ireland was in excess of her small expenditure. In this condition of affairs, England was willing to take Ire land into partnership. Ireland refused the offer. England intrigued to corrupt the Irish Parliament, to obtain her ends. The Irish natriot minority, headed by Grattan and Flood, beat down the small sword of intrigue with a club. The following resolutions were presented to the English Government:— "The Parliament of Ireland is alone

ompetent to enact laws binding in Ire

"No such laws shall be amended or edited by an English Government."
"Great Britain and Ireland are united

only by the tie of a common sovereign. Ireland presented this ultimatum: he alternative was rebellion, and she said so. Rebellion in Ireland! Rebellion in the United States! Three foreign wars! Detake Wood's pence: the king was indig-nant; the Irish stood firm. The lord lieutenant expressed his indignation in the following words: "The Irish are so absurdly wrong that I can only laugh at them. (an any one in his right indexed to give herself. I agree with you in wishing for a settlement. Nothing less than what has been stated will satisfy Ireland. There must be no foreign legislation, no foreign judicature, no legislative council,

no commissions.' England accepted the terms, and bided her time. The Houses of Parliament in London confirmed unanimously the claims of Ireland to independence, and recognized the Irish constitution of 1782. recognized the Irish constitution of 1782. Eighteen years afterwards the time came. The French Revolution had paralyzed Europe. Monarchs no longer fought against each other: they were employed in defending themselves against the people. The American war was over. The time had come. England repuditated the act of .782, and in 1800 she annexed Ireland. It is unnecessary to recall the means employed to accomplish the Act of Union. A rebellion was provoked, to distract the country and reconvoked, to distract the country and recon-cile the middle class. The governing class was bought at auction: the bargain was publicly discussed and registered. Some received their price with grim humor, "thanking God they had a coun-

The Irish representation that thus sold the inheritance of their country did not pretend to represent that country. They were the representatives of the minority, the Protestant governing class. Out of three hundred members, two hundred and sixty were nominees of the Government, or of five great landowners.

It is needless to observe these men had no more right to dispose of their country in such a fashion than the Congress now sitting in Washington is entitled to vote away the independence of the United States, and hand the country back to Great Britain. Nevertheless, British statesmen of every persuasion have agreed, and still agree, to regard this Act of Union as something sacrec. Any attempt to re-peal it is little short of conspiracy and treason, and denounced as an attempt to dismember the Empire. It may be asked, was Great Britain a dismembered body before the year of the Union, 1800? Yet this silly cry is complacently repeated as an article of political faith.

IX. The year 1798 is celebrated in the story of Ireland. The people rose in a last effort to regain their freedom. The insurrection was suppressed. But it required five years to stamp out the smouldering fires of the rebellion. In 1803 the people were secured in sullen subjection.

The atrocities which deface popular outbreaks, the maining of cattle, assassinations and brutal massacres, are better known than the deliberate acts of the seeking refuge in America. | known than the deliberate acts of the This was the first Irish exodus in that | English Government that have provoked

frenzied retaliation. The triangle and the lash were permanent institutions in every Irish village. Magistrates used the pitch cap on sullen witnesses, by means of which the hair and scalp of the victim was slowly torn off, to extort confession. An English officer became popularly known as "the walking gallows:" being of cigartic stature, he executed his own known as "the walking gallows:" being of gigantic stature, he executed his own decrees by throwing a rope over his shoulder, and thus paraded, the struggling patient hanging at his back. Such deeds were not only tolerated, but rewarded, by the English Government; and they were done within the lifetime of living men. The Irish House of Commons had con-sisted, before the Union, of three hundred

members.

The Irish representation in the English House of Commons was reduced to one hundred and eight members in an Imhundred and eight members in an Imperial Parliament numbering six hundred and fifty-six. Ireland therefore figured for one-sixth of the whole. The helpless minority that had battled against the Union vainly pointed out that this subjection of Irish members to the overwhelming majority amounted to extinction.

The Parliamentary session in London averages one hundred days in a year. Irish business, on a fair calculation, is therefore not entitled to more than seventeen days per annum.
It is evident that seventeen days are in-

sufficient for the consideration and transaction of the affairs of that country.

The intrusion of Irish members became

nuisance. Irish complaints became monotonous. Justice to Ireland is a by-word.

When the turbulent parliament of Ireland was thus extinguished by absorption in the English legislature, it became necessary to silence the Irish party, and reduce it to decent subjection.

To counteract this policy, O'Connell invented the tactics of agitation.

The English Government defeated this process by a penal law which appared that Justice to Ireland is a by-word.

process by a penal law which enacted that public assemblages for the discussion of political questions in Ireland became treason-felony. O'Connell was arrested, tried, convicted, and imprisoned with his

But the subterranean fires of rebellion ould not be suppressed by penal laws.

A few years afterwards an insurrection occurred which was speedily suppressed;

and for nearly twenty years the military government of Ireland lived over a smouldering volcano.

In 1867 it burst forth again at a period when Europe was convulsed, and American sympathy with Ireland was at fever-

Again the insurrection was suppressed but on this occasion it revealed itself in the metropolis of Great Britain, and in ercial metropolis of the manufacturing districts.

London and Manchester were the scenes

of fatal catastrophes.

Bloodshed, hitherto confined to distant Ireland, was brought home, and face to face, to English citizens, who began to realize at length the possibility that events which were taking place in Paris, Rome, Berlin, Vienna, Munich, and St. Petersberm, vienne, and man, and their own par-ishes. The English law-abiding commun-ity awoke to the danger at their doors. A fear was entertained that the working classes might sympathize, and ally them-selves and their discontent with the Irish

surrectionary movement.
The secret societies throughout Europe were becoming formidable, and impor-ant concessions became unavoidable.

The disestablishment of the Irish Church was the result.

But the great question, the Land Queson, remained as a standing issue.

X. We now come to the present day, when the Irish minority in the English House of Commons, seeking for some means to compel adequate attention to Irish griev ances, hit upon the tactics of obstruction.

In the management of legislative affairs, the Prime Minister for the time being en-

joys what amounts practically to a mono-poly of Parliamentary business. There are always two English ministries co-exare always two English Immissies co-ex-isting,—the ministry that is in, and the ministry that is out; her Majesty's op-position, the heirs-apparent of power and plunder, being the ministers of the future. These two bodies make common cause to support the rules and prerogatives of the House, which each in turn is entitled to

employ.

The Irish party is the common enemy.
The system of obstructive tactics by
which Irish affairs were shouldered out, and Irish members reduced to silence, has been a constitutional observance in the ministerial system of English legislation.

The Irish minority have lately taken a leaf out of these elements of ministerial

leaf out of these elements of ministerial tactics, to employ against the Administra-tion their own weapons. Obstruction is really no more than a coerceive measure applied to the majority, to oblige Parlia-ment to attend to business it has systematically and contemptuously neglected. XI.

The avowed object of England, under Elizabeth, was "to root out the Irish" from the soil. You have seen how famine

trom the soil. You have seen now famine and the sword had failed.

The avowed object of England during the last fifty years, under Victoria, has been "to root out the Irish from the soil." Famine and the law have proved success

Condemned for more than two centuries to live on the land as one of the breeds of animals necessary to agriculture, hope-less, ignorant, helpless, their scope of life bounded by their daily wants, the people became victims of the first failure of the only crop of food on which their abjec-tion had been taught to rely. The potato failed. Multitudes died by the ditch-side. Rents fell into arrears. Ire-land, cleared by eviction and famine, was swept across the Atlantic into the United States. Sixty years ago her population numbered over eight millions. It is now short of five. Three millions have disappeared. It may be asked why the population of a country (being its true source of wealth) should thus be extinguished The English answer is characteristic

Speculation." Speculation has discovered the land can be put to more profitable use than to raise men: sheep can be fattened on its hills, and cattle stabled in its deserted

Those who accuse the Irish people of

carelessness, thriftlessness, and prostration, should not forget that the laws imposed on the country by the English Government forbade the people any interest whatever in the land they cultivated. The laws were employed to discourage thrift and all the virtues of civilization. When the Irish emigrated into the armies of France, Spain, and Austria; when the brain of Ireland lemigrated to London, and appeared in the Senate and the press; when her bone and muscle passed over into the United States,—it was found that Irishmen were not wanting in the ele-Irishmen were not wanting in the ele-

Irishmen were not wanting in the elements conducing to national greatness.

But my task is not to comment: it is simply to record. I lay the story of Ireland before the English people, as an indictment against the governing class. I do so in the spirit of the statesman who thus compared the character of the people of England with the character of the people of England with the character of the people of England with the character of the delaw to which they had confided the adclass to which they had confided the ad-ministration of the country:—

"Never was there any country in which there was se much absence of public prin-ciple, and so many instances of private

"Never was there so much charity and humanity towards the poor and iistressed. Any act of cruelty and oppression never failed to excite a sentiment of general indignation. Luxury has had little effect in depraying the hearts and destroying the morals of people in private life, who are full of generous feelings and noble exertions of benevolence. Yet, amidst this profusion of privnte virtue, there is almost total want of public sujrit, and almost total want of public spirit, and the most deplorable contempt of public principle.
"When Great Britain falls, the case

"When Great Britain fails, the case
will not be with her as with Rome in
former times. Rome fell by the weight
of her own vices; but, when Great
Britain falls, she will tall with a people full of private worth and virtue. She will be ruined by the profligacy of her governors, the security of her inhabitants, and their blind confidence in her strength and freedom, maintaining the pernicious doctrine not to look with distrust and ap-prehension to the misconduct and corruption of those to whom she has trusted the management of her re-sources." I have done.

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The Dead. In the dead of night to table cometh—a maid
By the feet, and the state of the state of the state of the grilish, golder
Of the girlish, golder
The arms of the men
Ohl make of your
And softly, shently
Perhaps for the sal

In the dead of night to
So lovely and so lorr
Straighten the tangle
They have known a m
And hide with their sh
The sightless eyes and t
From men and wo
Aye veil the poor fa
And softly, silently
Perhaps for the sake
Loved all too well, In the dead of night to t
Bear her in from t
The watch at his wa
Ah! say it low, nor v
For though the heart in
Has ceased to thre
Speak low, when you s
her.

Speak low, which
her,
Buried alive in the
Speak low, and make he
All out of her shi
Perhaps for the sake of
Loved all too well. Desolate left in the Dea Your cruel judgments Ye know not why she Be slow to pronounce y Remember the Magdal Be slow with your? Remember the Magdal Remember the dear, Holy and high above h By the length of hers He could take her and Praise to His precious

With oil of gentle merc The tide of your cens Have ye no scarlet sin No need for yourselves Those sweetest words n In all the world for pity Those words the hard "Neither do I conder

BETTER T The hardest thing i

mind your own busin Our alarms are m than our dangers, and in apprehension than There was never world, either philoso or discipline which d public good as the C 'We must overcon St Gregory, by go over by forbearance

ished by their own c wrath. Let us not tree, from which a n may yet entice fruit. Ye who linger on doubting which path that when years are stumble on the dark cry bitterly, but cr return! O give me b

A nobleman, v him with an order pardon. Dunstan are truly penitent king; as long as you sin, God forbid the should induce me God and render vo Church. This unex the noble that he vo scandal by a public

"Every man," sa has two angels, on der, and the other does anything g right shoulder write because what is on forever. When he angel on the left sh but does not seal it, night. If before th lown his head and e ah! I have sinned; rabs it out; but if I angel on the right s Give the young a encouragement whe

not leave those pla boxes without water shutters that the su m; but you leav suffer from want of light of encouragen hardy souls that car soil—shrubs that ca the sunbeams-vir kindly training; bu kind word when yo ed. The thought promise. Be it the the young preacher man at his bench, matical problems, piano, give what I

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temptations. Ten thing evil is presen to you by the tem ly solicited and occasion may be lawful thing in th is perfectly sinles an occasion of s For instance, frie holy, and a bless friend is an unsp But a bad friend bad book, and a from the bottom suggest all manne is worse than a b a power and an i nally between think that becau change a bad magcodness to then badness-you w for be sure of the in the state in w

ness is commu friend ten tim then, among the choose as your who shall stand Judge on the da as friends and conversation an life will change the likeness of pattern of us al