From the New York Tribune. IRISH VIEW OF THE IRISH CRISIS.

> The Case Against England. By JUSTIN McCARTY, M. P.

Justin McCarthy, Esq., Member of Parliament for County Longford, furnishes to the Tribune herewith the closing paper of his series on the Irish crisis from of his series on the Irish crisis from an Irish point of view. He contends that the Home Rule party under Mr. Parnell's leadership have forced the grievances of the island upon the attention of Parliament, and that this fact justifies the obstruction tactics and the Irish policy in general. He believes that the land questions are the property of th general. He believes that the land ques-tion will be settled by a fair process of State intervention and purchase, and Home Rule is not far off. By Home Rule Home Rule is not far off. By Home Rule he means as much legislative independence as is enjoyed by every State in the American Union. This is a significent comparison, as the States are represented in the National Congress. Under Home Rule Ireland would have a Legislature of its own, and yet form part of the Imperial system and he represented at Westering. system and be represented at Westmins-

ter as at present. HOME RULE MUST COME.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
WESTMINSTER, MAY, 1882.
I was talking lately with a clever English lady who bears a famous family name, on the subject of Irish obstruction in the House of Commons. She told me she was satisfied that there must be some all bears and reliev in it and deliberate meaning and policy in it, and she asked me to explain to her my idea on the matter. I told her what I regarded as the purpose of obstruction.

She listened very attentively, and then

said: "Yes, I understand, you want to waken up a man who is fast asleep, and you find you have to shout loudly; but you don't want it to be supposed that you consider a shout the proper tone for ordinary life." This lady exactly described the purpose and the policy of Irish obstruction. The English Parliament was asleep so far as Irish claims were conasieep so far as Irish claims were con-cerned. For years, for generations the House of Commons had been accustomed to have a formal debate or two every session on some Irish question, and then to take a division and be done with the matter until next year came around. Nothing was advancing. From 1830 to 1870 the land question had not advanced one single step. In 1870 it made a movement owing to Mr. Gladstone's From courage and energy, and the Land bill, such as it was, got passed into law. Then the land question was about to go to sleep again. In Mr. Butt's time, in Mr. Shaw's short period of leadership, we were falling back to the annual debate on the land question, and the annual debate on Home Rule, and nothing else. Irish obstruction was deliberately adopted for the purpose of compelling the English majority to see that the grievances of Ireland must be dealt with once for In the House of Commons the majis so overwhelmingly against Ire land that, so far as mere numbers and division go, Ireland might as well have no representation whatever in Parliament. the House of Commons itself i domineered over by landlords and capitalists. The peers are not only masters in their own House of Lords, but they go in their own House of Lords, but they go very near to being masters in our House of Commons. A great number of the representatives of the people on both sides of the House of Commons are the elder and younger sons, the brothers, the nephews and the cousins of peers. The Army and Navy send many members to the House of Commons. On the Tory side the great majority of the members are landlords. On the Liberal side those who are landlords are for the most part capit are landords are for the most part capi-talists. In such a House what chance would Irish claims have of being heard, if Irish members left them to find their way to the ears and the understandings of might have our debate on Home Rule and our debate on the land question every session. The majority of the House would never listen to the debate, nor take the smallest interest in finding out anything about it. It would be regarded as a pure forma-

lity. We should make our speeches to each other—preaching to the converted and when the speeches were done the di-vision bell would ring, and the majority would come rushing and tumbling in from the dining-rooms and the smoking rooms and the terrace and the library, and would vote against it, and outvote and would vote against it, and outvote us. We had enough of this sort of thing and had lost faith in it. We have now forced the claims of Ireland so directly on the attention of the House of Commons that it would be absolutely impos-sible to leave them out of sight, we have shown that if we cannot directly compel the Government and the Parliament to deal fairly with the claims of Ireland, we can at least prevent them from accom-

plishing any other business.
Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues this year trying to remodel the Parlia-mentary forms of procedure in order to be able to prevent us from interfering with the smooth progress of the ordinary business of Parliament. They have not yet succeeded in accomplishing the change, and indeed it is quite evident nothing more can be done in the matter this session. But no change that human ingenuity can devise could prevent a resolute minority of men from effecting what is called an obstruction of business in an assembly like the House of Commons, so along as any right of speech is allowed there to the minority at all. It would be wearisome and unnecessary to go into a lengthened explanation of this to American readers, but they may take it on my authority that this is to show an inclination to listen to the demands made on behalf of Ireland, and to set about redressing Irish griev-

Now I fully believe that obstruction has already achieved this object. Its historical justification will be found in its results. I believe the land question will be settled on the basis laid down by the Land League. The Land League, des-pite all the tremendous outcry made against it, only set forth as its journey's against it, only set forth as its journey and and very sea-mark of its utmost sail, the transfer of the soil of Ireland from its landlord possessors into the hands of peasant owners and cultivators by the fair process of State intervention and purchase. Russia, the poorest courtry

in Europe for her size and her responsi-bilities, and at a time when she was still shattered and drained by the cost of the snattered and drained by the cost of the Crimean War, paid one hundred millions of pounds sterling to secure their land to her emancipated serfs. We ask no such ner emancipated salvante in a control approch-ing to it, from England, a country incom-parably richer than Russia. We ask the help of her State security her credit, her guarantee, for a time, than any sacrifice; at all events than any con-siderable sacrifice of her money. I fully believe that this will be accomplished in the end, that the State will, and before long, go so far as to agree to buy out any landlord who is at present willing to sell and that thus the programme of the Land League will come into gradual development and accomplishment. I take it, is not far off.

Home Rule, I take it, is not far off.
Everywhere in English society we find
growing up the conviction that a Parliament in Westminster cannot manage the
affairs of the people of Ireland, and indeed that the present centralized system
of doing business in Westminster, of managing there all the local affairs of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, is of necessity a failure. Go where you will now in London and in England, you find the minds of English people awake to the importance of this question of Home Rule, and willing to admit that there is much be said for it. The June number of to be said for it. The June number of The Nineteenth Century, just published, contains an article in support of HomeRule by the marquis of Blandford, eldest son of the Duke of Marlborough, lately Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—that Duke of Marlborough, to whom Lord Beaconsfield addressed the manifesto which as I showed in a former letter, had so much to do with the overthrow of the Tory Government. You will perhaps have heard of the article and seen it before you receive this letter, and I shall only say that it is remarkable in itself as well as in the source from which it comes, and that it is as earnest a plea for some form of is as earnest a plea for some form of Home Rule as if it were written by an Irish member of Parliament. Two bers of the present Government, at least— Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke— are in favor of Home Rule. Sir Charles Dilke is more strongly an advocate of Home Rule than Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Chamberlain is for trying to the last the policy of governing Ireland according to Irish ideas, and thus endeavoring to reconcile Ireland to its close connection with the central Parliament. Should this plan fail to succeed, he would then be in favor

of recognizing the claim of Ireland to self-government. Sir Charles Dilke, however, goes a step further, and frankly acknowledges that he is at present and on principle an alvocate of Home Rule for Ireland. The House of Commons is beginning to find out every day that it cannot get through the mass of work which the present system forces on it. We hear it continually asked why Irish members cannot be content with a system of Parliamentary government which is found

satisfactory by Scotch members. The answer is very easy. Scotland has in fact her system of Home Rule already. She governs herself, although she does it in Westminster Palace, and not in the old Parliament House in Edinburgh. The Lord-Advocate of Scotland has a part in the administration of Scotland something like that of the Irish Chief Secretary in the government of Ireland. But when the Lord-Advocate of Scotland is about to bring in any measure concerning that country he convenes the Scottish members into a council of their own. He submits the measure to them, consults them on every principle and every clause of it. All their opinions are taken and given, and thus, by this little Parliament within a Parliament, the measure is shaped in full accord with Scottish ideas. When it comes before the House of Commons it is explained and discussed mainly or altogether by Scottish members. No Eng-lish or Irish member thinks of interfering.

endure, How is Ireland dealt with? Every measure that concerns her is arranged by the Government at the instance of the Lord Lieutenant or the Chief Secretary, with out the slightest reference to the opinions of the men who represent the great bulk of the Irish people. This system was caror the frish people. This system was cal-ried to absolute perfection in Mr. Forster's time. Mr. Forster acted with as sublime a disregard of the opinions of Irish mem-bers as a Turkish Pasha might show for the feelings of the inhabitants of some far distant province which he was governing at his ease from Constantinople. I do not merely point to the fact that Mr. Forster never consulted any of the members who act with Mr. Parnell. How any man in his senses would have supposed that he could govern Ireland without taking some account of the existence of these men and the constituencies they represent, it passes my wit to conjecture. But I am not dwelling on that fact alone. Mr. Forster never condescended to consult with regard to his measures of coercion even those Irish members who remained devoted to the Government of Mr. Gladstone. He never consulted Mr. Shaw on the subject. He consulted Mr. Snaw on the subject. He never asked for one word of advice or suggestion from Mr. O'Connor Power, one of the most eloquent of all the Irish members, and who for a long time standing in the very front of their opposition to English systems of admiration, has gradually, out of regard for Mr. Gladstone and belief

in him, passed away altogether from co-operation with Mr. Parnell and his colleagues. More than that, the Chief Secretary never condescended to consult Mr. Charles Russell, who is not a Home Ruler, although he represents an Irish borough, who is a most loyal follower of Mr. Gladstone, who is an Irishman by birth and bringing up, who thoroughly understands Ireland, and who is moreover the foremost man at the English bar. Now I say that when so sto-lid and contemptuous a disregard is shown for the national representation of a people, and when such conduct could be tolerated in Parliament, it is perfectly clear that Ireland ought not to be left dependent on Parliamentary government in West

Take again the policy which led to the arrest of Mr. Parnell and Mr. Sexton, and the re-arrest of Mr. Dillon last autumn. Up to this day no Irish member knows, perhaps no Irish member ever will know what the reason was which dictated

that extraordinary step. Some persons conjecture that Mr. Forster must have fancied he had got hold of information which, in some more or less direct way, connected these Irish members of Parliament with some Fenian or other con-spiracy. Of course I am perfectly satisspiracy. Of course I am perfectly satis-fied myself that no such connection ever did exist, and that therefore there could be no evidence of its existence. But it is possible that Mr. Forster may have fancied he had evidence on which reasonable suspicion could be founded. If that were not so, then I am utterly at a loss even to guess at the reasons which inluenced Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster in that extraordinary and unlucky coup d'etat. Mr. Dillon, it will be remembered, had been arrested early in the year, not long after Mr. Davitt's arrest. He was only kept in prison for a few months, and was released toward the end of the session on the ground that his health, always very feeble, was becoming too weak to allow of his continued incarceration. After the session, a very few days before I left England for the East, Mr. Dillon dined with me in London. He was then dined with me in London. He was then convinced, as I was, that the Coercion Act would not be used for the purpose of making any further arrests. He said to me that he was sure Government only wanted to have a quiet autumn and winter, and a fair chance for the working of the Land act in the law courts. Mr. Parnell, he remarked to me, was quite willing that the act should have every chance, and had arranged that a certain number of test cases were to be prepared by which the Irish tenant-farmer might easily get to know whether the act would really become a benefit to him or not.

Dillon assumed that the Government would be only too glad to have the Land act tested in this way, and to have the country kept in tranquility, and that therefore they would make no more he told me he had strongly advised a very prominent member of the Land League then living in Paris to return to his home in Dublin. "He will be perfectly safe over there;" Mr. Dillon said, "we shan't hear of any more arrests nuder the Coer-

I left England in the full confidence that Ireland would have a quiet winter, and that the government had made up their minds to let the policy of coercion drop. Suddenly the attention of the world was aroused by the arrest of Mr. Parnell, the re-arrest of Mr. Dillon, the Parnell, the re-arrest of Mr. Dinon, the incarceration of Mr. Sexton and Mr. O'Kelly. No Irish member, even among those who have always remained devoted, I might say servilely devoted to the Government, knows to this hour the cause of that extraordinary and unfortunate stroke of policy. Nothing that has hap-pened since has materially altered the condition of things that prevailed early last October, and yet a month ago the Government were only too glad to open the prison doors, and to ask for the co-

operation of Mr. Parnell in restoring tran-quility to Ireland.

The evil of the centralized system is working its own cure. Ireland will have to be governed henceforth according to Irish ideas. That phrase is generally ascribed to Mr. Gladstone, but it was taken by Mr. Gladstone from the greatest of all the Whig party at a time when the of all the Whig party at a time when the Whig party was great, from that statesman "on whose burning tongue," as Moore sings, "truth, peace and freedom hung." I mean, of course, Mr. Fox. Ireland will have to be governed by Irish deas, and when it comes to this the English people will very soon see that it is more convenient for England and for Ireland that the latter country should govern herself in a Parliament of her own.

I do not wish to say anything harsh of Mr. Forster. I was during many years in political association with him supporter and a member of the English Radical party. Our opinions went side by That is the manner in which Scotland is governed, and let me say in justice of the during the prolonged struggles for reform Scotch members, that it would be impossible to get them to assent to such a system as that which Ireland is forced to growth as the state of the sta were it for nothing els e than because of the noble, generous and appreciative spirit which his brother-in-law, Mr. Matthew Arnold, has always snown toward my country. But Mr. Forster's peculiarities of temper and intellect evidently rendered him entirely unfit for the task he had undertaken. Ireland soon grew disappointed with him, disappointed in proportion to the warmth of her previous expectations, and Mr. Forster appeared to grow angry with Ireland because of her disappoint-ment, and because of the manner in which it found expression.

Something like an antipathy seemed to something like an antipathy seemed to set in between lhe late Chief Secretary and the people he was sent to govern. He did not go about among them. He hardly ever quitted Dublin, only once or twice, I believe, going far into the country, and in Dublin, he went about but little. He relied altogether on the information given him by the permanent staff in Dublin Castle, who were about as well able to interpret the real feelings of the people as an Austrian commandant in a Venetian garrison of old to interpret the sentiment of the Venetians to some newly arrived Governor from Vienna. When Mr. Forster had once gone into coercion he seems driven by a kind of desperation to go deeper and deeper. He could think of no cure for the evils caused by coercion except more coercion. But I certainly acquit Mr. Forster of any purpose that was not honest in his dealing with Ireland. I am sure he meant well in the beginning, and entered upon his task with a desire to become a benefactor to the country. The better the purpose, the more evident it becomes that the task he had undertaken was hopeless. You cannot govern Ireland without taking account of the Irish representatives and the Irish people. That is the lesson of Mr. Forster's administration, as it is the lesson of many administrations before, and may be of others yet to come. When the English people become thoroughly alive to the fact—and they are waking up to it already—they will soon there can be but one solution of the whole problem, and that is that Ireland shall have just that measure of independent domestic government which is possessed by every state in the American

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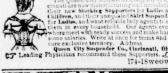
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That we sell Cheaper Furniture than and other place in the city, and carry a larger and better assorted stock. We can afford to sell cheap as we manufacture our goods. Having now nearly forty men working, our large and commodious warerooms are full of good goods. Some of the latest patterns in of RAW SILK for Parlor Furiture Coverings.

We have a variety store—a large stock of

We have a variety store—a large stock of BABY BUGGIES AMERICAN, RATAN & WICKER

AMERICAN, RATAN & WICKER BUGGIES AND CHAIRS.
Our Parlor Set, hair cloth, \$45,00; our Bedroom Set, marble top, \$65.00; Our Ebonized Bedroom Set, \$25.00; Our Ash and Walnut Bedroom Set, \$25.00.
The Hallier Spring Bed in stock; don't forget it, you can pack it in a satchel. Call and see us if you want to buy. We can do better for you than any other place in the city, and they know it.

they know it.

GEO. BAWDEN & CO.Office and Warerooms, 172 King St.; factory
197 King St.