

bor and other facilities in connection with the industry. It is possessed of valuable mines of gypsum, gold, silver, lead, copper and zinc. It has, besides, great facilities for manufacturing both as regards facilities for the transport of manufactured goods, for the supply of raw material, and for the cheapness of the labor to be employed. It has, moreover, great water power, encouraging the manufacture of the raw material into the perfected article. It has a people confessedly very free from crime of the ordinary kind; a people which, whatever their prospects and chances and capacities may have been demonstrated to be in their own country, have shown in every other country than Ireland, that they possess the capacity to rise, and, by their industry, their ability and their force of character to take their own place in the world, wherever their lot may be cast. They are also a people confessedly affectionate, and grateful; and possessing, in a large degree, the organ of veneration, are easily impressed by any act of kindness shown towards them. With such a people, with such a soil, with such natural advantages, how does it come that we have such a result, with respect to population, as I have mentioned? How does it come to pass that the population of Ireland should have diminished instead of increased, that the emigration should have been so great, and that the condition of the country should be such as we know it to be? The whole is due to the chronically wretched state of Ireland—its miseries, social, material and political. That is the reason why. Although there may be, although there has been, as we all rejoice to know, some improvement in the physical condition of some portion of the population during the last few years, this is to-day a pressing question, and no man holds that the condition of Ireland is satisfactory when viewed in those aspects to which I have referred. The condition of the people materially, in this as well as in other respects, is one which ought to create in all of us who call ourselves British subjects a feeling of shame. I say that the condition of Ireland to-day is due largely to the want of security and contentment, to the want of identification with the soil and attachment to the Constitution, to the want of hope of improvement and of bettering their condition, which is really the most essential thing to induce men to labor. I say that it is due to a feeling that their grievances are not redressed, to the lack of a feeling that their Government is conducted according to their needs and wishes, and to the lack of any machinery for the management of their local affairs. There can be no doubt that Ireland, at and before the time of Union, was subject to some great political grievances. There can be no doubt that those grievances were not of a sentimental character, but were such as to a large extent are to-day, acknowledged to be grievances which demand the attention of legislators, and should be redressed by legislation. If you go back over the history of the parliamentary government of Ireland for the last eighty years, and if you begin your enquiry by a reference to those great and important land marks or grievances, and should enquire as to the time when, and the circumstances under which, those grievances have been, so far as they have been, redressed, you will find a very good reason there, if you sought no further, for a deep-seated and justifiable dissatisfaction in the parliamentary government of Ireland, by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. There was the question—at that time as much a question of justice and of right as it was at any later time—of Roman Catholic emancipation. There was the question—at that time as much a question of justice and of right as at any later time—the disestablishment of the nominal church of the minority. There was the question—at that time as much a question of what was called here the lamentable question, but still in the condition of the country none the less a pressing question—of a proper measure for the relief of the poor, required because of the

unnatural conditions that ruled distribution. There was a question of reform of the land laws, by the creation of proper interest in the soil by those who occupied the soil. There was the question of creating local institutions to manage local affairs, and rendered very important because of the abrogation of the rights of the Parliament of Ireland and the transfer to Westminster of the management of those minute affairs which, up to that time, was under the control of the Legislature which sat in the capital city of Ireland. These leading questions, to which I have referred, have been in part—all but the last one, and that one has never been substantially dealt with—disposed of, and it may be asked, since such is the fact, why do I refer to them. I refer to them, because I see that the circumstances under which, and the time under which, those questions were dealt with, demonstrate more clearly than anything else can do, the unsatisfactory character of the Government of Ireland by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. When was the question of Roman Catholic emancipation dealt with? It was not dealt with until nearly thirty years after the time of the Union. Thirty years is about a generation, and it required about a generation for the Parliament of the United Kingdom to nerve itself to the task of dealing with that question. And how was it then granted? Was it granted them as the boon of a cheerful giver? No, Sir. It was granted grudgingly and of necessity. It was granted, avowedly granted by the Ministry because they were forced to do it, not because it was just, because they had been proclaiming to the ends of the earth that it was not just. Not because it was right, because they had been proclaiming that it was wrong. It was granted, because, as they themselves stated in Parliament, the question was between granting that concession and civil war. The condition of things had come to that pass that there was to be an immediate outbreak, a civil war, unless Roman Catholic emancipation was granted. Well, Sir, did that do good? Of course, you could not remove, even under such circumstances, a monstrous injustice of that description without some good being done; but I say the good was minimized by the delay which took place, and the attitude which was assumed by those who received and by those who gave that Act. The Irish people were taught that dreadful lesson, so far as the Administration of the Parliament of the United Kingdom could teach them it, that England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity. They were taught this by the delay, and by the disposition with which those Ministers acceded to the grant. They were taught not to rely upon that constitutional agitation which is the proud basis of our system, and which every one is free to engage in, but upon other and worse methods of accomplishing by unconstitutional revolt. I say that no doubt something was done by the removal, even under those circumstances, of that great blemish, yet nothing was done towards relieving, or conciliating the feeling of the Irish people, towards leading them to believe that they had a right to expect from the unconstrained sense of justice of the British Parliament the relief which they had a right to have; or towards obtaining those golden fruits which might have been reaped from a great act of justice cheerfully performed, in sufficient season. The next great measures of relief for Ireland—and I am dealing now only with remedial legislation—I am dealing with those measures to which the English Parliament may point with the greatest pride as marks of its parliamentary government with reference to Ireland—the next great measures of remedial legislation occurred, how long after? Nearly twenty years after. It was not until nearly twenty years had elapsed that we had the measure for the relief of the poor to which I have referred, followed shortly by, and intended at the time to be followed as soon as possible by an Act for the sale of encumbered estates. The years,