

# THE WEEK.

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## MESSRS. DAVITT AND MCCARTHY.

WHEN Mr. Davitt accuses Great Britain of having robbed Ireland of her Parliament, the answer is that the Ireland of which Mr. Davitt speaks never could have been robbed of her Parliament, because she never had one. Celtic Ireland neither had Parliamentary institutions before the Union, nor showed any tendency to produce them. They were, and still to a great degree are, alien to the political character of the race. Mr. Gladstone, when he says that they were native to the Irish soil, only shows his ignorance of the very rudiments of Irish history. What was called the Irish Parliament before the Union was a Parliament of British and Protestant ascendancy, which had become desperately corrupt, and the rule of which ended in the sanguinary chaos of '98. To put an end to ascendancy, and to bring the down-trodden race and Church under the broad and impartialegis of a United Parliament, was Pitt's aim in carrying the "black-guard" Union. He would have given the Catholics political equality if the King would have let him; and as it was, he gave them the full protection of Imperial law. The Union was the emancipation of the Celt. It has given him all that he has of Parliamentary government and of liberty; both would soon be lost if he were consigned to the domination of his native tyrants. On a question of history, into which party has found its way, it is useful to refer to the judgment of foreigners. England is not a favourite with the Danes, who still resent her seizure of the Danish fleet. But it is the great Danish writer Worsaae who says, in reference to the settlements of the Northmen in Ireland: "It may possibly be said that the Norwegians in Ireland, by preparing the way for Norman or English conquest, rendered a far greater service to England than to subjugated Ireland. But all the chroniclers, it must be recollected, bear witness that the Irish were neither strong enough to govern their own country independently nor capable of keeping pace with European civilisation by means of an active commerce. We have seen that even in later times the same baleful and sanguinary spirit of disunion which weakened Ireland in ancient days is yet scarcely extinct among the original Irish race. It is manifest, therefore, that Ireland which would otherwise have been divided from the rest of Europe, and devastated by terrible intestine contentions, has been much benefited by being united to so great and powerful a country as England, which has both the ability and the will to promote the true welfare of the Irish people." It is constantly assumed by Irish orators that had Ireland only been free from British connection she would have developed into something very magnificent, and her history would have flowed in a sparkling stream of unmingled prosperity. A knowledge of the state of things in Ireland at the time of the Conquest, and of the circumstances of the Conquest itself, which was doubly invited, both by rivalry among the chiefs and by ecclesiastical interest, at once dispels that dream.

MR. DAVITT, like all the other Nationalists, is "lying low" and affecting moderation of tone at present, that he may not interfere with the English leader who is playing the Nationalist game. But his hatred of England

and his desire for complete separation break out through the thin veil which his present policy has thrown over them. He who holds that "the Union put the prey into the shark's mouth" is not likely to desist from his patriotic exertions till the shark shall have entirely disgorged its victim, "The right of national self-government," says Mr. Davitt, "is universally recognised as the inalienable prerogative of separate nationalities." Does anybody believe that the aspiration expressed in those words will be satisfied with a vassal Parliament such as was tendered to Ireland by Mr. Gladstone? An avowed part of Mr. Davitt's programme is systematic Obstruction of the kind described in an extract from the *Quarterly*, which we give in another column. By this, Parliament is to be bullied into abdication. This Mr. Davitt styles "Constitutional," and if it is unsuccessful he proposes, plainly enough when he speaks in Canada but still more plainly when he speaks in the United States, to have recourse to force. All the force that he can bring into the field would be scattered to the four winds by a single brigade of troops, and if the House of Commons were united and patriotic, instead of being torn by unpatriotic factions, it would soon put an end to Obstruction by the expulsion of the ringleaders. From the treasonable ambition and rivalries of British politicians, Mr. Davitt has some hope of Dismemberment: other hope he has none.

OF course we have again the story of tyrannical evictions. It has been already shown that the number of actual removals—800 in six months, among 560,000 holdings—is probably not equal to the number of foreclosures by loan societies here. But what is to be done if a tenant refuses to pay his rent or is deterred by the League from paying it? Why should a man be allowed at his pleasure or at the dictate of a lawless conspiracy to repudiate a debt to a landlord any more than a debt to a baker? Are Canadian or American landlords much in the habit of going without their rents? For a tyrannical, capricious use of the power of eviction no landlord has any motive, and an Irish landlord least of all. An Irish landlord is only too glad to keep a tenant who will pay or try to pay. The real author of most of the evictions is the League, the leaders of which do their utmost to keep the tenants at war with the landlords because they know that as soon as the agrarian quarrel is settled the political rebellion will die. They know that already it is by American dollars that the political rebellion is kept alive.

Mr. Justin McCarthy is not one of the genuine Parnellite breed. He is a cultured and well-bred gentleman, as well as an excellent writer and lecturer. Like the rest of his party, he takes the benefit of the terrorism of the League and of money sent by the Fenians of Chicago for the destruction of Great Britain, but he has been careful to keep his literary pumps and silk stockings as clear as he could of the stain of blood. Him, therefore, the Reform leaders and magnates find it politic to attend, while they discreetly give the cold shoulder to Mr. Davitt. But Mr. McCarthy on Monday contradicts Mr. Davitt's utterances on Saturday. On Monday Mr. McCarthy protests that Ireland wants no larger measure of self-government than is enjoyed by a Province of the Dominion, or by a State of the Union. But on Saturday Mr. Davitt told us that what Ireland wanted was "the inalienable prerogative of a separate nationality." We respect the frankness and veracity of Mr. Davitt. The absurdity of the parallel which Mr. McCarthy again attempts to draw between the position of a Province of the Dominion or of a State of the Union and Ireland with "Grattan's Parliament" has been a hundred times exposed. What would answer to the Dominion or the Federal Legislature in the case of Great Britain and Ireland? With the comparison made by another speaker of Ireland as a partner in the Parliament of the United Kingdom to Bulgaria under Turkish despotism, it is surely unnecessary to deal.

STAMBOULOFF, the hero of the day in Bulgaria, is a man small in stature, but square and strongly built; complexion brown; eyes very lively; his whole being expresses the most powerful energy, which he displays on all occasions. He is about thirty-seven years of age. He was elected deputy for the first time in 1879, and looked so young that the Conservatives of the chamber contemplated quashing his election, on the ground of his being under age. This could not be done, as all the other deputies were unable to produce the certificates of their births. The majority yielded, but Stambouloff never forgave them, and always violently opposed them. As a rule, he always attacks his political or personal enemies with a rattling violence—Zankoff, above all. His most intimate friend is Karaveloff.