

THE TRUE WITNESS

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28, 1885.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

We have sent out a large number of bills to subscribers in arrears, and up to date the returns have not been as large as they should be. As a newspaper, no more than any other business, can be run on an empty treasury, we earnestly trust that all our patrons receiving these bills will make it a point to pay off their indebtedness to THE TRUE WITNESS without delay. THE TRUE WITNESS is an exceedingly cheap paper, the subscription price (when paid in advance) being only one dollar. The amount due by each one is, accordingly, very small; but the aggregate of these trifling sums reaches a figure far up in the thousands. And these thousands are absolutely required to give each reader a bright, live, instructive and entertaining newspaper such as THE TRUE WITNESS is to-day. We say so, without any boasting, to which our readers will readily admit we are not very largely given. THE TRUE WITNESS stands on its merits, and these entitle it to the first place in the ranks of Catholic journalism in Canada. This distinction it has achieved through the aid of the Montreal DAILY POST, the only Irish Catholic daily in America. We have succeeded in furnishing to our people a paper that is creditable to them as well as to ourselves; we are engaged in fighting their battles, and it is only right and fair that we should meet with their generous co-operation. This co-operation can be rendered doubly effective by each subscriber settling his or her indebtedness and by each one securing a new reader and subscriber for the paper. In that way the usefulness of THE TRUE WITNESS will be increased and the public will be sure to receive greater benefits from its prosperity and progress.

THE Scotch crofters are determined to make it hot for Ross Winans, who sued a cottar for damages, for allowing a pet lamb to graze on his three hundred square mile estate. The crofters are out on hunting expeditions for the purpose of shooting all the deer they can come across.

THE validity of the Provincial Act imposing a tax on banks, insurance companies and other corporations carrying on business in this province, occupied considerable of the time and attention of the Court of Appeal yesterday, the learned judges taking nearly five hours to deliver their opinions on the question. The court was radically divided on the issue, three Judges—Ramsay, Tassier and Raby—being of the firm conviction that the Act was constitutional and that the tax could be levied by the Provincial authorities, while Chief Justice Dorian and Judge Cross decided the act to be ultra vires. The opinion of the majority carried, and so far the Province is given *gaude causa*. but there is no telling how the question will ultimately stand, until the English Privy Council will have had their say. Canadians can never tell what is constitutional or what is unconstitutional, until a few foreign lords have given us the *infallible* cue.

THE Toronto Mail brings our unreliable evening contemporary to task for its ignorance on Irish matters and its attempt to sneer at Mr. Parnell's demand that grand juries be made elective. THE POST, at the time, drew attention to the *Daily Star's* ignorant handling of the question, and now the Mail comes to emphasize the fact that our contemporary "has been misled." We give our Western confrere's remarks in full, as they show, even in its own case, a notable change in tone and appreciation, regarding the Irish question. It says:—"The grand jury in Ireland is not alone the body charged with dealing with criminal cases in their preliminary stage. It strikes the road and poor rates, and looks after the highways and other local works, filling the place and discharging the duties of the County Council in Canada. Under the system now in vogue, its members are appointed nominally by the Lord-Lieutenant of the county and by his deputy lieutenants, in realty

by Dublin Castle. Mr. Parnell is simply saying that this absurd, unjust, and antiquated body be abolished, and the people permitted to elect their own representatives in miniature, which we in Canada prize so highly under the name of municipal government. Canadians certainly cannot condemn him for doing so. The grand jury, as now constituted, is composed exclusively of landlords, or of members of their class. It has no sympathy with the great masses of the people, and directs the levying of taxes and their expenditure with a single eye to the good of what is commonly known as the landed interest. If taxation without representation be tyranny, the grand jury is a despotism of the most obnoxious sort, combining with the irresponsible exercise of power the worst features of class rule. The Irish agitators may go too far in some of their demands, though of that they are probably the best judges; but it is well to remember that in their wildest moments they ask no more in the shape of civil liberty than we in Canada have long enjoyed."

BRINGTON, the so-called unofficial representative of England at the Vatican, but who has been repudiated by the Government in the House on several occasions, appears to be again furnishing material for the press and cable correspondents. We are told that this officious wire-puller desires Pope Leo to issue some instructions to reconcile the continual conflict between priests' individual political faith (whatever that may mean) and obedience they owe to Cardinal McCabe's order forbidding them to have anything to do with politics; but, we are also informed, the Pope does not seem to be much impressed by Brington's arguments, and declines to make promises. Brington may be very presumptuous, but he is by no means influential; his character and the role he has set himself to play have been too thoroughly exploded that the Holy Father should allow himself to be cajoled or deceived by such sneaking practices which have all along characterized the conduct of the "unofficial representative."

Some interesting statistics regarding the comparative efficiency and earnings of labor in Great Britain and of other countries have been compiled by Mr. Jeans and put in the shape of a paper, which was recently read before the Statistical Society in London. Mr. Jeans calculated that the fourteen million of people belonging to the wage earning class in the United Kingdom in 1881 had earned a total of £580,000,000, the average wages being £42 1s per head, an increase of £162,000,000, or 10 per cent. on the sum computed by Mr. Leon Levi to represent the average earning of the working class of Great Britain in 1867. Mr. Jeans compared the British workman with workmen abroad, and stated that the average wages paid in the United Kingdom were 45 per cent. below those of the United States, 42 per cent. above those paid in Germany, and 58 per cent. above those of France. Mr. Jeans further stated that between the years 1850 and 1883 the average earnings paid in a large number of leading industries of the United Kingdom had increased to the extent of 40 per cent., while in France the increase was 63 per cent. in Paris and 65 per cent. in the country. He further showed that in the United States the increase between 1860 and 1883 was identical with the increase in Great Britain between the years 1850 and 1883, or just 40 per cent. The countries employing the most women were Austria and France, while the United States employed the largest number of juvenile workers. The country having the largest percentage engaged in manufacture was the United Kingdom with 24 per cent., against only 9 per cent. in Prussia, 8 per cent. in France, and 7 per cent. in the United States. With respect to the efficiency of the labor employed, Mr. Jeans stated that English labor was better and more efficient than the labor of any other country, with regard to the quantity produced in a given time.

PROPERTY qualification for representation of the people in any of our public bodies is an anomaly that should be done away with. All experience goes to prove that the property qualification is an utter failure as a test either of fitness or solvency. The effect of the property test is and always has been to exclude many otherwise well qualified citizens from our municipal and legislative bodies, and to let in a lot of worthless adventurers who, so far from owning property free from incumbrances, are well known to be without means. The Toronto *Globe*, in discussing a proposal to increase the amount of property qualification for aldermen in the Queen City, charges that there always have been in the Council of Toronto aldermen without property qualification, who have evaded the law with perfect ease. Our contemporary adds that "on the other hand, the Council has, thanks to the property qualification, seldom had the advantage of the presence of real wage-earners. Yet wage-earners are the most numerous of all classes, and it is they who are most prejudicially affected by any blunders, fiscal or sanitary, which the Council may choose to make. There is no doubt that the presence of two or three genuine workingmen in the Council would be a wholesome restraint upon the assemblage. Ald. Denison, however, seems to think it desirable to raise the property qualification so high as absolutely to exclude all workingmen who will not descend to the taking of a false oath. It would be far better if the present property qualifications were reduced and means taken to prevent the evasion of it."

SECULAR AND MORAL TRAINING.

Some of our contemporaries in Ontario are exceedingly anxious that the system of separate schools which exists in that province

should be done away with. They think that the national intelligence should be developed without any regard to religion, or that at the most if religious instruction must be imparted, it should be of that vague and indefinite order which they call "sectarian" Christianity. A child educated without morals is a monster, and as morals depend on religion, then it is quite obvious not only that the child should be taught a definite and fixed system of belief, but that the spirit of his religion should be made to pervade all the exercises of the school and identify itself with his character. The idea of dual education or the separation of the mere secular training from the moral is altogether inadmissible. A Protestant writer, in one of our American contemporaries, says on the subject: "Ninety-nine out of both Protestants and Catholics think that religion is necessary to morality. If it is, then the Catholic view of education is right—so wholly right that we do not see how the Protestant view of education can defend itself to itself. That you can send a child from the primary to the university from five years of age to twenty-one, getting his education and moral character from schools with no religion, while you hold that moral character depends upon religion, seems on its face and in its core an absurdity. To educate millions of children on the hypothesis that you hope that, somewhere during their school years or after they are over, your peril will side-track at some church station somewhere and take on a religion which is essential to moral character, and which if he doesn't happily do—and he usually don't nowadays—you are going to educate him without any moral character at all, is such an amazing bit of unreason that we do not see how it can maintain itself. You have either got to say that morality does not depend at all upon religion, and so make a greater specialty of teaching morality *per se* in the schools than is now done, or, if you really think morality does rest on religion, then you must face your logic and teach religion in the schools. There is only one or the other of the two ways out."

ALIEN LANDLORDS IN AMERICA.

THE American Congress has prepared a bill to prohibit aliens and foreigners from acquiring or owning lands within the borders of the United States. Already certain noblemen of Europe, principally from Great Britain, have acquired in the aggregate some twenty-one million acres of land in the United States. Up to the present the policy of the American Government towards aliens in the matter of real estate ownership has been characterized by great liberality, and the different States of the Union have gone still further upon the idea of the desirability of a rapid increase of population and wealth, and, by their legislation, have conferred upon aliens rights which were far beyond those that treaty stipulations and the common law entitled them to. This alien non-resident ownership has, however, in the course of time, led to a system of landlordism which has come to be considered "by the public men of the country to be incompatible with the best interests and the free institutions of the Republic. The foundation for such a system has been laid to an alarming extent in the Western States and territories.

The report on the bills points out that a considerable number of the immigrants annually arriving in the country are to become tenants and herdsmen on the vast possessions of these foreign lords under contracts made and entered into before they sail for our shores. The avarice and enterprise of European capitalists have caused them to invest many millions in American railroad and land bonds, covering perhaps one hundred million acres, the greater part of which, under foreclosure sales, will most likely before many years become the property of these foreign bondholders, in addition to their present princely possessions. It is thus manifest that if the present large alien ownership is an evil, the probabilities of the near future still more imperatively demand legislation for its prevention. This aggressive foreign capital is not confined to lands it has purchased, but, overlapping its boundaries, has caused hundreds of miles of the public domain to be fenced up for the grazing of vast herds of cattle, and set at defiance the rights of the honest, but humble, settler.

The guiding principle of Congress will be, that American soil should be owned exclusively by American citizens, and the present bill proposes in plain terms, and as a part of the national policy, to prevent absolutely the citizens or subjects of other nations, so long as they adhere to and retain their allegiance to foreign Powers, from acquiring the ownership of American soil within the jurisdiction of the United States. No wiser or more opportune measure could be adopted.

IMMIGRATION AND INDEPENDENCE.

The great bulk of European emigration still flows towards the United States. The number that adopted the Republic as their home was almost ten times as large as the number that consented to settle in this Canada of ours during the past year. A colony is evidently not so attractive as a free and independent country. The one great obstacle in the way of Canada's rapid development is, beyond question or doubt, its colonial title, its dependence on the good will of a foreign country for the enjoyment of the constitutional privileges which have been accorded to it. If Canada had a reputation for freedom and national independence as great and widely known throughout Europe as the United States enjoys, we do not hesitate to say that instead of having an immigration ten or fifteen times smaller than that which annually pours into the Union, the Dominion would have an equal, if not a larger, share of the immense population that is constantly abandoning their homes in

Europe. The sooner our statesmen come to recognize this fact the better for our broad uninhabited Dominion. Canada will never be much until there are some twenty-five million people in the country, and at our present rate of increase that will scarcely be before the middle of the next century. It might be at the close of the present century, if Europeans could look upon the name of Canada as entirely and unequivocally synonymous with national freedom and independence. The two words would be worth a host of immigration agents and would do their work more effectively. The enormous amounts that are being spent in bribing emigrants to come to Canada would become an unnecessary expenditure. In the meantime the United States will go on absorbing the best and largest portion of Europe's surplus population. A glance at last year's figures will prove interesting. According to Bradstreet's the total number of persons arriving at ten customs districts of the United States in 1884, was 453,983, as compared with 560,196 in 1883, a decrease of over one hundred and odd thousands. As this total comprises about 97 per cent. of the immigrants arriving in this country, it may be taken as an index of the actual decrease. The total for December of 1884 was 13,622, as compared with 23,796 in the same month of 1883. Germany heads the list of nations from which this immigration came, 154,501 arriving in 1884, against 180,812 in 1883. The following table shows the immigration by countries in 1884 as compared with the year 1883:

Countries.	1884.	1883.
England and Wales.	53,760	79,031
Ireland.	58,223	63,841
Scotland.	8,725	19,541
Austria.	12,728	11,032
Germany.	154,501	180,812
Italy.	14,288	29,446
Norway.	13,733	19,704
Sweden.	23,755	28,748
Dominion of Canada.	45,504	62,218
All other countries.	63,796	65,621
Totals.	453,983	560,196

Even Canada is made to feel the great republic. It must not, however, be understood that the 45,504 who crossed over the lines were all native born Canadians. A large proportion of them were Europeans who came to Canada but did not elect to settle here.

THE FIRST BATTLE OF THE NILE EXPEDITION.

Gordon was made a prisoner in Khartoum on the 19th of January, 1884, and exactly one year from that date he heard the first gun fired for his rescue. After months of vacillation the Gladstone Government made up its mind to send out an expedition last summer for the purpose, and its command was conferred to General Lord Wolseley. The difficult problems involved in an advance to Khartoum were carefully studied, and there was no limit to the preparations for the effective execution of the plan. Gen. Wolseley was given *carte blanche* as regards men, money and material of war and the entire nation expected and were even promised an exploit as successful as was the triumphant march to Tel-el-Kebir. Wolseley had fixed upon the closing days of November last as the time at which he would enter Khartoum with the relieving forces. But as weeks and months wore on it became plainly evident that the choice of the circuitous river route, instead of a direct march from Suakim to Berber was a bad one. It involved an enormous waste of money, time and material, and had ended in materially damaging Gen. Wolseley's reputation. In fact his management of the expedition has called forth serious censure from high places in London.

As soon as the advanced guard of the expeditionary corps had reached Korti, a village on the Nile, Wolseley saw that it would be foolish to continue the Nile route any further, and a march across the desert must be confronted after all, with Shendi as the objective point. A force of 1,500 men was placed under the command of General Stewart, and they started on their perilous journey at the end of December last. The suffering of the troops in the march of 160 miles through a scorching desert are described as horrible and as entirely attributable to the extremely bad management of the water supply.

A large number of the troops are said to have been kept in a state of semi-insanity half the time from thirst. Plenty of water ground was found at stated places, but it was impossible to reach it in most instances, because of some criminal negligence on the part of the commissary as that, for instance, of leaving the portable pumps behind, which was done at Korti. Some of the London journals tauntingly say that Wolseley has been far less careful about the water supply for his troops than he has been for the safety of the jams and marmalades.

It was in this condition and under these circumstances that General Stewart with his little army had to meet a numerous detachment of the Mahdi's followers on issuing from the desert near Matemneh. The Arab forces are said to have numbered from eight to ten thousand. The engagement was heavy and the fighting was furious, proving the natives to be no cowards, but ready to stand their ground until disabled or killed. After the first few volleys the battle became a regular hand-to-hand fight. Most of the Arabs were armed with spears and they rushed to close quarters, swarming over the bodies of their dead and wounded comrades. A press despatch says that at the first shock from the enemy the fate of the whole British force trembled in the balance, but the steadiness of the Guards, Marine corps and mounted infantry prevailed, and the Arabs were forced to retire. They left as many as eight hundred slain on the field, and the number of their wounded is estimated at two thousand. The British losses were nine commissioned officers

killed and nine wounded, sixty-five non-commissioned officers and men killed and eighty-five wounded. This loss is serious, as is acknowledged by General Stewart in his official despatch, and is sufficient evidence that the battle was not a "mere walk over," but that victory had to be achieved by a plucky and obstinate fight all along the line. General Stewart is of the opinion or rather hopes that the success which has attended this first engagement will result in disheartening the Mahdi's troops to such an extent that all their future fighting may be of a less obstinate character.

AN EVENT OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE.

There has been no incident in modern Irish politics regarded with more absorbing interest and anxiety by both friends and foes of the national cause, than the recent Parliamentary nomination in Tipperary. The cable correspondents at the time dealt meagerly with the event which is destined to become memorable in Irish history, because it turned out favorable to the cause of union and self-government; but our Irish exchanges are brimful of the proceedings which threatened a national disruption, but ended in an unparalleled triumph for the people, the country, and their leaders. The crisis arose in this way: A writ was issued for the election of a member in the place of the late P. J. Smyth and a convention of delegates from a number of the National League branches of the county was held in Thurles. Previous to the convention it was publicly announced that it was the desire of Archbishop Croke and of Mr. Parnell that a tried Nationalist, in the person of John O'Connor, of Cork, should be invited to stand. Up to the day of the convention the name of no other candidate was mentioned and it was accepted as a foregone conclusion that the National nominee would receive the endorsement of the premier country. When the convention assembled, however, a Mr. O'Bryan of Cashel, a good speaker, and a strong supporter of the National party, was proposed and his selection was advocated on the ground that it was not necessary to go outside the constituency to seek for a fit and able representative. This argument led a majority of the convention to vote for the nomination of Mr. O'Bryan, and on the motion of Mr. O'Connor himself the nomination was made unanimous. Here all would have ended well, only for outside and foreign criticism. The result viewed and criticised from a distance had assumed a significance as terrible as it was unexpected.

The fact that the candidate recommended by the leader of the Irish Party and by the patriotic Archbishop of Cashel, and stamped with their emphatic approval, had been rejected by a county convention of the National League, set the anti-Irish press on both sides of the channel almost beside themselves with joy. The long looked-for and desired split in the National ranks was at last about to take place. A pang of consternation went through the country and a yell of exultation passed through the ranks of its enemies. The Castle organ declared the event would strike a death "blow at the dictatorship, which is a sine *qua non* of the Irish parliamentary party's efficiency for mischief." The London *Standard* exclaimed that it "was one of 'national importance because it was a repudiation of the principle upon which 'hitherto the business of the patriotic agitation was successfully worked.' Thus, gallant Tipperary, which is the very soul and centre of Irish nationality, was reckoned upon by the enemies of Ireland as an ally in the destruction of the power which has placed the people within measurable distance of the right to govern themselves. The men of Tipperary had given a direct snub to the leader of the Irish people. A few more elections resulting like this, in an apparent defiance of his advice and authority, would so shatter his influence that he would be disregarded by both the English parties in the House. The days of his power would in fact be numbered, and the Irish party once disunited would become a thing of the past. With these anticipations it was no wonder that the British and anti-national press had article after article urging the men of Tipperary to maintain their reputation for independence, and to offer a manly and determined resistance to the dictation of Mr. Parnell, who was endeavoring to force an outsider on the county in preference to one of its own sons, whose candidature had been unanimously adopted at a representative convention. This howl of exultation and the eagerness of the exhortation to continue in its attitude of alleged defiance against Parnell soon aroused the people of Tipperary to the consequences of the ill-understood and ill-considered action of the convention. The moment they realized the construction put by Ireland's enemies upon the nomination of Mr. O'Bryan, they recoiled in horror from the imputation of revolt against the Irish leader and Archbishop Croke, with which they had been so suddenly credited. As an Irish exchange poetically put it, "the great heart of the county was wounded to the core by finding Tipperary patronised as an engine for the destruction of the National strength." Under these circumstances nothing but a complete and unconditional reversal of its action could remove the misconception which had been created, or blot the evil hopes of the enemy. A second convention was accordingly called, and a magnificent gathering responded to the summons. The whole 74 branches of the League in the county were fully represented, there being near 500 delegates present. Now came the time for weeping and gnashing of teeth in the camp of the enemy. They had been handling a boomerang and didn't know it. The blow that was to have dealt humil-

lation to Parnell and Archbishop Croke and wrecked the Irish party, rebounded, with beautiful precision and effect, knocking all their gloating anticipations higher than a kite. Mr. O'Bryan, who had been the innocent cause of the crisis, came before the second convention and surrendered his claims in a manner, as Mr. Parnell characterized, that did honor to his head, his heart and his love for Ireland.

After a patriotic and eloquent speech, in which he protested against the imputation of revolt against the party and the cause that had been fastened upon his nomination, Mr. O'Bryan concluded in the following admirable strain: "I am here to surrender to the 'people of Tipperary in God's name and in my country's trust which was reposed in me in the very place where I now stand. Do not imagine, gentlemen, that I do so with the slightest feeling of pain, regret, or of sorrow. I was a proud man when you elected me, but the pleasure I felt on that evening was the pleasure of victory, and the pleasure of ambition, perhaps, satisfied; but the pride I feel at this moment is one which very few Irishmen will be permitted to feel—it is the pride which a true patriot ever feels—the pride of making a sacrifice (applause). Therefore, gentlemen, in vindication of my own principles and of yours, as an act to prove the unity and indivisibility of the Irish people in the Irish National cause, I give back to Tipperary what Tipperary has given to me (prolonged applause)."

The convention, thereupon, with one voice and one feeling, vindicated the position of Mr. Parnell and of Archbishop Croke, by unanimously nominating Mr. O'Connor to bear the standard of the national cause in Tipperary.

PATRIOTISM AND DYNAMITE.

The anniversary of Scotland's national poet, Robert Burns, was celebrated last evening by a banquet under the auspices of the Caledonian Society of this city. The occasion was marked by an incident which had an unpleasant beginning, but which, we are happy to see, had a very satisfactory ending. The response to the toast of the evening was entrusted to the Rev. Dr. Stevenson. In his eloquent and charming tribute to the memory of Burns and to his poetic genius, Dr. Stevenson touched upon the question of patriotism. In a moment of indignation and horror at the terrible crimes which have been recently perpetrated in London, he confounded Irish patriotism with the inhuman use of dynamite, and attacked the Irish people with an unsparring hand, and denounced their patriotism which made it a duty to hate the rest of mankind. The language the speaker used was exceedingly strong, but it was also provokingly unjust and undeserved, and was certainly not in accordance with the Reverend Doctor's hitherto known sentiments. This is what he said—

"We had specimens of that just now in the patriotism that manufactured dynamite and made war on the human race for a fancy of its own, destroying innocent women and children in its revengeful fury—a patriotism which, because it wished to have a parliament house in a particular square, broke down, not only all political law, but all civilized and moral law. That was not patriotism at all. He was sure they would be rid before very long. The great heart of humanity would rise against it and put it down. It was not Great Britain, not the English alone who were attacked in this great war, but the interests of humanity and the world at large. Let them blow us up with dynamite a little longer and we would see whether we or they are stronger. If it was right that the Irish people should have a distinctive Irish parliament in God's name let them have it if wrong let it be shown to be wrong. But let the war be a war carried on between men and not between fiends and men."

If such indiscriminate denunciation came from the *Daily Witness* or from some other unenlightened and prejudiced scribbler, no one would feel hurt at it, but coming from a man of Dr. Stevenson's stamp, whose liberality, breadth of view and culture are admitted by all, the above declaration was indeed a painful surprise. Dr. Stevenson made no distinction between the fiend and the Irish people. The shame of the irresponsible misstatement upon the nation. Without a moment's hesitation he classed the perpetrators of the recent outrages as Irishmen, forgetting, however, by every man must be deemed innocent until found guilty. But even admitting that the criminals were Irishmen, what justification, what reason, what ground is there to saddle the responsibility of their crimes upon the whole people and to threaten the nation with coercion and extermination? Have the Irish people commissioned or delegated in any shape or form this band of desperadoes to make war upon civilization and humanity? Decidedly not. The only agitation which the people at present sanction and encourage is a war upon England's maledministration of Irish affairs, and the battles of that war are fought against heavy odds in the light of day, on the public platform (when allowed) and on the floor of the House at every favorable opportunity.

What strikes us as a strange and inexplicable phenomenon, is the fact that Englishmen and anti-Irishmen are ever ready to recognize the heinousness of a crime and to place it to the discredit of the Irish people; while they absolutely refuse to heed the warnings of a constitutional agitation and govern themselves accordingly.

It is not a very wise or just policy to punish a nation for deeds which have its hearty disapprobation. It would be most undesirable to make an oppressed people, who are working out their regeneration and freedom by peaceable means and according to constitutional forms, feel that they must bear the consequences of an act whether it has the popular sanction or whether it is simply performed by irresponsible individuals. It might turn out to be a case of seeking the game as well as having the