

want to see communities bound together in bundles and deprived of their separate life to gratify anybody's vanity; we do not believe that Empire of this kind adds a particle to the happiness or to the real dignity even of the Imperial people. Of the two it is far worse and far meaner to be the conqueror and oppressor than to be the conquered and oppressed. But a struggle for independence, and independence itself, are possible only to a united nation. Ireland is very far indeed from being united. The Orange and Protestant North is at this moment ready to march against the Fenian and Catholic South; in the first hour of independence the two races and the two religions would be flying at each other's throats, and it is not unlikely, as experience shows, that the North, though the minority, might have the upper hand. At all events, if the Protestants of Ireland were hard pressed by the Catholics, nothing could prevent the Protestants of England and Scotland, especially those of Scotland, whose kinsmen as well as co-religionists the Irish Protestants are, from rushing to their aid. But of the Catholics themselves, particularly those of the wealthier class, many, since Catholic Emancipation and Disestablishment, have become unionists, while the clergy, and particularly the Hierarchy, are for the most part strongly opposed to Fenianism and to the project of an Irish Republic. Among the Home Rulers themselves, scarcely two are agreed in their political aims, and the peasantry, owing to their fatal want of constitutional training, are devoid of political ideas, and have no notion of anything but blindly following a chief whom they are apt to choose, as Americans know, on the most illusory grounds. There is not among the Irish leaders one capable of holding together any large body of his countrymen, much less is there one capable of founding an Irish commonwealth. If Ireland were cut loose from England to-morrow, in a month she would be a political bedlam, which would soon be turned into a slaughter-house. But as large a measure of self-government as most of the Home-Rulers themselves profess to desire may be attained in another way. The Liberal party