

illness or loss of fashion might any day destroy. But in Ireland all these things are given, and to them is added a salary which is, I believe, generally double or treble their earnings at the Bar!

And the road to these great positions has been, with the rarest exception, one road alone. It is not the National road.

The result is substantial proscription of the Nationalist element, and a practical choice of almost the entire bench out of the ranks of the anti-Nationalists. This necessarily has a grave effect on the condition of things at the Bar and on the Bench. How different is the condition from the days when the overwhelming majority of the whole Irish Bar, headed by its greatest leaders, protested against the Union! Do not misunderstand me. There are, thank God, able and brilliant Nationalists at the Irish Bar, but they are practically under a ban. There are just and well-intentioned judges on the Irish High Court Bench; but they are, as a rule, of one political complexion, and that the anti-National complexion; and they live, move and have their being in that element alone. Everyone must see, without more words, the injurious results of the system I have described, on Bar and Bench and prosecuting officers alike.

JURY PACKING.

But the greatest interference, under the ordinary law, with the fair administration of justice consists in the packing of the jury. This practice, which public opinion would not allow to be pursued for a day in England, is in agrarian and such like cases systematically adopted by England in Ireland. The jury panel is struck. Let us presume it is fairly struck. Take the case of a county in which, as often happens, there is a great majority—running sometimes to ninety per cent. or more—of Catholics. Naturally, a fair panel will contain a vast preponderance of Catholics. The names in each case tried are drawn by lot. As each man is called, the Crown claims the right to say "Stand by," without cause shown or reason given. Thereupon the man is set aside and another name drawn. This goes on till twelve names suitable in the view of the Crown are drawn, and these twelve form the jury. And (not, of course, by design, oh no! they say they never inquire and do not know the religion), by some miraculous chance it turns out that the fifty or sixty men set aside were Catholics, and the twelve men left are Protestants. So the jury is struck; so the prisoner is tried; and so convictions are obtained. So justice is administered; and Englishmen wonder that the masses of the Irish people have a profound distrust, a deep contempt, a burning hatred of such administration.

PERPETUAL COERCION.

But this is not enough. More, much more, has to be done in order to accomplish the purposes of the English Government. There is, even so,