Freude himself. I will not go outside of him. Mr. Froude admits, as every thinking man that the great elements of self-government amongs a people arc, first of all; respect for inches and for law; secondly, fidelity to principle; thirdly, affection for their own laws, and leve of the law, and fourthly, a capability of heing governed by those who govern them and driver mad. The Irish have only been made direct them. These are the four attributes mational—every man of them—to the heart's that belong the people indicated them, if core! (Applause.)

The third great element that asserts a people have them to the heart's core! (The third great element that asserts a people have them to the law, and were anxious to make the govern themselves is their fidalism. had no respect for the law, and were anxious to violate at precisely because it was the law, that people don't deserve the power of making their own laws; and it would be "a mercy from God" if somebody would make some laws for them. But are the Irish that people? Listen, my friends. Mr. Froude, in the course of his lectures, has quoted frequently a great authority in Irish history, namely, Sir John Davis, who was Attorney General in the reign of James A. He was an Englishmaner, I believo, a Welshman—that came over from England for the express purpose of plundering the Irish and stealing from the people; and he, accordingly, accumulated vast wealth and had great estates in Iroland. Yet this man writes these words : "There is no people under Heaven that love equal and fair justice The the Irish." (Applause.) "There is no people," he adds, "who are more willing to submit to fair; impartial justice, though it go against themselves, than the Irish." Elsewhere he writes, "When things are peaceful, and no war is going on, the Irish are far more fearful of offending the law than the English." (Applause.) If I quoted some Donough O'Brien or some Terence O'Neill, or if I quoted the Four Masters, Mr. Froude would If he heard the friar quoting the old Francis-"cans and the old Irish monks, "Oh," he would say, if he knew Irish, "gonosha dheeling!" hut he hasn't the grace to know it. (Laughter.) But I have been reviewing the lectures in which I answered Mr. Froude, and although New York newspaper has charged me with equoting Catholic authorities, I protest to you, my friends, I can say with truth from the first words of these lectures down to the last, every single authority quoted was a Protestant and an Englishman. (Applause.) And does not the history of Ireland bear out the truth of what Sir John Davis says? There were two parties in Ireland for seven hundred years, my friends. There were the old native Irish, the Macs and the O's, the O'Connors, the O'Briens, the MoMurraghs, the O'Neills and the O'Donnels. These were the genuine Irish. It was to these men that God Almighty had given Treland; and the soil was theirs, for they held it by the right by which every people hold their own land-namely, the right of a gift from God. Then came the Normans, the Fitzgeralds, the DeCourcys, the Butlers, and the Burkes. (Applause.) And when they entered Ireland they became, in a hundred years, "more Irish than the Irish themselves." That is the old phrase Mr. Froude quotes, and he says, "Perhaps Father Burke never heard of that phrase." That phrase we all heard as soon as we were weaned. But I remark in all Mr. Froude's replies to me that he takes it for granted-I suppose because I am an Irishman -that I know nothing about my native land. - Perhaps Father Burke doesn't know this, and reperhaps Father Burke doesn't know that; but : I will tell him what I know. So he asks were Perhaps Father Burke doesn't know that the Normans were more Irish than the Irish themselves? They were. But of all the traits of the Irish character that they took up-the most prominent amongst those in which they became more Irish than the Irish themselves -was their love of fighting and devilment in general. (Laughter.) They became the most unruly lot in the land, and we have proof of it in this: that we have the Earl of Surrey writing home to Harry VIII., who had sent him to Iroland, telling him about the Irish chieftains—the Macs and the Os-that "they are wise men, your Majesty, and good, quiet men greatly better than the English." Applause.)

If, then, the first element and the first attribute of a people, to entitle them to self-govcomment, be a respect for justice and for law, I held, upon the evidence of English authorrties, that no man can deny to the Irish nation the right given by God to every people to govern themselves according to their own laws. (Applause.)

And there is another trait in the character of the Irish people that Mr. Froude brings out. both in his lectures and in former essays, and it is well worthy of remark. He says: "They are a people that are singularly adapted to good government." And do you know the instance he gives? He says in one of his cssays: Take a wild, ragged peasant boy, ready to Ting up his caubeen into the air and hurrah for Smith O'Brien, and hurran for every Femian, and hurral for every Irish patriot"-(opplause)-" catch that boy" ["catch" him! ne if he were talking of some young beast or savage] " catch him, drill him, and teach him, and in a few years you will have one of the that oath which binds Jesus Christ finest policemen of any people on the face of to his Church. (Great applause.) Fin-the earth." And this he gives as a good in-ally, she alone lays hold of the the earth." And this he gives as a good instance that the Irish people—as he asserts are capable of a perfect discipline under good face to face with himself, teaches him to look and perfect government.

. Now, I take him upon that point, and I say: "If, according to you, my learned friend, a -venr or two of discipline and of justice and of good government will make such a perfect subject out of an Irishman, tell us, if you please, Mr. Froude, how is it that for seven hundred years you have never been able to make good principle of their religion. For 1500 years subjects out of them?" (Applause.) The Ireland steadily, inviolably, conscientiously reason is, that for seven hundred years Ireland held that Outholic faith. For three hundred hours, what good government or sensible government meant. The Scripture says that one of religious war. Ireland fought, fought with the greatest curses that can fall upon a people is heroic strength—fought with unfailing arm—

self: and a nation without principle loses the great right to self-government by the judgment of God. What do I mean by principle? I mean certain ideas of right and wrong fixing themselves in the mind and in the heart and in conscience of the people, and taking such hold of that mind, heart and conscience that no power on earth or in hell can tear those principles out of the national mind. [Applause.] Show me a single principle in the history of the English people to which they have clung with this fervor. There is not one, except, indeed, if you will, the principle of extending their empire by robbery and the confiscation of their neighbors' goods. [Applause.] "Was the principle of reigion so fixed in their minds? No !-for at the bidding of Harry VIII., they changed their religion. Was the principle of devotion to the throne so fixed in their minds? No!for at the wave of Cromwell's sword all England bowed before him, and the Englishmen cheered him in the day when he cut off the head of England's king.

What principle is there revealed in the philosophy of their history for which that people were ever prepared to suffer, much less to die? surn round on me and say, "Ah! ha!" But Now, the whole history of the Irish race, from the day their history commences down to this hour, is the assertion of an eternal principle, no matter at what sacrifice or at what cost. [Applause.]

The first and the strongest principle that can govern the heart and the mind and the conscience of any man, and consequently of any people, is their fidelity to what they know to be the truth and their duty to God. Unless you admit this religious principle in the mind and and I was obliged to obey him, why shall I not obey in the conscience of the man with whom you him to-day?" So they took him, fought for him, have to deal the less you have to say to him. have to deal, the less you have to say to himthe less you trust him—the better. Tell me, my friends, is there a man amongst you who would place say \$10,000 on trust, depending on the honor of a man who told you he had no religious principle whatever; that he had no rules governing his conscience; that he did not care that [snapping his fingers] for religion? You would take good care to keep your money out of his hands.

Ireland for fifteen hundred years has held the Catholic faith amongst the nations. The Catholic faith has three effects, operating upon the man, and, consequently, upon the people who profess it. First of all, it acts upon the. intellect as a conviction of the strongest kind, the intellect assenting to its truths; secondly, it acts upon the heart, purifying the affections and strengthening all the emotions of the spirit in man; thirdly, it acts upon the conscience in the form of a strict, immutable, unchanging law, to which every man who professes it—be he great or small, gentle or simple—must bow down and conform himself alike. (Applause.)

I assert that the Catholic religion alone possesses this triple influence over the intelligence, heart and conscience of man, and I will prove it in three words-although it does not enter into the subject of my lecture. First of all, it acts upon the intellect alone amongst all religions. The Catholic religion alone tells a man what to believe, and tells him that with so much certainty that he is not at liberty to change it. The best Protestant in the nation can become a Methodist, or a Quaker, or a Mormon, or anything. On one Sunday, if he likes, he will go to hear Mr. So-and-so, and the next Sunday he will go to hear somebody else. On one Sunday he will hear the reverend So-and-so say black is white, and the next Sunday the reverend Mr. So-and-so will tell him that white is black.

Laughter. He has no fixed principle of belief; he has no real unchanged intellectual faith at all; his mind is like the general highway where every traveller can pass along. The Catholic religion alone influences the heart, and I assert this for her on the simple grounds that she alone takes hold of the heart of a man and fixes it forever in one form of affection or love; if she calls that man to the priesthood, she consecrates him forever to the love of the Church, the altar and the souls of his brethren. Not a single thought nor affection, nor emotion of any other love must ever disturb it. In this she acts upon the heart, for she seals with her sacramental blessing the matrimonial bonds, and they are fixed forever. That man, and that woman, Heaven und earth may move, but their engagement may never be broken, their vow may never be violated; and when the Catholic Church binds the husband to the wife, and the wife to the husband in immutable and mutual fidelity and love, the oath is as unchangeable as conscience of a man-shakes him, brings him at himself with fearless eyes, teaches him in her sacrament and in her confessional, to bring up all that was basest, vilest, meanest, most shameful of his sins, lay them out under his own eye and confess them with his own lips.—
(Applause.) And I say that this first principle of fidelity in a nation is the fidelity to the has never known, for twenty-four consecutive years the Danes endeavored to change that faith into paganism; for the Danish war was a

never change from God, from His Christ, and from His Holy Church." (Applause.) And just as after three hundred years of war, on that Good Friday morning, the sun rising in the Heavens beheld an Irish king and an Irish army stand in triumph, pealing forth their songs of victory over the stricken and the conquered Danes, so after three hundred years of the second cycle, the sun arose on that fair May morning in '29, and beamed upon the face of the great O'Connell and the Irish nation (great cheering)-waving. over the ruined battlements of the tyrant, and of the blood-stained Protestant Church of Ireland, the glorious banner of religious equality and freedom which was to be ours forever. (Renewed applause.)

Does Mr. Froude tell me or tell America that a people that have stood in the gap for six hundred years, faithful to the first principle, the religious principle, the principle that includes every other form of virtue and principle, and which, if a man is faithful to it, will make him honest, upright, faithful in his commercial, domestic, civil and national relations-does this man mean to tell me that a people that have never shown that fidelity of principle, either to faith, country, or king, are fitted by the Almighty God to govern and to make laws for such a people as the Irish?" (Applause.) It is worthy of remark, my dear friends, that even their loyalty to the king they carried, as Catholica, into their relations of life. Where were there a people so loyal even to the kings who were unjust to them I scarcely mention it to their praise-I scarcely look upon it as praiseworthy, but I must say it. Whenever England revolted against her king, Ireland stood by and said, "I will not change; if he was my king yesterday, he's my king to-day, and I will be faithful." Charles I. was king in Ireland; England rebelled against him; Parliament rose against him, but Ireland came out like one man and said, "This man has done nothing to forfeit my allegiance. I will not give up my loyalty." Jame fled from England, and the English people said, "Well, let him go." (Dear knows they were right.) But poor, feelish Ireland, strong in the principle of loyalty, (strong on principle) said, "I will fight for bled for him profusely. I mention this only to show you that Mr. Froude's argument against Ireland's right to self-government is based on the Irish want of principle, and to gather up his assertions from out the history of England, and I sling them into his face, and I tell him to go home with them. (Great applause.)

The Irish people have shown the four great at tributes which entitle a people to self-government, viz.: they not only have love of justice and obedience of law, but they love the law that they hold, provided it be a just and natural law; they let it sink into their lives; they are willing to conform all their actions to it, and their love for good law i only second to the love which they bear to their religion. And this I shall prove For four hun dred years England strove with might and main to change the laws of Ireland and she failed. From the year Strongbow landed in 1169, until that year in the sixteenth century when Henry VIII. was proclaimed King of Ireland, after many hundred years the Irish people, in spite of all the efforts of Eng land, were governed by their old Brehon laws, and lived under them, and obeyed them, and I tell you they were right. I tell you, my friends, that there is one portion of Irish history which is not sufficiently known, nor sufficiently considered, by the people, either in Ireland or in America, nor by historians like my friend, Mr. Fronde. (Laughter.) We are all accustomed to speak to-day of the Constitution of America as one of the most glorious principlesand the most glorious on the face of the carth. And why? Because that Constitution gives the most liberty of any other; the most liberty to every citizen of the State, no matter how humble he may be; because that Constitution will not recognize the right of any one man in the State to injure or tyrannize over another; because that Constitution admits State government on terms of equality. Every State having its own laws; having its own government; having its own Executive; having its own forces, that Constitution has known how to reconcile individual liberty and State liberty with a strong central government, which is represented in the President of the United States, who is elected

for four years. If we look back among the nations of the earth we do not find State governments in any of the old nations of Europe, nor any of the modern nations. At this very day we find England, having robbed Ireland of her State government-having robbed Scotland of her State government; we find Bismarck plotting to rob the German States of their State governments, and to concentrate all the power in the hands of three or four men, that they may have absolute power over the lives almost, and certainly over the persons of their fellow citizens. We find nothing like American constitutional, liberty claewhere; we find nothing like the American Consti tution in the grand principle that the wisdom of the whole nation is appealed to, and every man is asked his opinion as to who is the best citizen in the land who is the wisest, bravest, most virtuous man? Tell us who he is and we will put him in the Presidential chair and make him for the time being the supreme magistrate and ruler of the land. If you go back amongst the ancient nations you will find nothing like this until you come upon the ancient Coltic Constitution of Ireland. There, my friends, will you find the very model and type of that glorious government which Washington, Jefferson and the other heroes of your Revolutionary war established for the happiness of this land. [Applause.] They found the model of the American Constitution in the ancient Celtic Constitution of Ireland. The land was divided into five great portions and each portion was recognized as an independent State. Munsur, Connaught, Ulster, Leinster and Meath, perfectly independent one from the other. They were governed by great chieftains who were elected by every man in the land. Every man had a voice and vote The tribe elected their chief; the tribe elected the man who was to succeed the chieftain, and these five great nations or tribes enjoyed on the Democratic principle their State rights and State indepen-dence. Then at certain times they had the election for their President. They came together and elected the bravest, the best, the wisest, the most prudent and virtuous man, and they placed him upon the throne in Tara as the universal king or ardrigh of all Ireland. He governed the various States, but he was careful to respect their independence. There was no concentration. The King of Ulster, the Prince of Connaught, the King: of Munster, made laws and ruled their own States after having elected the supreme king, and were as free and independent in their State rights as if they had never elected a king to govern them all. No matter what the faults

say, a child without reason, without wisdom.

And the curse of Ireland has been this she lest the Dane to the earth, and the curse of Ireland has been this she lest the Dane to the earth, and the curse of Ireland has been this she lest the Dane to the earth, and the curse of Ireland has been governed for seven hundred years, not have been did not been the state of the lest of the lead of the page of the lest of the same government, would have been different and said, even as the Dane of sold said to her, and the left of the lead was the she with the left of the lead was the lest of the lead was no longer the Dane of sold said to her, and the left of the lead was the lead with the state pages; and let the Lord change the left of the lead was provented, and while the left of the lead was no longer the Dane of sold said to her, and the lead is word at the left of the lead was the lead was provented, and while the lead was no longer the Dane of sold said to her, and the lead was the lead was provented, and while the lead was the lead was the lead was provented, and while the lead was the lead was provented, and while the lead was the lead was the lead was the lead was the lead with the state pages; and let the Lord changes of the lead was the l son or daughter of a family died ne course of the reliterates, and I am sorry to say it upon their property and squander it, and no one massacre. He reliterates, and I am sorry to say it could call him to account. The King of England the charge of cowardice against the Irish. In an account, the offen did beggar the first families in swering my lectures, he said: "I never doubted swering my lectures, he said: "I never doubted the last night and the charge of cowardice against the Irish. In an account the course of the charge of cowardice against the Irish. In an account the charge of cowardice against the Irish. In an account the charge of cowardice against the Irish. In an account the charge of cowardice against the Irish. In an account the charge of cowardice against the Irish. In an account the charge of cowardice against the Irish. In an account the charge of cowardice against the Irish. In an account the charge of cowardice against the Irish. In an account the charge of cowardice against the Irish. (Applause,)

blood in this land of America, making up the account of the millions that went from Ireland. I asserted that perhaps there were eight millions of people who came to this country. Mr. Froude totted the eight up to fourteen and then made it twenty-two. That had not entered my head, but he was kind enough to lend me the use of his brains. Then Mr. Froude came out with his account, and according to him of all the millions in America there are only four mil lions altogether with a drop of Irish blood in their veins. Well, perhaps, I overshot the mark a little, but I protest to you I do not think I did. I think that if all the men, women and children of Irish descent were put together, men would be greatly surprised to see how many millions they would fold up. Friends, we were in Ireland only nine millions and a quarter in 1846; there is not half that number in Ireland to-day and there has not been for some years. It is acknowledged that one and a half or two millions may have been sweptaway by visitation of God by the terrible famine or pestilence that have ensued, but still you have to account for three or four millions that must have emigrated, gone somewhere. Where are they then? Since the year 1847 every year hundreds of thousands have been sent out to America. They must be found somewhere. These Irishmen have families like other people-(laughter)—and generally speaking, good long families, too. It was only the other day I got a letter from an old school-fellow, a play-mate of mine, who came to this country some years ago. In his letter he said: "Dear Father Tom: Glad to hear you are well; I married since I came to America and there are eight of them on the floor." [Laughter.] It has been almost proved by statistics published in an Irish journal in New York this very week, that there must be at least some twelve millions of Irish des cent in America, and I hold that twelve millions is not so far from fourteen as four millions from twelve. If I made a mistake I overshot the mark by two millions, and Mr. Froude undershot it by eight millions, and I thank God there are eight millions more of Irish people and of Irish blood in this land than Mr. Froude thought, and it is a very important fact for the learned gentleman. Perhaps; if he knew that the four millions were something more like fourteen millions he would be more careful and take more thought before he came to America to blackguard them. The next great point he makes against me is that I said when the Irish rose in the rebellion, as he calls it, in 1641, I denied that they massacred twenty-eight thou-sand Protestants: My friends, you know there are two ways of looking at everything, and there are two names of course for everything, even a manfriends call him a kind-hearted fellow, his enemies say he is a dirty blackguard. There was a rising in Ireland in 1641; Mr. Froude calls it a rebellion, but the circumstances of the rising were these: The Parliament of England rebelled against the King. the Scots rebelled against the King though he was one of their own countrymen, and there was Scottish blood in his veins, and the Irish people rose in the name of the King, and demanded of him as a reward, literally and truly, I can call it nothing else, leave to live in their own land and exercise their own religion; and the king promised he would give it, and the promise was called the "graces of the king." A certain Irish nobleman, Sir Phelim O'Neill, headed that rising, and he produced a document purporting to be signed and scaled by the King of England, and he told them that he had authority from the king to call upon them to rice. That document was forced, like many another document. It was as great a forgery as the ball of Pope Adrian, pretending to give Ireland to England; as confounded a forgery as was ever committed. Sir Phelim O'Neill, when dying, acknow ledged that the document was a forgery. But the Irish people believed him when he said it was a genuine document, and they arcse in the name of the king, and Fronde calls it a rebellion because it was a forged document. Suppose some one brings a check to you, and says, "Will you cash that for me? It is all right." You think it is all right, and cash it. But on presenting it at the bank the lanker takes you by the throat and calls you a thundering robber; that the check is a forgery. You say, "I am very sorry. I am the sufferer. I have lost my money. Don't call me a forger." Yet Mr. Froude calls it a rebellion because the document was forged, and he quotes as his authority that thirty-eight thousand Protestants were slaughtered, Sir John Temple. Now, Mr. Froude knew very well, when quoting that authority, that there was another English authority who says there were two hundred thousand Protestants killed, and that was Sir William Petty. Mr. Froude quotes Sir William Petty in several cases, but he does not quote him for the two hundred thousand, but pares it down to thirty-eight thousand. Do you know the reason why? Because it happens that he overshot the mark and made out that there were more Protestants killed than there were in Ireland at the time. So Mr. Froude said, "I will not quote him, but I will quote the other liar, who said there were thirtyeight thousand." Is it not strange that at that time a Presbyterian minister went through Ireland for the express purpose of finding out how many there were killed, and he declares that there were only four thousand one hundred at the very outside; and he does not believe there were so many as that. And yet this man comes to America and reports most emphatically the old lie which was exploded years and years ago, and all to make the American; people believe that the Irish cannot govern themselves. But, on the other hand, we have an account of another massacre, in which three thousand Catholics were killed by the garrison at Carrickfergus. But Mr. Froude says Father Burke knows how to tot very well. There were only thirty people killed, and he makes out three thousand. Well, my friends, according to a Protestant authority, it was of that old Irish Constitutions were, and they were thirty families, and there is a great difference be-many, I claim for it in this century and at this hour twoen thirty persons and thirty Irish families. the greatest curses that can fall upon a people is heroic strength—fought with unfailing arm—that the American Constitution is nothing more nor. Within ten years after the event took, place, there never ask for independence for six hundred thousand to give them a child for their king—that is to fought with undying, though bleeding heart.— less than a faithful copy of the old Irish laws under was published in England an account that asserted. Protestants, whilst I leave, three millions of Catho-

the owners of the land. If he injured them in per-crimes in order to meet own acts will some property there was no redross. Their do-not go to these, but take the particular statement meetic affairs were left under his control. If the deniad even by the men who had a hand is that was published at the very that, and was not denied even by the men who had a hand in the massacre. He reiterates, and I am sorry to say it Irish courage; I never denied it." But last night the land, and no one could call him to account, because by the field law the king was not account in Philadelphia, he repeated his statement that the able for what he did, God bless is and save us. Irish did not know how to fight. (Laughter.) And it is a strange thing, for in another part of his lee tures he acknowledges that all the evils of Ireland Well, my friends, there was a great laugh the arose out of the irrepressible love the people had for fighting; and then he come out and says they do other night in the Association Hall, I believe-I don't know, I was thinking it was the conciliation not know how to fight. (Laughter.) And he as. hall—(laughter)—there was a great laugh used by the English historian at the expense of the poor serts again that the Irish troops did not behave well serts again that the Boyne. What have I to say my Irish friar. The historian says that whatever else God! except to appeal to history, not Catholic or Father Burke is he is a wonderful man at totting up Irish, but English Protestant history. The Duke of numbers. And he was kind enough to make a tot Berwick, an Englishman who commanded at the for me that I never made myself. I asserted, not buttle of the Boyne, says that King James brought upon my own authority, but I expressly said that I all the French troops to guard his person, and len heard men say that there were probably fourteen the brunt of the battle to fall upon the Irish regi millions of human beings of Irish descent and Irish ments. King James, on that day, with the French Irish, and all, was only able to put twenty-three thousand men into the field, whereas William of Orange had fifty thousand men and fifty pieces of artillery. King James had only twelve pieces of ar. tillery, and he sent six away the night before; so that he had only six on the field. The Williamite crossed the Boyne, and the Duke of Berwick tells us that the Irish infantry and cavalry charged that entire army ten times before they retreated from the field. (Cries of "Bravo!" and applause.) And it was only when they found that it was not in the power of human being B for so small an army to make an impression upon and rout fifty thousand warrior only then they retired. In the second slege of Athlone Major Fitzgerald commanded four hundred men, and there was an army of 8,000 against him; and he held out until out of that 400 only 200 were left. If Mr. Froude calls this cowardice, I don't know what he understands by courage. I think it would be time enough for the learned gentleman to accuse the men of Ireland of cowardica when he finds he can accuse the women of Ireland of being cowards. (Applauso.) When William of Orange hild siege to Limerick—the first siege—he battered down the walls until he made a breach twelve feet wide, and then picked out twelve thousand of his best soldiers and sent them to enter the city. And when they came to climb the ruined ramparts they found the women—the pure women, the holy maideus, the pure mothers of Limerick-standing side by side and shoulder to shoulder with their brothers husbands and fathers, and the women beat back the twelve thousand Englishmen. (Applause.) And when they withdrew they left two thousand of their dead before the walls of the grand old city. Moreover, the learned gentleman-I declare I am beginning to doubt whether he is a learned gentleman-(laughter -he says that when James confiscated six coun ies of Ulster it was all a piece of good nature on the part of James to turn the Irish out, for he let them all in again. True, he says, James confiscated 2,500,000 acres of land, but he gave back 2,000,000 and kept back 500,000 for the Scotch and the Englishmen that he brought over. How would you like it, my friends, to have the marshal come and order you out of your bouses and stores, and compel you to leave with soldiers and keep you out in the streets for two or three days, and then come and say. "Oh, you are good fellows; go back again." How would you like it? (Laughter.) But, according to Mr. Froude, as the Irish people, after being robb d of 2,500,000 got back 2,000,000, they ought to Le happy and contented Again, how did they get back these 2,000,000 ? According to Mr. Froude, by taking the oath of allegnance. Now, the oath of allegiance is to be good and peaceful citizens; but there was another out that they were obliged to take-the oath of supremacy-by which they abjured the Catholic religion, and no man could go back until lie had declared his disbelief in the religion of his fathers and practically become an infidel or a Protestant. Mr. Fronde does not mention that ; but Coxe, the historian, who wrote the history of those times, mentions it. And then, when he had swallowed the pill of Protestantism and perjured his soul, in what capacity was he let back? The English settlers found the land was too much for them. They found they could not till and work it, and so they set to thinking, "What is the use of giving us all this land unless you allow us to employ the Irish people here to work it." And then he gave them leave to let the Irish work it, living in mud cabins, as tenants, provided they would swear away their religion. Yet Mr. Froude says James was so good, so kind, so benign, and only asked them to take the oath of allegiance. There are two ways of telling a story, and I begin to think there are two ways of writing history. Mr. Froude says to the American people, "Please give me your verdict. Say once for all to Irishmen in America, Stop this nonsense about independence for Ireland. Be quiet and peaceful. Let England make the laws for Ireland, because the people do not know how to make them; for they made bad laws in 1782, when England granted complete and total independence to the Irish Parliament." That is true, but how did she grant it? When the volunteers drew up their o union, and had them loaded and their torches lit, and around the mouth of cach cannon a little label, on which these words were written, "Free dom for the Irish Parliament, or else gave Ireland her independence in 1782 in the same way that you would give up your purse to a man who took out a Derringer revolver and said, "Give me that purse, or take the contents of this." But Mr. Froude says that only sixteen years after the Irish people were allowed to make their own laws they rushed into a conspiracy, and from conspiracy into rebellion. In answer; Mr. Fronde is wrong when he says that it was the independence of 1763 that caused the rebellion of 1798. I answer secondly, that the independence of 1782 did not represent the Irish people in the Irish Parliament. There were three hundred members of that House of Commons, and of these three hundred only seventy-two were elected by the people; all the rest were nominated by the landlords and aristocracy, who picked up any man who would vote according to their wish and desire. There were at that time three million of Catholics in Ireland, and five or six hundred thousand Protestants On the one side you have half a million of comparative strangers, men who came into Ulster under James I., and Cromwellians who were settled in Munster, planted by Cromyoll and his successors men without a drop of Irish blood in their veins On the other side were the three millions of Irish people firm as a rock as to the religion of their fathers. Now, that Parliaments of 1782 represented only the five hundred thousand strangers—not a single ditholic in Ireland sat in that Parliament; and riotic as it was I deny that it represented the rish nation. Grattap himself seems to have hadremorse in claiming indepense. dence for the representatives, for he said se Liwill