

man—if such rights there be—are not to liberty, but to wise direction and control.”

And then he shews that neither boundaries, nor race, nor language can be any reason for combination into nationalities. There is no reason for nationality but power to maintain its independence. “The *right* to resist depends on the *power* of resistance.” Scotland had a right to separate existence because she was able to fight England. If Ireland had fought better, England would have had no right to subjugate her. But, inasmuch as she was weaker than England, England had a right to govern her. Such is the principle of force to which Mr. Froude gives the freest play. England had a right to seize upon and govern Ireland because she could do it. Upon the same principle we can justify the bully, and the slaveholder, and the successful bandit, and every scoundrel who is able to take and hold one weaker than himself in bondage of any kind.

But Mr. Froude tells us of the terrible social condition of the people of Ireland when Henry took charge of it. The piety, he says, for which it had been famed, had degenerated into superstition, and no longer served as a check upon the most ferocious passions. Giraldus Cambrensis, who was sent by Henry the Second to report on Ireland, says, their chief characteristics were “treachery, thirst for blood, unbridled licentiousness, and inveterate detestation of order and rule.” It may be shrewdly suspected that Giraldus colored the report to please his master. But having received such an account of them it was evident they needed “bit and bridle.” Liberty to them was only mischievous, and the Normans came to take direction of them. If, indeed, the Irish were so much more savage than the other European nations, it would have been a mercy for Henry to take charge of them if he had made them more orderly, but, as the Monk has replied, there was war and disorder everywhere at that period—when the Roman Empire was broken up, and when the Normans and Danes and other freebooters were ravaging the fairest countries; and then, too, the disorder did not cease upon the assumption of the English authority, but continued for many centuries, and is not altogether abated till this day. There were, no doubt, some ostensible reasons why the Pope should be solicited to make over Ireland to the care of England. Probably he thought, with Mr. Froude, that the Irish Celts needed a ruler, and the Norman was a “born