

if they were subject to the exclusive rule of a Dublin parliament they would be much in the condition in which the Protestants of Ontario yonder would be if subject to the rule of the Roman Catholic province of Quebec. Such of you as have studied politics in the Canadian Dominion know very well that one of the great forces which brought about a union of all the provinces was a desire of the Protestant populations to be free from irritating interference on the part of the Roman Catholics, and of the Roman Catholic populations to be free from equally, and perhaps more, irritating interference on the part of the Protestants. We all think alike, I suppose, in regard to the wisdom of the arrangement which gave Protestant populations autonomy, and Roman Catholic populations autonomy, in the great Dominion north of us. It would not be advisable for Ontario to make laws for Quebec, nor for Quebec to make laws for Ontario. Two religions are concerned, and two races; and there may very well be two local legislative assemblies. If I am to utter my central thought concerning the very large and intricate subject of the rights and wrongs of Ireland, which I have tried to study for many years, and especially ever since lecturing in Dublin, Belfast, and Londonderry, I must say that it appears to me that several questions as to politics, religion and race in Ireland, though not as to ownership of land, have a good deal of light thrown upon them by the experience of Canada. In spite of all that can be said about the lessening antipathy between Protestants and Romanists in Ireland; in spite of the fact that American audiences, made up largely of Roman Catholics, cheer the statements of Mr. McCarthy, that Roman Catholics and Protestants are very well agreed in Ireland, I for one sympathise with Mr. Spurgeon's and John Bright's feeling, that the Protestants of Ulster ought to be enabled to take care of themselves. They are not the majority in Ireland, but they are a most reputable and a very large body. Protestant and Catholic Ireland ought to be at least as free from each other's control as are Ontario and Quebec. What if Ireland should get loose in the sea and float over to America? How should we manage her affairs? She might not bring the millennium with her. But we should undoubtedly govern her, by some combination of local and federal authority, as we do all our present states and territories. Very probably it would be thought best to divide her into two states. Matthew Arnold thinks Ireland might well enough be divided into at least two, perhaps three, states, and governed after the American fashion; a most revolutionary

proposition. But if Irish municipal politicians do not manage their native politics better than they have managed one or two renowned American cities, their accession to power will not be the full dawn of millennial felicity. What if Ireland, floating at the side of our coast, were to set up a claim for very nearly complete legislative independence of the United States, and were to refuse to send representatives to Congress? Americans would never consent to such an arrangement. Americans, I think, would not consider it politically prudent for Ireland to make such an arrangement with the British parliament. Americans do not wish to see Ireland totally independent of the British empire. They would be pained by the secession of Ireland from the United Kingdom. They do not expect England, Scotland, and Wales to permit such secession. Americans, as their recent history shows, would certainly not permit it themselves, were they in the place of the Britons. But Americans very generally wish, and I think expect, to see some application of the federal principle, and of local, constitutional, representative government to Ireland, either as a whole or in two or three separate portions. My answer, then, to the first of these questions is, No; to the second, Yes. Study Canada, study the American union, study the history of English parties in relation to political reform. The working men of England, whose power at the polls has been of late so greatly enlarged, sympathise profoundly with their Irish brethren. Their attitude is likely to be a more important element in the decision of the Irish question than that of the house of lords. In the United States, in the Canadian Dominion, in Australia, in South Africa, all around the globe, the sympathy of friends of governments of the people, for the people and by the people, is with the demand for local representative institutions in combination with federal authority; but I think it is *not* with the demand for the dismemberment of the British Empire."

A WORD TO OUR MINISTERS.

DEAR MR. EDITOR,—I always take up your MONTHLY RECORD with pleasure, and usually scan its pages carefully, and digest its contents with a very keen relish. Like your correspondent "Kirkman," in the April No., I have sometimes wondered how you could find leisure, amid the multitudinous duties of a pastor's office, to collect, from brain and contemporary literature, so varied and