

TO IRELAND.

Like to the Mother of Love, From the white sea-foam you rose, Mid the passionate love of your friends, And the last of your lawless foes. Hope placed on thy brow the crown, And his glory round thee poured; And Freedom gave from his side the glaive To blast an invading horde. And from over the boundless earth, And across the raging seas, The praise of this Holy Land Was wafted upon the breeze As birds to a warmer clime; There fled in their winged ships Sage, poet, and priest on the words to feast That fell from thy learned lips. And high from thy towers flamed, That Light thy Redeemer gave— On the land a pillar of fire, And a beacon upon the wave; And, missioned with hope and love, Thy children like seeds went forth, And wher'er they came they spread that flame, And kindled from South to North. Then relaxed the warrior's brow— He his vengeful schemes forgot; And Faction's accursed deeds Were as things remembered not. And 'en when the Norseman came Our God was the Nation's sword: And every wave was a Norseman's grave: For Vengeance is Thine, O Lord! Woe! woe! that we cannot blot The records of countless crimes! For the blood and the tears you shed Leave their stains to the latest times. But worst of the heartless foes That his hand had deep imbued In the warm heart's blood of our Nationhood, Is that monster, Ingratitude! For amid these foreign bands, When the bell tolled peace on earth, And they knelt at our sacred shrines, And rose from a second birth, There, strangers we reared and taught, 'Neath Piety's fair disguise, Soon turned their guile, with the Serpent's wit, To ruin our Paradise! Little it recked, and my heart Would fall the sad tale to tell; But of the wrong's success Remember we all too well! Brothers by brothers slain, The Spirit of Evil wins!— Seven hundred years of a Nation's tears Is penance for all her sins. Oh, thou, when thy sons were slain For shaking a Despot's throne, Wert changed by thy tearless woe Like Niobe, into stone! But now, like the marble form Of the Tyrian sculptor's wife, At Freedom's pray'r through thy limbs so fair Is rushing the flood of life!

THE SYNOD OF MAYNOOTH.

PASTORAL ADDRESS OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY.

The following Pastoral Address of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, assembled in their National Synod at Maynooth, has been issued to their flocks:— "In their Pastoral Address, issued from the first Plenary Council assembled in this country since Catholic Emancipation, the Bishops of Ireland expressed their trust that the Synod then closing at Thurles should become an epoch in the history of our National Church, and a source not only of present and immediate benefits, but also of light and influence in the future. Twenty-five years have elapsed since these words were uttered; and although a quarter of a century is but a brief moment in the life of the Church of God—in whose sight a thousand years are as yesterday (Psalm lxxxix, 4)—yet it has been long enough to furnish proof that these hopes have been abundantly fulfilled. "The history of the Catholic Church in Ireland during the last twenty-five years is a history of graces, manifold and surpassing rich, outpoured on her by God, like precious ointment on the head, running down to the skirts of her garment, as the dew of Hermon which descended on Mount Zion (Psalms cxxxix, 2, 2). It would seem as if the Synod of Thurles marked that running point in her fortunes of old beheld in vision by our apostle, St. Patrick, when he saw the mystic lights of her holy places, that had been reduced to a faint glimmer, flash forth at a given time far and wide, in the beauty of their pristine brilliancy. Those years have brought to Catholic Ireland what the prophet designates the 'revenge of recompense' (Isaiah xxxv, 1, 7). This divine form of revenge is the answer which Providence ever gives to the ories and tears of those who meekly suffer persecution for justice sake. In it God's mercy repairs the wreck made by man's cruelty, and gives back to victims of injustice in greater fulness than before, the blessings of which they had been despoiled (Isaiah xxxv, 1, 7). "The land that was desolate and impassible shall flourish like the lily: it shall bud forth and be glad, and the wilderness shall rejoice and shall blossom, and shall rejoice with joy and praise; the glory of Lebanon is given to it; the beauty of Carmel and Sharon; they shall see the glory of the Lord and the beauty of our God. And most fittingly has this dispensation of mercy been linked, in the case of Ireland, to the Synod of Thurles, which, among the other synods registered in our history, holds a place of influence peculiarly its own. In it, for the first time, the Irish Church, at the issue of her three centuries of martyrdom, was enabled calmly to survey her own condition, to mark the wounds of which in the heat of the struggle, she had hardly been conscious, and to replace in fair order, according to the sacred canons, the scattered stones of her sanctuaries. It was one of the first fruits of the blood of countless Irish martyrs, who had sown in tears that we might reap in joy. It was held amid the prayers of an entire nation, chastened by heroic endurance of recent suffering. Its voice was the unanimous voice of the entire body of the Irish Bishops, speaking with authority inherited through long lines of venerable predecessors from the sainted founders of the ancient Episcopal Sees of the land. It was convoked in face of a great danger threatening the faith of the country, and its obedience to a special mandate from the Apostolic See, in whose loving guidance all afflicted Churches are sure to find defence and security, a haven where no waves swell, and a treasure of blessings innumerable (St. John Chrysost. Ep. ad Innocent. I). The work of such a Synod was not meant, in the designs of God, to be transient, nor was its influence to perish as soon as its immediate objects were attained, but rather its spirit was long to survive, to be to the Irish Church an abiding source of vitality and strength in which, from time to time, her youth may be renewed, as of an eagle. "Gratefully acknowledging the benefits bestowed on us by God through the Synod of Thurles in the National Synod which has just been happily completed at Maynooth, we have prayed with the Prophet that He would once again renew His own work: 'O Lord! Thy work in the midst of years bring it to life (Habacuc, iii, 2). And in the regulations we have made for the renovation of discipline, and for the promotion of piety and morals, it has been our study to follow, as far as possible, the lines traced in the decrees of Thurles, so that together united the enactments of both Synods might form one compact code of ecclesiastical law in keep-

ing with the requirements, and adequate to meet the dangers of our time. In accordance with canonical usage, the results of our deliberations shall not be made public until they shall have received the approbation of the Roman Pontiff, to whom belongs the full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the entire Church, not merely in things that appertain to faith and morals, but also in what concerns the discipline and government of the Church spread throughout the world (Vatican Council Constit. Pastor Eternus, cap. iii). "But, while awaiting this solemn sanction, without which our synodical enactments lack authority to bind, we feel it incumbent on us to address to you, dearly beloved on this solemn occasion, words of congratulation and thanksgiving for the spiritual blessings God has so bounteously bestowed upon you; words of warning against the special dangers that at present beset you; and words of guidance, that you may walk wisely in the midst of the snares and violence of the present persecution, because the days are evil (Eph. v, 16). "Conspicuous among the graces you have received shines forth your gift of Faith, of which it may truly be said that it is spoken of in the entire world' (Rom. i, 8). Judged by the tests of a people's faith as assigned by St. Augustine, the Irish still possess, in its original intensity, that grace of Faith which St. Patrick tells us made them even in his day pre-eminently 'the people of the Lord and the sons of God.' The holy doctor accounts it as a miracle—nay, as the sum of many miracles together—that in an entire people the knowledge of the true God and of the mysteries of religion should not be confined to a few among the learned, but possessed even by the simple people; that abstinence and fasting should be held in honor and practised; that chastity should be prized beyond wedlock and offspring; that patience should be kept under crosses and in spite of trials the most burning; that liberality should be practised to the length of distributing whole patrimony among the poor; that in fine, men should so despise this world as to desire even death. We thank God, dearly beloved, that this miracle of Faith may daily be witnessed in Ireland. Whilst in other countries religious influences are on the wane, and the exclusion of the supernatural from social and political life becomes daily more and more complete, Ireland, faithful to her Christian instincts, ranks among her grandest national glories the Christian traditions of her past, and in the present boldly avows that her inmost thought and her dearest wishes belong first of all, to Christ her God and to His holy religion. In the midst of a sensual and cynical age she honors as supernatural virtues what modern public opinion derides as superstitions; and even if, through human weakness, the popular practice should fall, the popular feeling never swerves from the correct estimate of what is good. And in this is manifest the strength of Irish faith; for, as St. Augustine concludes (St. Augustine, lib. de utilitate credendi, c. 16, 17), 'Few do these things; fewer still do them well and wisely but the people approve them, the people listen for them, the people cherish them—nay, the people love them; and, with hearts uplifted to God, and glowing with the sparks of virtue, they bewail their own weakness that hinders them from achieving so much.' "From the lively faith it comes that in Ireland such multitudes habitually flock to the Sacraments of Penance and of the Eucharist, and that in almost every parish, in the pious confraternities of the Holy Family, of the Sacred Heart of the Blessed Virgin, or of St. Vincent de Paul, thousands are walking in the path of perfection. To this we owe the magnificent churches that are everywhere springing up throughout the land, the colleges and schools in which religion is united to learning, the convents within which, as in a closed garden, the consecrated virgins of Christ live but for their Heavenly Spouse, for His little ones, and for His poor; the hospitals and asylums, in which the victims of every form of human suffering find loving and skilful hands to heal and to refresh them. This spirit of Faith in the Irish heart has become under Providence the foundation-stone of new and flourishing churches beyond the seas, in America and Australia, in Africa and India; and as in the early ages of our Church's history glorious bands of apostles went forth to evangelize the various countries of Europe so now, obedient to the generous impulses of the same spirit of Faith, the Irish missionary goes forth to gather together in the land of their exile the children of St. Patrick, to make of each congregation a fresh centre for the propagation of Catholic truth. Blessed (Eph. i, 3), then, for ever, be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ. "Would that this victory of our faith were made complete by the return to Catholic unity of so many of our Protestant fellow-countrymen whom we now daily behold wandering as sheep without a shepherd. The disestablishment of the Protestant Church has removed one great obstacle that hindered their approach to the one fold; and it is our earnest desire that now, at length united with us, they would follow the one Bishop and Pastor of our souls. We would address them with the same affection and in the same language as St. Augustine (St. Aug. Ser. Cont. haerem. Dona I, Coll. 5) addressed the Donatists of his day, 'Come, brothers! come, that you may be engrafted on the true vine. You yourselves cannot but perceive what the Catholic Church is, and what it is to be cut off from the stem.' See how beautiful is our Catholic unity in doctrine, by which the faith is preached, without shadow of change, and with authority, in each cathedral and church; its creed revered by the faithful; its teaching set high in our academies above the assaults of infidelity and the contradictory wranglings of so-called scientific theories. See how striking is our Catholic unity in government, by which spiritual jurisdiction, issuing from Christ, flows in fair subordination through bishop and priest, so that each pastor knows his own flock, while his flock knows him and hears his voice. What a contrast between this blessed vision of peace within the Church and the scene of tumult and disorder that oppress you outside! There each pulpit is the centre of a different teaching, which, delivered without authority, is heard without submission; there, the deepest foundations of Christianity are uprooted, to be defaced or shaped anew, according to the capricious vote of an excited assembly, whose only claim to obedience is its own hostility to authority; the flock strays at will from the shepherd to follow after strange masters whose own the sheep are not. 'If then,' continues the holy doctor, 'there be among you any who have care of themselves, let them arise, and come and draw vigor from the Root. Let them come before it be too late; before they lose the little Catholic sap that yet remains to them, and become dry wood fit only for the fire. Come then, brothers, and be engrafted on the vine. It grieves us to see you lying withered as you are, lopped off the tree of life. Reckon one by one the Pontiffs who have sat in the chair of Peter. See how in due, unbroken order these Fathers of the Catholic Church have followed one another; and there, not elsewhere, shall you find the rock which the proud gates of hell overcome not.' "Scitis Catholica quid sit, et quid sit praecium a vite Si qui sunt inter vos cauti, veniant, vivant in radice. Antequam nimis arescant, jam liberentur ab igne. Venite, fratres, si vultis, ut inseramini in vite. Dolor est cum vos videmus ita jacere. Numeratae Sacerdotibus vol ab ipsa Petri sede. Et in ordine illo patrum quis cui succedit videtur. Ipsa est petra, quam non vincunt superbae inferorum portae."

"But, dearly beloved brethren, this inestimable treasure of your faith is at present beset by grave dangers against which it is our duty to warn you. Of these dangers the mixed system of education—higher, intermediate, and primary—which, with such obstinate persistence, it is sought to force on an unwilling country, is, unhappily, a fruitful source. Already, before the Synod of Thurles, our Holy Father Pope Pius IX. had given solemn warning to the entire Church of peril approaching from this quarter. 'You well know,' he said, 'that the modern enemies of religion and human society with a most diabolical spirit, direct all their artifices to pervert the minds and hearts of youth from their earliest years. Wherefore they leave nothing untried; they shrink from no attempt to withdraw schools and every institution destined for the education of youth from the authority of the Church and the vigilance of her holy pastors.' (Encyclical Letter of Pius IX., 8th December, 1849.) Within the twelve months that immediately preceded the Synod, the danger thus foretold was brought home to Ireland by the establishment of the Queen's Colleges. Such was the constitution of these colleges that the Holy See declared them to contain grave and intrinsic dangers to faith and morals; and that as such they were to be rejected and avoided by all faithful Catholics. 'More recently still, the constitution of Trinity College, Dublin, has undergone a fundamental change of such a nature that it, too, has become a great centre of godless education. Moreover, the dangers which thus beset higher education exist also in the kindred institution created to serve the purposes of intermediate education, and especially in the National model and training schools. Nor are the primary schools exempt from them. The radical effects inherent in the mixed system to which these schools belong, have not grown less by time, nor has the practical working of them been such as to remove the feeling of distrust which they originally inspired. The Fathers of the Synod of Thurles, notwithstanding their avowed objections to the system of Irish National education in itself, and their strong preference of denominational education were not unwilling to continue the experiment already allowed in case of the primary National schools on condition that every fitting precaution should be employed to render them as little dangerous as possible. In carrying out these measures of precaution, we regret to say, Catholic managers have been often thwarted. The Board of Commissioners, with the construction of which this Catholic nation has never had reason to be fully satisfied, has too often refused to take into account the repeated expression of the desires of Catholic parents, and the declarations of those whom these Catholic parents recognize as their spiritual guides. The control of the State over the education of the country has been enlarged in a degree perilous to liberty, while the circle within which the rights of parents or of conscience should have sway has been proportionately narrowed. "Within the last twenty-five years much has been successfully done to guard against the dangers of these educational institutions, but much more remains to be done. In obedience to the decrees of the Sovereign Pontiff declaring the system of education, of which the Queen's Colleges were part, to be fraught with grievous intrinsic perils, the fathers of the Synod of Thurles warned you against these institutions with all the energy of their zeal and all the weight of their authority. Hardly had they communicated their decision to their flocks when, as a body, the Catholic people of Ireland turned away from these godless places of education, peremptorily rejecting the proffered boon because it carried with it injury to religion. And although from time to time a few Catholics have judged it to be their interest to grasp at the rich prizes held forth to entice students to enter these colleges, yet the official records show that these institutions have failed to attract any considerable number of Irish Catholics, for whose benefit they were ostensibly erected. Never before was so vast an expenditure of money and of powerful patronage followed by failure more unmistakable. It soon became felt that a remedy should be applied to a state of things which was admitted to be miserably and scandalously bad. And although the remedy was sought to apply full short of its aim yet the admission of the necessity that existed for its introduction, and still more, the history of the causes that led to its failure, go to show that a footing has been secured in public opinion for the interests of religious education, which, however narrow as yet affords no insecure basis to build upon in the future. Never again, we confidently trust, will any Government attempt to force upon Catholic Ireland a system of education adverse to the purity and integrity of our holy faith. "To supply the youth of the country with a sound and comprehensive system of higher education based on religion, denied them in the Queen's Colleges, the Catholic University of Ireland was founded. In announcing this important undertaking the Synod of Thurles, conscious of the difficulties that barred the path to success, indulged in no fond hopes of a rapid and premature development of the institution. 'As great undertakings cannot be realized in a moment,' said the Synod, 'some time will be necessary for collecting and combining our resources, and giving maturity and organization to the plan.' To promote the work thus inaugurated material resources have not been wanting; and in spite of the competition of the richly endowed universities of the State, in spite of the opposition of politicians, and notwithstanding its present inability to give degrees, the Catholic University has bravely sustained for twenty-five years the unequal struggle against irreligious education. It is forming in its own spirit the professors and masters, who, in a few years, will have the intermediate education of the country in their hands. Recently, its examining function, on the principle of the London University, has received a considerable development, and already the students of some forty affiliated colleges, among which are those most conspicuous for wealth and numbers, submit to its tests their proficiency in studies undertaken under its direction. Thus gradually, patiently, laboriously, the University is binding to itself a force which, by its healthy expansion, will surely lift it into a position of authority which no Government can give or take away. It will be impossible to withhold from an University, the educator of a nation, that legal recognition and those public rewards of learning which, although the property of the entire people, have hitherto been monopolised by a section of the community. As long as it shall be esteemed an excellent thing in a people to hold unsevered in their hearts love for God, for country, and for learning, so long shall the present generation of Irishmen be entitled to praise for having, with great sacrifice, laid broad and deep the foundations of an University, which, living by and for the Irish race, should give back the resources drawn from their generosity, in every form of highest culture, sanctioned by religion, enlightened by science and in fullest harmony with the national spirit. "To counteract the evil influences of the model and training schools, and to meet the ever-increasing need of Catholic teachers, we have determined to establish a Catholic training school for masters, under the protection of St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, and under the immediate care of the Vincentian Fathers. The establishment of such an institution we regard as a highly important condition of success in the struggle in which we are engaged on behalf of Catholic education. We look forward with earnest longing for the day in which, by its means, we shall be enabled to confide the little ones of our flock to teachers who, themselves trained under the salutary influences of religion, shall have learned how to form the opening mind of the child; and store it with secular knowledge, while they

guide it to the better and higher knowledge and practice of religion. This important work we confidently recommend to your generous charity. You who know how awful is the responsibility that weighs on a parent's soul, and how appalling the sentence pronounced by the Apostle against the man who has no care of his own, and especially of those of his own household, will, we have no doubt, assist us in this new undertaking, from which you yourselves are to receive the greatest help towards the discharge of one of your most solemn obligations. "As for ourselves, dearly beloved, it is our clear duty, as it is our fixed determination, never to desist from our exertion until Catholic education shall have been placed on a firm and permanent basis in the country. We have not read the history of our country's struggle for Catholic emancipation without fruit. We know that the constitutional battle against Protestant ascendancy had to be maintained for more than one generation; and now a generation, has scarcely passed since emancipation was won, and not only has Protestant ascendancy disappeared, but the Protestant Church, which gave it consistency, has been disestablished by the Legislature. Even should our struggle for religious education against the mixed system last as long, we will not flinch; for on our steadfast perseverance depend the religious destinies of our country, and the faith of millions yet unborn. (CONCLUDED IN OUR NEXT.)

HOME RULE.

SPLENDID LECTURE OF CAPTAIN KIRWIN

DELIVERED IN THE MECHANICS' HALL, MONTREAL.

(From the Sun of October 14th.)

There was a large audience assembled to hear Captain Kirwin last night in the Mechanics' Hall, but considering the fame and ability of the lecturer, and the cause he advocates, it were wonderful were it not so. Captain Kirwin's style of speaking is terse, logical and impressive in the highest degree, and his facts and references to historical dates, strict and to the point. He was listened to with the closest attention throughout, except when he was interrupted with cheers and applause. We might state that the lecturer is a young military-looking man, an appearance which the ribbon of the Legion of Honor in his button-hole does not derogate from.

We noticed on the platform besides Mr. Edward Murphy, President of the Montreal Branch of the Home Rule League, Mr. Stephen J. Meany, Mr. J. J. Curran, and the Presidents of the various Irish societies.

The Chairman (Mr. Murphy) said he had great pleasure in introducing the lecturer—Captain Kirwin, the Chief Secretary of the Home Rule League in Great Britain—who, besides his role of lecturer, had the honor of having commanded the Irish Legion during the Franco-Prussian War, which was attached to the Army of General Bourbaki. He also had the distinguished honor of being presented with the Order of the Legion of Honor by Marshal MacMahon. Mr. Oliver mentioned to him that Captain Kirwin lectured 137 times on Home Rule in Great Britain and Ireland last season, and established 195 Home Rule Associations in England and Scotland. Taking these facts into consideration he had little need of further introduction (cheers). He then read his credentials from the Home Rule Executive, after which Captain Kirwin came forward and was received with cheers. The following is the largest synopsis of his speech which our space will permit us to give:—

He said he was proud to find himself in Canada. He was pleased to see before him an assembly of people who, by their presence, expressed sympathy with Ireland and her cause. Here, at least, the Irish residents were freemen, and living under the blessings of legislative independence, had, he was sure, more fully matured their antipathy to British rule over Ireland. Unlike his country, Canada experienced but little of the evils of alien legislation; and yet that little fostered discontent and matured rebellion. It was here that England first tried her 'pretence hand' at giving Home Rule to her colonies, and after forty years of experimenting on Canada, New Zealand, the Australian Colonies, and the Cape of Good Hope—all the Colonial possessions of England had to-day the advantages derived from independent legislation. And what was the result? Had not contentment replaced disaffection, and had not loyalty taken possession of the strongholds of rebellion?

CANADA, TOO, WAS SATISFIED,

and who was resolved to stand by Ireland and her cause, whether it be in sunshine or in sorrow (ap. plause). And was it not so with the Irish race all the world around? Go where you may, travel if you will the circuit of the globe, and you will find, wherever the Irish people have made a home, that affection for the old land, and a belief in her glorious future, to be one of the guiding political passions of his life: and that he is always ready to espouse her cause. This was a marvelous phenomena, divided into many parties, they are all true to Ireland; and here in Canada, as elsewhere, they appear to realize that beautiful simile of the poet, where he says that "absence makes the heart grow fonder." He had come to Canada simply to communicate with his countrymen upon a question of vital importance to the Irish race, viz:—

HOME RULE FOR IRELAND.

He had, too, come with tidings of good news, for he could speak in his official capacity, and tell them that the Home Rule Movement was making steady progress, and that the genius of success has perched upon their banners, and that the cause advanced "all along their line" (applause). He was conscious that he was addressing an assembly that was familiar with the history of Ireland. He knew that his hearers had read the history of British rule over Ireland—that rule which was one long record of repression and spoliation on the one hand—resistance and rebellion on the other. But turn back a few pages in the history of Ireland—that history written with the tears of the Nation. Is not the record the same, whether you turn to the confiscations of Henry II., the persecutions of Elizabeth, the butcheries of Cromwell, the terrorism of Whitworth or Camden, the military executions of Carchampton, or the perfidies of Castlereagh? Did not

BRITISH RULE IN IRELAND

show that for 702 years the efforts of the Irish people to throw off the yoke have never ceased, and that today they were as irreconcilable to British domination as ever they were at any period of their history. And how were Ireland's efforts met? They were met as the Spartans met their helots—as the master meets his slave. In camp and in senate the

old fight was fought—the Red invariably triumphing over the Green, and the cause sanctified by hecatombs of martyrs. Beaten in the field, they had sought the paths of constitutional agitation, and calmly, quietly, peacefully—within the limit of the law they had demanded legislative independence. Some men, despairing of winning Home Rule by constitutional agitation, had even entered the chamber of the conspirator in their thirst for liberty, and yet the same "old story"—disaster had followed in their wake. And yet with centuries of all this they had not abandoned their cause, and the flag of their nationality was again unfurled, and upon its torn and tattered folds they had inscribed the magic words "No Surrender." And what was the reason of all this?

WHAT WAS THE CASE OF IRELAND?

Was it not a demand for restitution of a nation's rights? Was it not within the memory of living men that Ireland had a constitution of her own? Had not the history of British rule in Ireland furnished them with a 1782, when the genius of Grattan and the determination of his volunteers declared that no power on earth was competent to make laws for the people of Ireland but the "King, Lords and Commons" of the land? They knew the history of that period—the glorious era of legislative independence—the brilliant eighteen years when Ireland had a Parliament of her own, and which, according to the testimony of English statesmen, Grey, Sheffield and others, made Ireland advance in Commerce and in Art more than any people on the face of the habitable globe. Who can read the history of that time without feeling a conscious pride that Ireland, under the fostering hand of native statesmen, reached a position which was the marvel of Europe, and which was the envy of England, whose statesmen resolved to destroy that Irish Parliament, and who used every engine of political prostitution and corruption to effect their purpose. Yes, the Union—the Union which, while uniting the Legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland only the more certain divided the people—the Union which Sir R. Peel said was carried by "infamous means"—the Union which cost England 45 pence and £2,000,000—the Union which no man defends—was forced upon the people of Ireland by bribery and bayonet, and is sustained now to this day by bayonet and patronage. The London Times admitted that Ireland was bought and sold—sold to men who became titled recreants and obtained for their apathy the dregs and drippings of a foreign Court. All the world knows that

THE UNION WAS A FRAUD.

"Do not unite with us," said Dr. Johnson, "for we will rob you. We would have robbed the Scotch, but they had nothing left worth taking" (laughter). "This Union—the Union of the Shark with its prey," as Byron said—the Union accused in all its workings and which to-day had left them the appendage of a people who despised them. "Depend upon it," said Mr. Bushe, "that posterity will overhaul this measure." Posterity had overhauled the measure, and pronounced it still a fraud. [Applause.] "The Union is not obligatory on conscience," said Mr. Saurin, the great Irish lawyer, "and resistance to it is a duty, and the exhibition of that resistance is merely a question of prudence." In that resistance the Irish people never failed. Nearly the whole of Ireland protested against it in 1800, and nearly the whole of Ireland has never ceased to protest against it up to the present day. It was not of Ireland, and was not wanted by her people. It had deprived Irishmen of what all lovers of liberty hold sacred, Legislative Independence, and had left them with

The glory of their nation gone  
Their substance drained away,  
A wretched province trampled on  
Was all they had left to-day.

(Applause.) Yes, that accursed Union had left them a dependent people, and well might they exclaim with the Sage: "Woe to the land at whose gate the stranger watches; woe to the land on whose judgment seat the stranger sits; woe to the land divided against herself, and depending upon the foreigner;" and woe, woe it had been to Ireland since the so-called Union brought all the evils of foreign domination on their people. And how did England hold to her promised compact with the Union? Did she not keep our books so well that in 17 years our debt increased seven hundred per cent, by amalgamating the Irish with the English debt, which she pledged her Royal word, nay, gave her Royal Seal, she never would do? Did not Eng-

CHEAT BOTH THE PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS

land, pledging herself to give Catholic Emancipation to the one, and to continue the Church Establishment to the other. And had she not broken both—all—everything, when her purpose was effected. All men of generous understandings must be pleased that the infliction of a Protestant Church established in a Catholic country was an anomaly calling for reform, and all such men must be pleased at the removal from the English statute books of what was fictionally called the Irish Church. But no matter. Its continuance was guaranteed by solemn treaty at the time of the Union, and its disestablishment only proves that whether it be Catholic or Protestant interests that are at stake, when England interferes, she bungles because she does not legislate for the people so as to be in harmony with their views. In Irish politics England is always astray, and the

FAILURE OF THE UNION

after 75 years is the best testimony of her incapacity, either to understand the Irish people or to wildly think that they will ever become reconciled to her rule. Yes, the Union had failed socially, politically and commercially. It failed socially, because England had failed to Saxonize Ireland; it failed politically, because Ireland did not possess the same rights and privileges as the English people enjoyed, and it failed commercially, because while Ireland had only doubled in wealth since the Union, England had increased her forty-fold. Can we be satisfied while Irish public opinion is outnumbered in the British House of Commons by men, some of whom have been nurtured by feelings of antipathy to our country? Is it not subjecting Ireland to an eternity of woe to allow her to remain thus in fetters? We think it is. The sympathy of the world is with us, and we feel that Ireland, the milk-white hind of the poet, though wounded off, yet is fated not to die. Holland separated from Spain, and Belgium from Holland, because of a violated treaty; and now Ireland claims legislative independence because English rule over the people of our country has proved a complete and terrible failure. We come now to the present, and demand no half-hearted Whiggery measure, no shuffling, no precaution, nothing but the full bumper of Home Rule for Ireland. Earnest men lead us on. Of course we are asked to pause. We are told that there is in England a desire to do

JUSTICE TO IRELAND.

Justice to Ireland—the parrot-cry of successive British Ministers. Earl Russell raised it in 1846 when he sat on the opposition benches, as it was raised by Mr. Gladstone in 1868, who, to use the words of Mr. Disraeli, passed for Ireland the most cruel and coercive legislation that has existed in Europe for many a year. Justice to Ireland in a British Legislature. What of the men who raise the cry of "Justice to Ireland," and permit a system of absentee landlordism to go unchecked, a system which Mitchell well described as being like a sponge, which sucks up the wealth of Ireland and deposits it in England and abroad. Were there no tyrannous landlords still in Ireland—landlords who