

settled popular will, their enforcement is generally a safe and easy operation. The people aid in the administration of the laws they themselves have made. They are the ready executors of their own will. But, even in these happy conditions, so great is the danger of executive oppression, so imminent the risk of the individual suffering when at issue with the State, so grave the need of securing justice in the administration of those laws to which the people have assented, and of preventing their perversion to tyrannical uses, that these points have long been primary objects of free governments. In England herself, at any rate for herself, in this great Republic, in the Dominion of Canada, in the Commonwealth of Australia, constitutional securities have accordingly been established. And these securities are maintained against a constantly present danger inherent in human nature, and demanding even to-day continued vigilance against aggression. Let no man say that the risk exists no longer, or that the old securities may be now abandoned. Do not in the heyday of freedom vacate the old fortresses of liberty your fathers built!

SECURITIES FOR FREEDOM.

Now let me summarise some main elements of the securities for freedom. There is the invaluable writ of Habeas Corpus. There is the protection of a great, free, and independent Bar. And there is the security of the recognised function, as a minister of justice, of the prosecutor for the State, whose duty it is to see that the accused gets fair play. Other leading features are these:—First, there must be a clear, plain and precise written charge, disclosing the alleged offence. Next, chiefly, the question of guilt or innocence, upon the facts, must be decided by a fairly impanelled jury of the people. Lastly, and only second to the trial by jury, the trial must take place under high-class, independent and impartial judges permanently engaged in the general administration of the law. But all these securities, sacred in England for England, are by England almost habitually wrested from Ireland.

THE IRISH BAR.

First, as to the condition, even under the ordinary law, while that is allowed to prevail. Instead of an independent Bar, which may cherish honourable aspirations to the Bench of Justice, to be realised by the proof of capacity and public spirit, and by the acquisition of public confidence, you find a system under which the Bar is bribed by the establishment of a scandalously overpaid and overstuffed Judiciary, offering to the profession dignity, light work, secure tenure, and large pensions. Now, barristers anywhere in the rest of the world, would, of course, and do, for dignity, security, ease and pension, gladly accept a much lower income than their precarious earnings at the Bar, the fruit of great exertion, and which