THE CATHOLIC RECORD SOO RICHED WERLY AT LONDON, ONTARIO,

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Catholic Record

London, sat., July 30th, 1887.

THEN AND NOW.

When the Irish Parliament was invited thus spoken : to vote itself out of existence, its men bers were assured that the design of the minister was to place Ireland on a foot ing of fullest equality with England. Every privilege, right and liberty, enjoyed by the Englishman, was by that beneficent measure to be communicated to his Irish fellow-subject. The Protestant religion was to be maintained with all the power and resources of the Crown but the Catholic was to be emancipated. And if the Protestant in Ireland felt himself in a minority then, he could with just cause consider himself one of a powerful, unchanging and invincible Protestant majority in the United King dom at large. No sooner, however, was the union consummated than Irishmen of every creed and class and condition saw that its purpose had been to reduce their country to a state of helplessness, vassalage and servitude. They saw too that this purpose had been entered on from the start and would be unflinchingly carried out, till failure overwhelming arrested the course of the British minister. Just eleven years after the union had come into effect, Henry Grattan, speaking of Catholic civil disabilities, portrayed the situation with graphic exactitude: "National honor is power; in trade it is capital; in the state it is force. The name of England has carried you through a host of difficulties: we conjure you by that name to accede to these petitions: should you finally refuse, you repeal the union, you declare the Irish and the English to be a distinct peeple; you not only declare it, but you do it; you dissolve the incorporation; they were kept together by hope and you divide them by despair; you make them two distinct nations, with opposite and hostile interests; the one with civil privileges and the other without; the one in the act of disqualifying the other; the oppressor and the oppressed. The ides of union is two-fold: a union of parliament and a union of people. I see the union of parliament, and in that I see a measure ted you for a century, that power which to the minister; but where are the people ? Where is the consolidation ? Where is the common interest ? Where is the heart that should animate the whole, and that combined giant that should put forth his hundred hands for the state? There is no such thing." How applicable these words to the course of the present government of Britain, that after eighty years' experience of the effects of partial, one-sided legislation. reprobated and condemned by Grattan still persists in making Ireland and England two distinct countries with opposite and with hostile interests, "the one with civil privileges, the other with out; the one in the act of disqualifying the other, the oppressor and the oppressed." There is no consolidation, no common interest, no heart anointing the whole, for the minister will not have it. Well does the American point out the discrimination in British legislation against Ireland, a discrimination main tained against the provisions of the Act of Union and against the pledges whereby that act was made law : "Here is the weak point of the new bill; it is ratk violation of the Treaty of bill; it is tat k violation of the Treaty of Union, which promised Ireland the same government and laws as are enjoyed by Great Britain. It would be a clever move if Lord Granville were to propose that the bill should be made applicable to all parts of the United Kingdom, so to all parts of the United Kingdom, so as to show proper respect to the pledges made to Ireland in 1801 has supported him as inspected and closed his court. The mayor's juridiction was defined by the municipal reform bill over forty years ago. He is not under the juridiction of the resident magistrate, and is responsible to no lower authority the Dublic courts. Nor is the and is responsible to no lower authority than the Dublin courts. Nor is the alleged off-nce of holsting a disloyal flag one which in any measure affects the mayor's capacity to administer justice. But Captain Plunkett proceeds as though he were the dictator of the kingdom, no doubt with the acquisicsence of the Casile he were the dictator of the kingdom, no doubt with the acquiescence of the Castle authorities. It is the Tories who are revolutionaries now."

This new coercion act, simed at the sup-pression of all constitutional freedom in Ireland, clearly proven that the Act of Union was never intended by its framework THE OBURON AND THE LAND

and promotors to be anything save an instrument of repression for Ireland. I was never for one moment intended that Ireland should participate in English free dom or enjoy English equality, never intended that by its means Ireland should be put on the way to prosperity or evenesurity, but that by its operation the ate land should be further degraded and depopulated. The iniquitous sercion bill, the last and most infamou of the 85 similar measures passed since the Union to crush the Irish nation, is, we trust, the last effort that will be made by a British minister maintain a union begotten in crime and falsebood. Mr. Gladstone in his indistment of the Minister for presenting such a measure to Parliament carefully pointed out the special injustices proposed to be inflicted on Ireland, and failed not to show the folly and fruitlessness of such

legislation by the present condition of that luckless country. He is reported to have

Among the differences between the past Among the differences between the past and the present was the extraordinary pro-posal making the Viceroy master of the whole Law and right of association. In the present century such a proposal was an outrage upon every principle of duty. Moreover new offences were created under the measure. The Attorney-General for Ireland had admitted, and it was too late to deny that the bill aired at the sup-pression of exclusive dealing, that was far more pardonable in the weak and poor than in the rich and powerful, but it was the exclusive dealing of the poor against the exclusive dealing of the poor again the strong at which the bill almed If new crime were created the measure for its suppression should operate impartially. The Government did not dars to lift a fuger in defence of the suggestion that it apply to Eagla.d a provision such as it was forcing upon Ireland. He contended that the Government was bound to extend to the occupiers of the land in Ireland a perfect equality with English trade unions as regards the rights and practices enjoyed by the latter, among which combinations as regards the rights and practices enjoyed by the latter, among which combinations and exclusive dealings were sanctioned. As the bill stood, if an Irishman joined an association it was for Mr. Balfour to say whether or not he became a criminal br act. In conclusion, Mr. Gladstone said whether of not he became a children of act. In conclusion, Mr. Gladstone said that Ireland after seventy years of oppres-sion and wrong was in a state of misery and wrotchedness. In the whole British Empire there was not, he said, a square yard of land which England held by force except in Ireland, where force was em-ployed.

Mr. Grattan in his great speech on Irish rights in 1780, when the Parliament of Ireland was a mere registering body of the will of the English minister, thundered forth this eloquent denunciation, which, had Ireland taken to heart, would have saved countless lives, by arresting rebellion and preventing famine, and made that country one of the happiest on the face of the earth. "Do not," said Grattan to the Commons of Ireland, "do not then tolerate a power, the power of the British Parliament over this land, which has no foundation in utility or necessity, or empire, or the laws of England, or the laws of Ireland, or the laws of nature, or the laws of God, do not suffer it to have duration in your mind. Do not tolerate that power which blasmanufacturers, dishonored your peerage, and stopped the growth of your people; do not, I say, be bribed by an export of woolen, or an import of sugar, and permit that power which has thus withered the land, to remain in your country and have existence in your pusillanimity." How well might the conclusion of Mr. Grattan's great speech, on that memor. able occasion, fall from the lips of Mr. Gladstone to day: "I have no ambition, unless it be the ambition to break you chain, and contemplate your glory. never will be satisfied so long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clanking to his rags; he may be naked; he shall not be in iron ; and I do see the time is at hand, the spirit is gone forth, the declaration is planted ; and though great men should apostatize, yet the cause will live, and though the public speaker should die yet the immortal fire shall outlast the organ which conveyed it, and the breath of liberty, like the word of the holy man, will not die with the prophet, but survive him." Grattan achieved a momentary, bu Gladstone will achieve a permanent tri umph. There was in the days of the first of these great men none of the friendli ness between the two peoples that to-day strengthens the hands of the Liberal leader. The bitterness and the wounds of centuries of conflict were then fresh in the memory of both nations. To day the masses of the two kingdoms are united in a sympathy and good will that promise early liberation to Ireland and centuries

THE CATHOLIC RECORD.

Much misapprehension seems to exist mong non-Catholics regarding the posi-on taken by the authorities of the Church, from Archbishop Corrigan to our Holy Father the Pope, in their attitude owards the theories of Henry George, as dopted and defended by Dr. McGiynn 1. Some have represented the ecclesing tical authorities as desiring to usurp the one of the State by pr a dognatic decision on the way in which taxes must be levied, that is to say, whether on the land, or on its permanen accessories, or on the movable product of man's industry. 2. Others have said that an American citizen has a right to maintain any theory he thinks proper in regard to the rights of property, and that the Church has no authority to interfere. 3. Others have not hesitated to assert that it is the policy of the Church to grind the poor under the iron heel of oppression, and to take side with the rich, however unjust may be his cause. It is scarcely necessary to refute here

OUESTION.

the opinion which some hold, that the Catholic Caurch claims the right of cing upon all manner of opin and of making her decisions articles of religious faith, and that on these grounds she interferes with Henry George's theories. Nevertheless, as this state ment has been lately put forward seriously, and as there are some who have accepted it as an accurate representa-tion of the doctrines of the Church, it is proper we should correct so gross an rror. It is well known by all who are conversant with the teachings of the Church, that her sphere of jurisdiction lies within the domain of faith and morals. That belongs to faith which God has revealed to be believed, and that pertains to morals which God re quires man to do. When Christ com issioned his apostles to teach "al things whatsoever he had revealed,' ising to be with them "all cave ven to the consummation of the world, He constituted His Church the Supreme udge in faith and morals, because both faith and morals are included in what He has taught. Thus is seen the ab surdity of an article in which, a few days ago, the Mail discoursed upon Dr. Mc. Glynn's case;

"There are no limits to the Church's action within the sphere of faith and morals : therein she is a law unto herelf. . . . It is conceivable that the Church might hold the theory of evolu tion to be a matter affecting the integrity of the faith and the salvation of or she might arraign the doctrine of the conservation of energy . . . or she might even indict protection to or she might even indict protection to home industry under certain circum-stances. It is not probable that she will do any of these things, but it should always be kept in mind that her preroga always be kept in mind that it of the live in such matters is omnipotent, on the Roman Catholic hypothesis." If the meaning of all this were that

the Church claims to be the judge whether or not a theory be conformabl with or opposed to divine truth revealed it would be correct: for Christ Himself has constituted her as such, and from her judgment in such a matter there is

in his offense, the matter was laid before the Pope, from whose decision there is no appeal. The Dr. was summoned to appear before the Pope's tribunal to answer the charge brought against him, but instead of obeying, he ridiculed and set at defiance the authority of both Archbishop and Pope. He was still dealt with lepiently, being commanded o appear within a given time, but act ing contumaciously, he still refused obedience, and when the period of grace expired he was excommunicated for ontumacy. His treatment by the Holy Father was gentle and merciful, and if to day he stands cut off from communion with the Church, and deprived of all participation in her Sacraments and all her spiritual benefits, it is the result of is own inexplicable refractory conduc We regret the position to which he has rought himself, the more so as he had many good qualities; but he has only his own obstinacy to blame for the low which has fallen upon him so justly. Is there in all this any justification for th charges which many of the non-Catholic ournals have brought against the head of the Church ? The statement of the case which we have given above as No. 3, is, we believe, only made by anar-chists and infidels. The motherly care

which the Church has always had for the poor and afflicted is a sufficient refutation of it. Our Divine Redeemer said : "The poor you have always with you." This was to show that there would always be for Christians an opportunity for the exercise of fraternal charity ; and the Church has never neglected to make use thereof. In the earliest ages, the poor were regarded as the richest treasures of the Church, and we learn from Holy Scripture that the care of the poor was one of the most urgent duties to which the first pastors of the Church devoted themselves. To day, the numerous orphan asylums, hospitals, poorhouses, relief societies, which are estab-lished everywhere under the auspices of the Church sufficiently manifest that she is still, as she always was, the mother of the poor and the orphan. It will be time enough, when Henry George's Anti-Poverty society shall have afforded an infinitesimal amount of relief to the suffering, to make such charges against the Catholic Church. Up to the present time, the only good it seems to have

accomplished is said to be to have enabled its chief officers to smoke 20 cent cigars. The Anti-Poverty Society will be a poor substitute for the Catholic Church in the work of relieving distress; and if in New York city itself, the institutions were destroyed in which, under the auspices of the Church, dis tress of various kinds is relieved, the city would be flooded with homeless wander ers, to relieve whom the Anti-Poverty Society and their allies in the Infide camp, the New York Secular Association, nave neither the power nor the wil They lack the motive for charity which Christianity alone affords, "that you lov one another, even as I have loved you. It is not by despoiling the rich that the poor are to be relieved, but by teaching them to use to advantage the faculties with which they are endowed by their Creator, above all by instructing them to exercise meekness and patience and other Christian virtues. which are true riches, and by relieving ality." actual distress wherever it occurs. In this work the Catholic Church is, as she has ever been, foremost. Differences in the degrees of wealth of individuals are the natural consequence of our human condition. All are not born with equal natural gifts. All have not genius, all have not the same ability, strength and health, and even if these were equal, all do not employ the talents or faculties given them with equal industry or success. As a necessary consequence of these differences, in the most elementary stage in which we can conceive human society to exist. there will be degrees of wealth, and the discrepancies will necessarily become greater with the lapse of time. Governments have the right and duty to regulate the rights of property for the general good, and even, when it is necessary for the preservation of life, goods become common property; but out. side of this case the rights of property justly acquired are sacred, and must be respected, and even govern ments must observe distributive justice in the making of laws for the regulation petent government to deprive Ireland of of private rights of proprietorship. These are the only correct principles which can preserve society from utter subversion, while so many false theories are promu gated by demagogues. It is the province of the Church to guard the principles which alone can preserve society. They are founded on the laws of God, and no citizenship, whether of the United States or of any other country, can deprive the Church of the right and duty of uphold ng them.

THE REACTION. Recent elections in Britain continue to show a marked change in public opinion on the question of Home Rule. We have siresdy referred to the Spalding election with its many lessons of significant warn ing to the Tory coercionist majority in the

English Commons. Since the Liberal vic-tory in Lincolnshire there have been two other elections, each of which sustain the Liberal view of the Spalding victory and coldly sets sside the Tory pretension that the reaction there was merely local and ccidental. These elections were held in North Paddington, one of the divisions of Middlesex, and in Coventry, a city of Warwickshire. Both had in 1886 Tory by large majorities, and the Tories oped to retain both in the late bye elections by substantial majorities. But alas for the folly of human prescience. North Paddington, which in 1885 gave a Tory mejority of 685, and in 1886, 911, now

gives but 418, while Coventry, which in reased its Tory majority of 239 in 1885 to 425 in 1886, now gives a Liberal major ity of 11. The following is the official record of each constituency : North Paddington, 1885 -L. L. Cohen (C.)...... Wm. Digby (L)..... ...1.797 Conservative majority 685 1886-L Cohen (C)..... .2 300 John Kempster (L) . 1 389 ... 911 Conservative majority

Aiard (Con.)...... Routledge (Lib.)... ..1812 ... 418 Conservative majority Coventy, 1885-H. W Eaton (C).... J. C. Warner (L).... ... 239 Conservative majority 1886-H. Eston (C)..... W. Ballantyne (L)... .4.201 .3,770 .. 425 Conservative majority Ballantyne (L)..... .4 229

Liberal majority 11 Anger and disappointment are terms which feebly express the Tory feeling at these reverses. The Standard is mortified and the Times savage over the Gladstonian reaction. The latter journal condemns the government bitterly for opening Coventry by raising Mr. Exton to the eerage, and the Standard does not disuise its opinion that upon the Liberal mionists should rest the blame for late Tory disasters. The American, however thinks that "the British voter is getting the time to think which the suddenness o Mr. Gladstone's proposals and the consequent dissolution denied to him. He

inds the Tories confessing by their Coercion bill the impossibility of governing Ireland as they undertook to do at the ast election. He finds the sympathy of the part of mankind for which he cares he most-America- is with Mr. Glad stone and Home Rule. And he is quite mpervious to the considerations which generally make the Unionists so frantic in their convictions. His very limita-

has a weapon more powerful? Than steel to attain his ends. The good men and true of Spalding and of Occentry have used that weapon with more skill and effect than they could have the instrument of alaughter. They have at the polls put to flight the cohorts of Torrism and declared to the world that not only will England be free but by England's

emphatic decision and de Ireland must too be free.

JULY 30, 1007.

EARL GRANVILLE ON COERCION.

Earl Granville, who recently presided

over a meeting of the Kent county Lib. eral council, showed the hypocrisy and dishonesty of the Tories in the policy. He pointed out that they claimed their criminal law amendment bill not to be a measure of coercion, and that many government supporters, who had t the last elections obtained seats on the understanding that they were opposed to coercion, gladly availed themselves of this excuse to support the iniquitous measure. This explanation, or claim, made the noble earl feel like the man who said that that part of his head was small which was intended to receive things not very clear. Was any one of the 85 repressive measures adopted since the Union called by its promoters a coercion bill ? No; these proposale received more euphonious and peaceful appellations. Still public opinion had branded and stigmatized them with unerring accuracy and condign severity as measures of coercion. When a candidate pledged himself on the hustings against coercion, did he not mean and was he not understood to pledge himself against all repres-sive legislation ? The noble earl adverted to the charge made against the Liberal leaders that they too are responsible for coercive legislation. For this charge he had a double answer ; (1) that the exceptional legislation proposed by the Liberals was submitted with great hesitation and regret, and was, he thought, justified by an exceptional state of crime. This legislation was besides of a temporary and lim. ited character, to meet some special emergency and subject to the early reconsideration of Parliament. It was, in fine, directed against crime and not against public opinion. None of these conditions apply to the Tory measure of repression. It is not called for by exceptional crime; it is not to be temporary, but permanent in its operation. Coercion is, added Lord Granville, an acquired taste-the appetite for it increasing with the eating. Lord Salisbury, for instance, began by wishing for what seemed to him the short and moderate term of 20 years-he has now gone is for eternity. We give the second answer in Lord Granville's own words :

"The second answer I have to the taunt I nentioned is this—Are we, because like others we worked in this uniform groove of coercion, to be blud to the failure of this policy—to act as if we had not been made aware that it might drive disturbance under the surface, but could not cure the disease ? If it was legitimate for her Majesty's Government, after obtaining aid from a new quarter, to charge in a few months from conciliation to coercion, is it not unlawful for us after a longer experitions, his aptness to bound his sense of ence to be convinced that you must deal with the malady and not with the symp-

TRAULY 30, 1887.

Empire at large, of the Angle-Sazon at large, and of civilized Christendor all our ters of the world. ers of the world.

re we have the motives that act the Liberal leader and his party-mo becoming the Christian and the states tives befitting an age wherein bleesings of peace are more than prized and sought by mankind, mo whose avowal give promise of regention and liberation for Ireland, of rer tion and perpetuation for the empi large.

THE TWO CHURCHES.

We read some time ago in Le Mon de Rome that Father Tondini, well ki for his zeal in favor of the reunion of eastern and western churches, published in the Rassegna Italian interesting study on the tendencies perceptibly manifest in Russia, in this much desired reunion. tendencies have for spokesman apostle a former professor of the versity of Moscow, M Viadinir Solo from whom Father Tondini cites a beginning of his articles these ren able words: It is said that the uni the churches is impossible and necessary. Now, in our liturgy we for this union. To pray for any impossible or wholly unnecessary an act of purest levity or she mockery. Of two things, then, onelay sside the prayer or acknow that its object is possible and desi Whereupon Father Tondini show citations from a controversy of M. inir Solovieft with M. Askakoft, di of the Rus, with what an ardent pe ism the former is animated and ho and pure are his intentions. Hi words, in fact, explain just how he at and understands patriotism : It appear, said he, writing to Aksako you understand love of country to o in attachment to everything pro our nation. Let us take, for examp Russian rashol-(under the coll name of raskol, which signifies schi division, is comprehended all the conforming sects existing in the bosom itself of the Russian Church its very origin and character this r proper to us-it is a national inst and exclusively so. Yet out of le Russia and for the schismatic should desire them not to to their raskal, but that they ren it and free themselves from control, although it particularly co their families, their parents and country. Why so? Simply becau raskol. although a national institut something bad and as such shou exist," Father Tondini remark for any one who knows Russia, thi ment drawn from the raskol bas gre cal and practical force, for althou cial statistics place the number of schismatics at one million, it is a ious thing that they reach fully 000. He cites other passages from wieff, wherein this writer draws t tinction between nationality and alism, and indicates the suprem which the Russian national spirit strive to reach : "The odious p tion and death of Christ were a says, the work of the Jewish nation of which Christ, looked on as was the greatest glory, but the r the narrow and blinded nationa patriots of the stamp of Caiph any rate, the policy of the G and English offer us terms o parison to judge according to the difference between national nationalism. The fruits of nationality are Shakespear, Byro kely and Newton; the fruits of nationalism, the spoliations con in every part of the world, the prises of Warren Hastings an Seymour, the laying waste of co and the massacre of men. In th way the great German national given the world Lessing, Goethe and Schelling, while to German n ism is to be attributed the force manization of adjacent population the time of the Teutonic knight to our days. Nationalism when to its extreme consequences is t of the people that yield to it because it makes that people a humanity, and humanity is ever a than any one people taken sep Christianity does not exclude any above every nationality. Or when a race praises its own nati it expresses at the same time its ideal, which it appreciates and ences more than all the Thus the Frenchman speaks beautiful France and of the the French name : the Englis proud of old England, while the taking higher ground and atta moral character to his nationa minds us not without pride, of loyalty.' So when the Russian desire to express their tenderest toward their country, they themselves with calling it 'Holy Here is its ideal, which is neith servative nor liberal, neither nor asthetic, just as it is not exc ethical; it is an ideal at once m religious." From that ideal to t ing of the holy mission which Ru

of glory to the British Empire.

The Chief Secretary has introduced into the House of Commons a Bill for the better administration of the Acts relating to the administration of the Acts relating to the relief of the destitute poor in certain parts of Ireland. It is considered that Mr. Balfour is peculiarly fitted for the work of carrying out the proposed reformation. He has never been in Ireland, is seldom in his place in the House of Commons, and knows about as much about Irish poor-law relief as a pig does about Sanscrit. These are orthodox qualifica-tions.

constituted : but the meaning intended to be conveyed is that the Church may claim to have the right to adjudicate in matters which are beyond her sphere, and that Catholics will be bound to accept her decrees. This does not accord with the "Catholic hypothesis" at all. According to the Catholic bypothesis, the Church, guarded from error by the promised effective assistance of Christ, is infallible in her decrees on faith and morals. It is, therefore, impossible that she should declare an extraneous matter to be of faith. The infidel who makes the supposition that God may reveal what is false and that thus we may be bound to believe a falsehood or some. thing contrary to reason, has as plausi. ble a cause as the Mail. Correct reasoning does not permit an assumption which is impossible. The Mail cites the case of Galileo as

proving that the church adjudicates on subjects which do not pertain to her. This is not to the purpose at all. Without entering now upon the details of Galileo's case, we have only to say that there was no decision whatsoever of the Church in this matter. The doctrinal decrees of the Church always emanate from the Pope, or are approved by the Pope, and are addressed to the Church by him as the supreme teacher of Christians. There was nothing of this in the case of Galileo, so that it has no bearing whatever on the present case.

Dr. McGlynn adopted as his own the theory of Henry George, that there can be no private property in land. As a consequence of this doctrine, the private ownership of land is but a usurpation and a robbery. Hence the commandment "thou shalt not steal" ceases to have an object, as far as the land is concerned. It is easy to see how such a theory subverts Christian morality, and, very properly, Archbishop Corrigan, as the authorized guardian of faith and morals in his diocese, brought to task the offending teacher. As Dr. McGlynn would not

be guided by his Superior, but persisted

Upinion of Catholics.

I have pleasure in expressing my best wishes for the success of the CATHOLIC RECORD. I would not be without it for double the amount of subscription. It is very instructive, and its editorials are well and ably written. It is a paper that should be in every Gatholic family. ROBERT A. LYNCH.

he way of keeping for that imperial idea which is supposed to involve the sappression of Irish nation

> Our respected contemporary the Globe discussing the figures of all these election above mentioned, concludes with this just observation:

"Evidently the three constituencies should be regarded as fairly representing the three great classes which make up nearly the whole of the constituencies of England. Mr. Gladstone, speaking to the American deputation before yet the Coventry election was over, stated that the two other elections showed a change the two other elections showed a charge of 12 per cent. in the feeling of the electors, and if the result of these may be taken as a fair index of what has taken place all over the country, another General Election would give him as large a majority as Tories and Unionists have now. Yet while the country is thus expressing its disanceval of their noise the Tory disapproval of their policy the Tory Government and its allies force their per-petual Coercion Bill through the House of Commons by means of the cloture." The English voter had always been taught to look on the House of Commons as the very temple of freedom. He has lately, with mortification truly inexpressible, seen that body register its own subjection to Tory despotism by voting for cloture, to enable a tyrannical and incom-

even the forms of free constitutional action. The Englisman of to day has witnessed outrages on Parliamentary government, successfully perpetrated, that rob him of the fruits of his ancestor's blood and toil and sufferings. He has seen England's fair name bedraggled in the mire of Tory incapacity and Tory hostility to free institutions. He has seen England's honor

Alluding to the charge that the Liberals were actuated by fear and governed by their alliance with the Parnellites, the noble lord asked if it was quite fair to attribute to them fear as sole motive, excluding the possibility of their being influenced by an bonest desire to do what is best for Ireland and for the empire. But supposing that they were actuated by that feeling described by Burke as an early and provident fear, the motives of security; a fear acted upon in deed if not acknowledged in words by the Duke of Wellington, when he changed his opinions on Catholic emancipation: the fear felt by Lord Anglesey, when he said the question was whether he or O'Connell should rule in Ireland; by Lord Wolseley, after his experience of despotic rule in Ireland, when he declared it safer to violate than obey the law and this during the conti. uance of Lord Grey's coercion bill, the most severe one up to the present measure -they might be thought to stand on that motive alone, but they did not do so. Higher ground do they take-ground laid bare by Mr. Gladstone in his Welsh tour, where he spoke words that resounded through the world, to his glory, and will ever redound to the credit of his age and country : Do not credit the statements of the

Do not credit the statements of those who sllow it to be said, and who are fond of saying, though they do not let it out in public, though it is known to be their normal sentiment, that Ireland is a country made to be governed by force. Ireland is not a country made to be governed by force any more than Wales or England or Scotland was made to be governed by force. It is the injustice governed by force. It is the injustice with which she has been treated that is institutions. He has seen Eugland's honor cast to the winds for the maintenance of Ulster Orange ascendancy in Ireland. He has seen his country forced to a humilia-tion and degradation, that in older and sterner days would have been endured tooly after the nation had been deluged with blood. But if the Englishman of to day is less easily aroused than were his fathers, if he grasps not so readily the aword to avenge his country's name and protect his liberties, he knows that ne